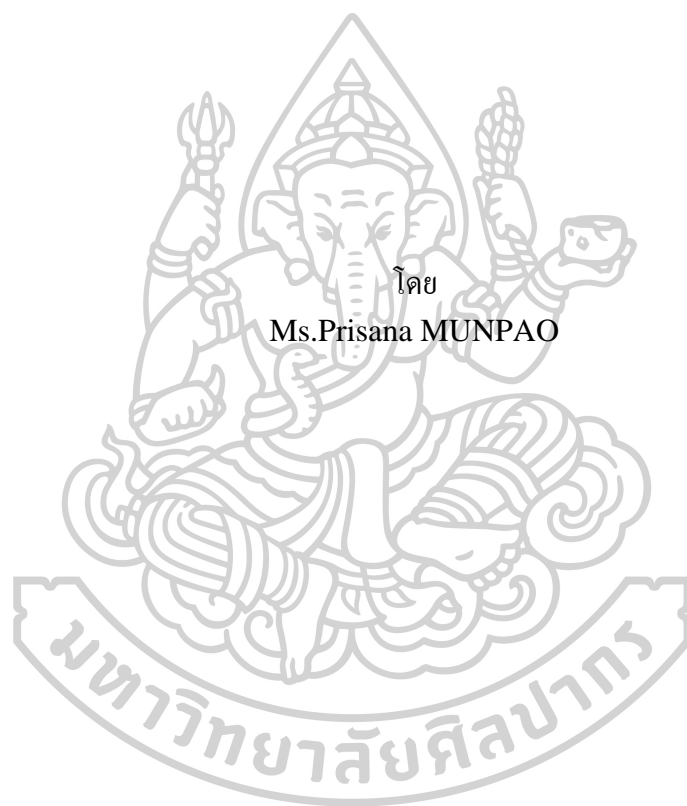




INDIAN COMMUNITY HERITAGE : CASE STUDY OF SOI 3 (NANA)
SUKHUMVIT ROAD.



A Thesis Submitted in partial Fulfillment of Requirements
for Doctor of Philosophy (Architectural Heritage Management and Tourism)
International Program
Graduate School, Silpakorn University
Academic Year 2017
Copyright of Graduate School, Silpakorn University



วิทยานิพนธ์นี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาตามหลักสูตรปริญญาตรีบัณฑิต
สาขาวิชาArchitectural Heritage Management and Tourism Plan 2.2
บัณฑิตวิทยาลัย มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร
ปีการศึกษา 2560
ลิขสิทธิ์ของบัณฑิตวิทยาลัย มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร

INDIAN COMMUNITY HERITAGE : CASE STUDY OF SOI 3
(NANA) SUKHUMVIT ROAD.



By
Ms. Prisana MUNPAO

A Thesis Submitted in partial Fulfillment of Requirements
for Doctor of Philosophy (Architectural Heritage Management and Tourism)
International Program
Graduate School, Silpakorn University
Academic Year 2017
Copyright of Graduate School, Silpakorn University

Title	Indian Community Heritage : Case Study of Soi 3 (Nana) Sukhumvit Road.
By	Prisana MUNPAO
Field of Study	(Architectural Heritage Management and Tourism) International Program
Advisor	Ross James King

Architecture Silpakorn University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Doctor of Philosophy

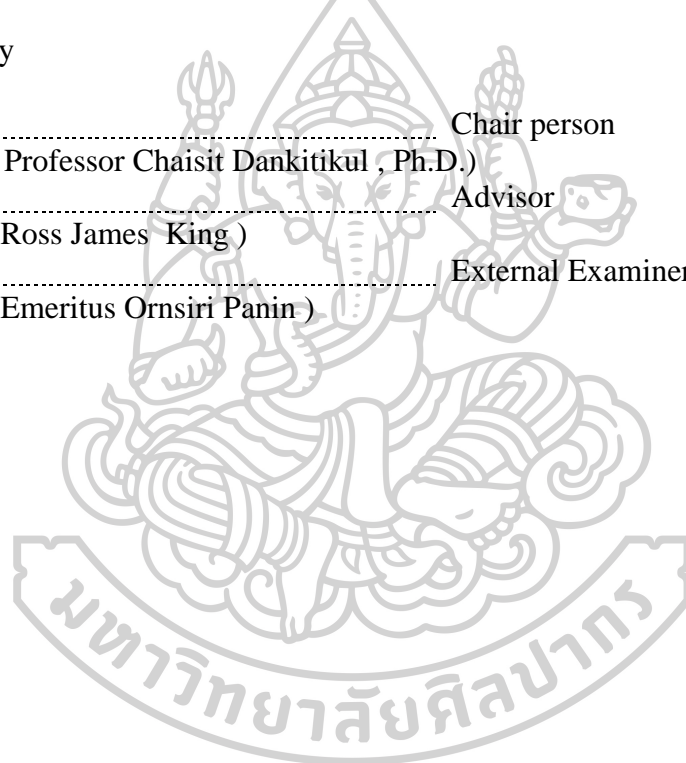
..... Dean of graduate school
(Assoc. Prof. Panjai Tantatsanawong, Ph.D.)

Approved by

..... Chair person
(Associate Professor Chaisit Dankitikul , Ph.D.)

..... Advisor
(Professor Ross James King)

..... External Examiner
(Professor Emeritus Ornsiri Panin)



55056954 : Major (Architectural Heritage Management and Tourism) International Program

Keyword : INDIANS NANA SUKHUMVIT COMMUNITY HERITAGE TOURISM
MS. PRISANA MUNPAO : INDIAN COMMUNITY HERITAGE : CASE STUDY OF SOI 3 (NANA) SUKHUMVIT ROAD. THESIS ADVISOR : PROFESSOR ROSS JAMES KING

55056954: MAJOR: ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE MANAGEMENT AND TOURISM

PRISANA MUNPAO: INDIAN COMMUNITY HERITAGE: A CASE STUDY OF SOI 3 (NANA) ON SUKHUMVIT ROAD, BANGKOK.

THESIS ADVISOR: PROFESSOR ROSS JAMES KING, Ph.D 105 pp

Four objectives of this study were (1) to study the background to the Indian migration to Thailand, (2) to study the history of the Nana Indian commercial community, (3) to observe that community in its interactions with the diverse cultures of the tourists to the Nana district as well as with the host culture (Thai, Burmese, Thai-Lao) and (4) to seek explanations for the observable phenomena of in the Nana precinct.

The first result highlighted the freedom granted by Britain which allowed Indian to escape the religious conflict prevalent within their region in the 1940s. Many Indians moved to Thailand, then others had no choice but to follow their parents in the move. Thailand was a relatively peaceful place where foreigners could find work and own a business.

The second result indicated that Pahurat and Sampeng were congested and that led the Indians to move into the Nana enclave after Sukhumvit road was completed in 1950. The Indians focused on tailor shops, Indian restaurants and mixed shops to Western visitors, wealthy Thais, Middle Easterners, and more lately East Asian tourists.

The third revealed Thai, Burmese, Thai-Lao and Indians having maintained their cultural heritage from their ancestors such as in careers, costumes, languages, architecture, and food.

In relation to the fourth objective, the Nana precinct was interpreted as (1) spectacle, (2) unity in diversity, (3) commoditization, (4) political economy and (5) hedonistic and medical tourism.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I would like to express my gratitude and sincere thanks to my advisor, Professor Ross James King. This dissertation would not have been completed, without his encouragement, critical comments and suggestions. His patience and academic skill are exceptional and inspire me to achieve an academic success.

While at Silpakorn University, I have received a lot of knowledge and experiences from various recognized teachers including Professor Ken Taylor, Dr. Donald Ellsmore, Professor William Chapman, Professor Dr. Corazon Catibog-Sinha and Professor Russel Staiff. I would like to say “Thank you” go to Ph.D friends for their mental supports and assistances.

I would like to express my thankfulness to Suan Dusit University for the financial support, and to my colleagues at my workplace for their concern assistance.

Finally, I would like to thank everyone for being there and always supportive unconditionally throughout the period of my study.

Prisana MUNPAO

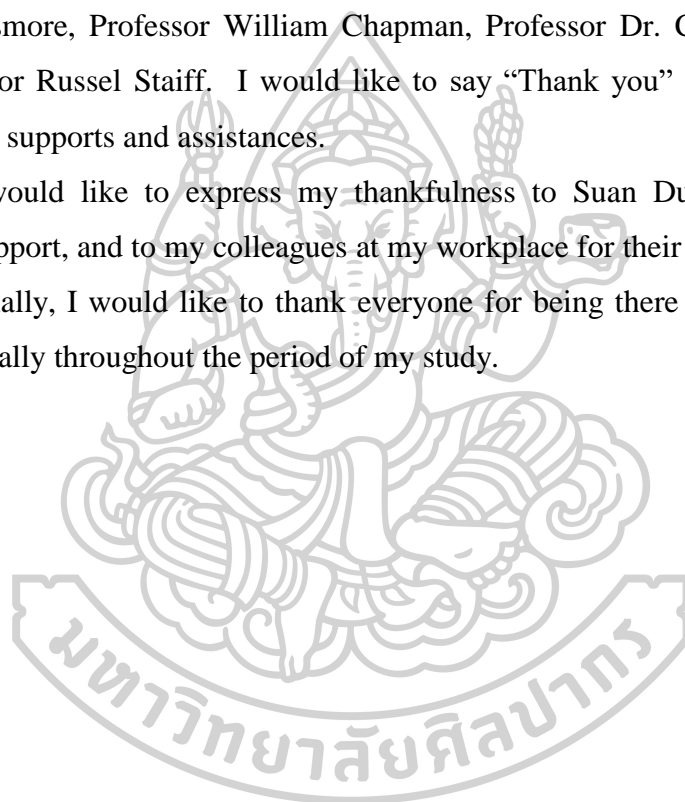


TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT.....	D
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	E
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	F
TABLE OF TABLES.....	I
TABLE OF FIGURES.....	J
Chapter 1 Introduction.....	1
The Indians in Bangkok.....	1
The Nana Precinct.....	2
Research Questions.....	3
Research Approach.....	5
Research Methodology.....	5
Expected Benefits.....	6
Outline of the Dissertation.....	7
Chapter 2 Literature Review.....	8
Culture.....	8
Heritage.....	9
Tourism.....	11
Interpretation.....	16
Nana Precinct and Related Researches.....	21
Chapter 3 The Indians in Bangkok.....	24
Indians' Migration to Thailand.....	24
Religion.....	30
Costume.....	32
Architecture.....	33
Food.....	34

Language.....	34
Education	35
Career.....	35
Law	39
Chapter 4 The Nana Precinct	43
Sukhumvit Road History	44
Physical Nana Area.....	45
Giving its Name: “Nana” History.....	46
Soi Nana in Bangkok	47
Nana as Authenticity.....	47
The Nana Commercial Community History.....	47
Chapter 5 Nana as a Tourist Realm	54
Accommodation.....	55
Tailor Shops.....	56
Restaurants.....	57
Shoe Shops.....	58
Perfume Shops	58
Massage Parlors.....	58
Beauty Shops	59
Convenience Stores	59
Telephone Agencies.....	59
Hospitals	59
Street Stalls	60
Comparing Nana Day and Night Time	62
Chapter 6 The Nana Indian Commercial Community and Interpretation.....	64
Nana as Spectacle	64
Nana as a Unity of Diversity	73
Nana as Commodification	78
Nana as Political Economy	79

Nana as Tourism	83
Chapter 7 Conclusion and Suggestions.....	90
Conclusion	90
A Research Problem	92
Suggestions	93
Appendix.....	96
REFERENCES	99
VITA.....	105



TABLE OF TABLES

Table	Detail	Page
1	Indian identity in different religions	40
2	American tourists to Thailand 2012 -2016	49
3	Middle – East tourists to Thailand 2012 -2016	50
4	Chinese tourists to Thailand 2012 -2016	51
5	Indian tourists to Thailand 2012 -2016	52
6	Thai, Burmese and Thai-Lao	54

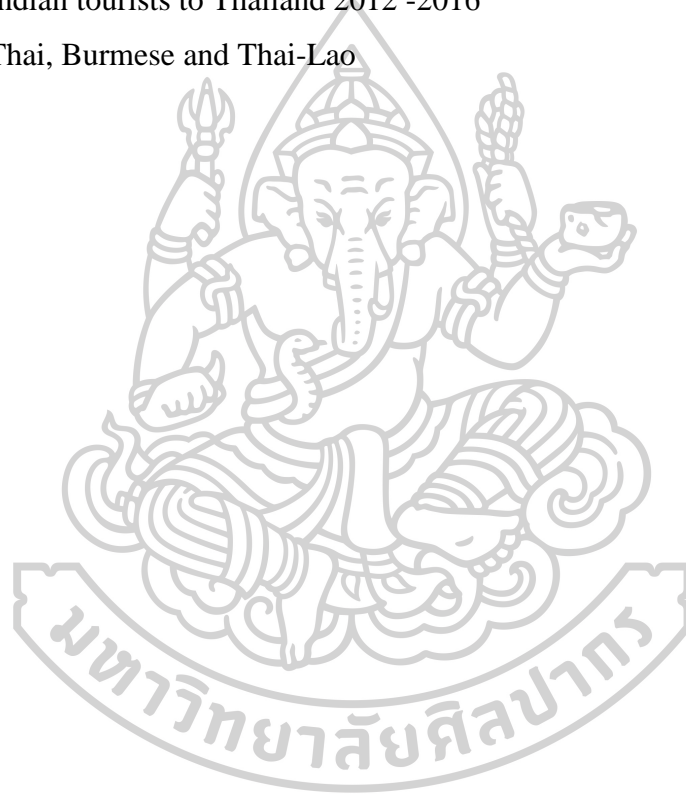


TABLE OF FIGURES

Figure	Detail	Page
1	The distinction between tangible and intangible assets of cultural heritage	10
2	Bulter's tourism area life cycle	12
3	Women's dress in King Rama I-III era	25
4	Women's dress in King Rama IV - V era	27
5	The "Five K's"	32
6	Sikh Indian Thai generation in Thailand	38
7	The distinction between tangible and intangible assets of cultural heritage	41
8	Pahurat and Sampeng are closed to the Grand Palace	43
9	Sukhumvit Road in the past	45
10	Sukhumvit Road at the present	45
11	Overview Nana Area	45
12	The Nana area	46
13	Butler's tourism area life cycle	53
14	Arabic inscription in Bumrungrad Hospital	60
15	Middle East street	61
16	Gulliver's Bar soi 5 (Day time)	62
17	Gulliver's Bar soi 5 (Night time)	62
18	Boss Avenue	65
19	Boss	65
20	The Boss	66
21	The Boss Sign	66
22	The authentic Hugo Boss brand name	66
23	Tom's Fashion	67
24	Tom Tailor brand name	67
25	L'Louis's collection	68
26	L'Louis's (day time)	68
27	Louis Vuitton brand name	68
28	Inter – Milan Tailor shop	68
29	Milano brand name	69
30	Armani tailor studio	69
31	Giorgio Armani brand name	70
32	Ravi Sehgal	70
33	Raja	70

Figure	Detail	Page
34	Rajawongse	71
35	Nana Fashion	71
36	New Landmark Boutique	71
37	Classique fashion	71
38	Thai and English	75
39	English and Arabic	75
40	Japanese and English	76
41	The Sukhumvit Grande Hotel I	81
42	The Sukhumvit Grande Hotel II	81
43	Presently, “Ever Rich Design” tailor shop is located between soi 5 and soi 7	81
44	Roberto Raggic shop	81
45	New location’s map	81
46	Roberto Raggic tailor shop soi 6	82
47	The Nana Indian Community	97



Chapter 1 Introduction

This project began from an interest in the heritage of the Indian community in Thailand and, more specifically, in its manifestation in Bangkok's Nana precinct, which is the area of lower Sukhumvit concentrating on *sois* between 3 and 11 on Sukhumvit's north side, and 4 to 8 on the south side. The area is strongly identified with Indian commercial vigour; it is also a major focus for travelers and expats of diverse backgrounds and nationalities for business, commerce and especially entertainment. The intersection of the prevailing Indian culture with the diverse cultures and behaviours of the area's intruders – American, other Western, Middle Eastern, more recently Chinese and other Indian – also with that of the host Thai society, also with the area's Isan, Lao and Burmese street vendors and stallholders, all come together to produce an assemblage of diverse activities, sights, sounds, voices and aromas. Nana becomes a wonderfully disordered, jumbled, chaotic, fabulous space that is paradigmatically Bangkokian – it can, as it were, define that extraordinarily tolerant, blending, cosmopolitan essence of Bangkok. Nana can be seen as emblematic of an exciting, beguiling, evolving *heritage of the present*. It forces a rethinking of what constitutes heritage.

Hence, as the project progressed, it faced a dilemma: was it about the Indian community in Nana, or was it about the phenomenon of Nana itself?

This uncertainty yielded the question that the research would address: in what ways might the disorder and spectacle of Nana be traced back to its genealogy in an Indian commercial community? Do the Indians offer a clue to explaining the phenomenon and what other factors might also seem to be involved? This, however, needs to be seen as merely a part of a more fundamental question: how is one to explain (interpret) the cosmopolitan disorder and spectacle of Nana? Then, in the context of that fundamental question, effectively addressing the heritage and identity of present Bangkok, we can come to that sub-question: what has been the role of the Indian community in the social production of that heritage and identity?

Before moving on to a more considered discussion of this question and of the research to address it, it is useful first to briefly outline the place of Indian people in the broader history of Thailand and Bangkok; then, second, to say something about Nana as a place. Both of these themes will receive far closer observation in later chapters.

The Indians in Bangkok

There has long been the controversy among scholars over the “Indianisation” of ancient Southeast Asia. Especially influential in the early 20th century was the French scholar George Coedès (Coedès, 1948, 1968, 1977) but see the critique in (Wolters, 1999), also (Reynolds, 2006, p. 39). Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, father figure of Thai historians and an archaeologist, observed that Indians had migrated to Thailand

more than two thousand years ago. He guessed that the first Indians were coming to Thailand from the South of India (Thongpan and Thongdaeng, 2010, p. 16). These Indian people brought their culture, religious beliefs and practices to Thailand, i.e. Hindu, Muslim, Buddhist and Sikh religions.

Some Indians had moved and settled in Bangkok during the King Rama V period (1868–1910), especially in the Pahurat and Sampeng areas. One of these was A.E. Nana who from the 1890s to the 1930s had built up a large-scale property development company. His activities were mostly in central and south Bangkok; significantly, he held large areas of land in the Sukhumvit Road area and, when that road was being constructed in the 1930s, had politely declined to give his name to it. Instead, Sois 3 and 4 are now jointly called Soi Nana, and that area of lower Sukhumvit is commonly known simply as Nana (King, 2011, p. 49).

Significantly, A.E. Nana was a Muslim at a time when Sikhs were widely distrusted in Siam. Due to rapid economic growth in the 1970s to the 1990s, Indian families could afford more luxurious houses and cars and accordingly moved out from Pahurat and Sampeng to other areas such as Suravong Road and the Sukhumvit growth corridor. This was also the time when Indian businesses began to assemble in the Nana precinct and elsewhere, to capitalize on entirely new emerging markets consequent on the American intrusion into Southeast Asia.

The Nana Precinct

The transformation of Nana came with the influx of US servicemen on rest and recreation leave (R&R) during the extended Vietnam War period from 1955 to 1977. The newly developing commercial areas of lower Sukhumvit and Phetchaburi roads acquired hotels and entertainment zones (bars, nightclubs, dance venues, gambling, and prostitution), also Indian businesses in restaurants, shoe shops and especially tailor shops. With the end of the Vietnam War in April 1975, the Americans mostly departed and the commercial activity of Phetchaburi and Nana suffered some decline. Tourism to Thailand was on the increase, however, and new groups progressively replaced the American servicemen, especially from Europe, America and Australia. With each successive wave of the tourists, Nana both thrived and transformed.

A significant change began in the late 1970s with the increased spending power of the Middle East oil producing states. Initially from the Gulf States but subsequently from the Middle East more widely, Muslim tourists descended on Nana. There were also lesser waves of Japanese and Korean visitors who would come to Nana for shopping and for its entertainment scene although they tended to stay in hotels more distant from Nana. In more recent times new waves have been from China and India. In all this, the longer-established Indians have become ever more firmly entrenched as the dominant commercial community (although the hotels were owned elsewhere).

In one sense the lower Sukhumvit tourist precinct could be defined as stretching from Soi 1 to Soi 21 (Asoke) on its north side and Soi 2 to Soi 14 on the south. Its epicenter of street markets, vendors, bars and entertainment places would most commonly be defined as Sois 3 to 11 and Sois 4 to 8. As observed above, it is at present a zone of intersecting cultures, constantly changing as new tourist waves render the cosmopolitan turmoil ever more complex and alluring. It will variously be seen as “little India,” also as a transplanted Middle-Eastern bazaar, a confronting zone of questionable pleasures, a cacophony of diverse sounds and musical genres, different faces of different ethnicities, multi-languages, jostling crowds, light displays, disorder and confusion. It is also a zone of inconsistencies and contradictions (King, 2017, pp. 2-3; King and Varavarn, 2017, pp. 179-180).

In many ways Nana seems to represent the best of Bangkok – Bangkok as a great, cosmopolitan, global city in a society that is able to be open, inclusive, tolerant. It is also, however, expressive of that disordered, multilayered space that seems to characterize the very identity of the city – Bangkok space. To the enquiring, scholarly observer, there will be the question: what might this space and its constant change and seeming evolution tell us about the trajectory of the city itself – about Bangkok space in the sense of its constant “becoming,” also about the nature of the culture itself as constantly evolving, transforming and metamorphosing?

Research Questions

The question guiding this project can be posted in two parts:

The question (1)

Flowing out of the considerations above, the motivating question for this research can therefore be expressed as the following:

What might close observation of the Nana precinct inform the enquiring observer or researcher about the present direction of Bangkok’s change and evolution?

In the present instance this close observation will focus on what might be seen as five defining characteristics of the precinct

1. Nana as spectacle – emblematic of the city’s elevation to images and spectacle.
2. Nana as a display of unity in diversity – almost the defining attribute of Bangkok (Thailand) as a society.
3. Nana as commoditization – Nana as a display of the reduction of all goods and experiences to the status of commodities.
4. Nana as political economy – its political economy as an assemblage of diverse modes of power and consumption, and its role in the wider political economy of Bangkok and of Thailand itself.
5. Nana as tourist focus – emblematic of the present place of Bangkok itself as the world’s most visited tourism city.

The question (2)

To varying extents, this first question could be asked of many other precincts in Bangkok and possibly in other Thai cities – Rattanakosin, Khaosan Road, Phetchaburi Road, Silom, Charoen Krung, the Chao Phraya River. There is a further, consequent question, however: what *specifically* can be learned through the focus on Nana? If this question has some general applicability beyond the case of Nana, then why concentrate on Nana? It is suggested that what distinguishes Nana is that here the *evolution (becoming)* of its five suggested defining characteristics can be traced *through the catalyzing role of its Indian commercial community*.

The intersection of these two questions suggests an elaboration of the five characteristics suggested above, into what can be seen as five consequent or sub-questions. These might be articulated as follows:

1. How is the Indian presence in the Nana precinct instrumental in the production of a sense of spectacle that is distinguishable from other manifestations of spectacle in Bangkok?
2. What has been the role of the Indians in producing the ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity of Nana? More specifically, what has been their role in negotiating the contradictions of a Muslim Middle-Eastern presence in a milieu of hedonistic indulgence, alcohol and sex tourism? – also the contradictions implicit in the throngs of both Muslims and Westerners and the use of English as the mode of communication?
3. Whereas commoditization characterizes the onslaught of modernity in Bangkok as also worldwide, are its distinctive characteristics in the Nana enclave to be traced to the extraordinary flexibility (mobility, nimble footedness) of its Indian entrepreneurs?
4. Linked to commoditization, how does political power and economic power intersect in the space of Nana? While the entrepreneurship of A.E. Nana may have succeeded a century ago due to his skill in negotiating the power structures of an earlier Siam, it is the present play of political, economic and cultural capital that is the present interest. Again the resilience of the Indians comes into play.
5. The Indian community has been instrumental in the production and constant reproduction of Nana as a venue for acquisitive tourism (shopping), also food tourism. However this is crosscut by other forms of tourism, most notably hedonistic tourism and medical tourism. So, where does the Indian role in shopping and food tourism intersect with these other, seemingly more motivating forms of tourism?

Research Approach

While the concern of the project is to “understand” the Nana precinct, that is to interrogate the first question outlined above, nevertheless the *approach* to this goal will be through a systematic interrogation of the Nana Indian community, that is through the five sub-questions developed above in relation to the second question. As the task is one of observing and studying an interplay of diverse – and ostensibly irreconcilable – cultures and behaviours, the methodology will be a combination of historiographical and ethnographical perspectives and methods.

Two specific historiographical tasks (objectives) needed to be tackled in order to address the project’s questions:

1. To study the background of Indian migration to Thailand.
2. To study the history of the Nana community.

A further two tasks are more dependent on ethno-historical methods:

3. To observe Indian community heritage in its interaction with the diverse succession of cultures of the tourists to Nana, also with the host (Thai) culture and with the cultures of the migrant workers of the streets and stalls (Burmese, Thai-Lao).
4. To seek explanations for the observable phenomena of present Nana; that is, to seek answers to the five sub-questions listed above.

Research Methodology

This research has been designed to be a qualitative study in the Nana enclave between sois 3-11 and sois 4-8 on Sukhumvit Road during 2014 -2017, the research methodology applied in this research includes non-participant observation (on-site visits, observing tourists’ behaviour and host), in-depth interviews and photo recording.

Research instruments are open-ended and semi-structured questionnaires, a camera, a tape or video recorder, a computer notebook and the researcher.

Collection of data will be gathered through the aforementioned research instruments and methodologies by the researcher. The phenomena that are found will be discussed widely in terms of interpretation. Observations such as visiting sites are part of the data collecting process and are intended to support various views in the discussion. Sources of knowledge from secondary study in theories and literature reviews are also to be incorporated in the analysis.

Analysis of data gathered from different sources will be analyzed by applying an analysis approach. All interviewees’ name and informants will be referred to. It is noted that data analysis will not be made after the completion of data collection, but will be conducted on the research.

Conclusion, all documentary and field information will be evaluated, synchronized and summarized in order to be in line with the objective of the study.

In its execution, the project has faced limitations. While some Indian tailor shop, shoe shop and restaurant owners participated in the project's interview program, there was a lack of participation by many owners. There was also an interest in the mobility of establishments – in how they might begin then subsequently change location in the precinct or perhaps go out of business. However, information on these changes was not always available and so a complete picture of the mobility and transience of the community was not possible. The most significant limitation on the project, however, related to the difficulty in approaching and interviewing the passing tourists through what is really one of Bangkok's most significant tourist zones. Arguably the most significant tourist group comprises the Muslim Middle Easterners – they certainly present the area's greatest contradiction, of Muslim families in a milieu of bars, indulgent pleasures and libidinous transgression. However, to interview these visitors was not possible – although one could overhear their engaging (in English) with street vendors and shops, their reserved and withdrawn behaviour meant that conversation with “outsiders” was not possible.

A further limitation came from the lack of any comprehensive data on tourist demography. Similarly there are no available data on the precinct's economy – we can know very little about tourists' spending, or about the financial viability of the establishments of the area. Nor can we know anything of the informal economy of the streets and the dark transactions of the bars and entertainment places.

In the face of these limitations, the main source of information has been very close observation of tourist, vendor and shopkeeper behaviour throughout 2014 to 2016, also in-depth interviews with cooperative Indian businessmen and chance, ransom conversations with the denizens of the streets.

Expected Benefits

What are expected to be benefits flowing from the study? What makes it worthwhile? There are of course positive outcomes flowing from attempts to answer the questions posed above; they are benefits in the sense of adding to the pool of knowledge about Bangkok and, more widely, about Thailand. However, there is another, more immediate gain from the study: the study can broaden the understanding of what constitutes the heritage of Bangkok. Nana is to be seen as *living heritage* – the vigour, cosmopolitan vibrancy, and the demonstrated tolerance and mutual accommodations of Nana are qualities that in large measure define the heritage and identity of the nation. From the insights drawn here, Nana can be interpreted to its tourist hordes.

Nana thereby presents as a resource for *cultural* tourism. The efforts described here, to interpret Nana as a cultural resource, can provide a model for similar endeavours to promulgate other domains as cultural resources – Khao San, Charoen Krung, the Thonburi bank of the Chao Phraya and elsewhere.

Outline of the Dissertation

The dissertation is in seven chapters. The present introduction is Chapter one, which has “set the scene” for the study with brief notes on both the Indians in Bangkok and the phenomenon of Nana, before moving on to the questions that the project is intended to address. Questions of methodology and expected outcomes have been raised.

Chapter two is a study of literature concerned with questions of culture and heritage, also with tourism and interpretation; related researches are introduced.

Chapter three turns to the interlinked histories of Bangkok and of the Indian migrations into the city and then subsequently into the present Nana precinct.

Chapter four looks at the Indian community in Nana more closely. It is in effect a description of the precinct but with a focus on the Indian commercial community and their establishments.

Chapter five examines Nana as a tourist realm, and sees the Indian community in that context.

Chapter six returns the account to the five sub-questions introduced in the present Chapter one. Drawing on the data presented in Chapters two to five, it seeks to explore these sub-questions in some conceptual depth. The chapter presents the lessons to be drawn from the study.

The dissertation concludes with a brief Chapter seven. This includes comments on potential areas for further research.



Chapter 2 Literature Review

This chapter focuses on theoretical frameworks and important concepts needed for understanding culture, heritage, tourism and interpretation including a review of related documents and researches. The significance of culture and heritage sites is crucial for understanding the idea of significance more generally. Hence, it is also necessary to understand the concepts of tourism and interpretation of culture and heritage sites. The topics to be discussed in the chapter are:

1. Culture
2. Heritage
3. Tourism
4. Interpretation
5. Nana precinct and related researches

Culture

1. Culture

1.1 Culture Definition

Raymond Williams noted that culture means a whole way of life (Williams, 1958, p. 4). He subsequently declared (Williams, 1976, p. 92) that “culture is one of the most complex words in the English language. It is difficult to define.”

For purposes of the present study, culture will be seen to mean traditional culture as commonly understood: a way of life such as language, beliefs, cuisine, dress, norms, customs and the products that arise from it such as architecture.

1.2 Cultural Significance

According to the Burra Charter (2013), cultural significance is a concept that helps in estimating the value of places. Such places help in the understanding of the past and the present. It is suggested that they will be of value to future generations. The values embedded in cultural significances are discussed below:

1. Aesthetic Value – this value derives from the ways people draw sensory and intellectual stimulation from a place including aspects of sensory perception. Criteria may include form, scale, color, material of the fabric, texture, smells and sounds of the place.

2. Historic Value – this value derives from the way people connect to past events and aspects of life attaching to a place in the present. A place may have historic value because it has been influenced by a historic figure, activity or

event. However, some events may be so important that the place itself thereby remains significant.

3. Scientific Value – this value derives from the potential of a place to yield evidence about past human activities. A place may involve important issue of data, rarity, quality and representation.

4. Social Value – it derives from the meaning of a place for the people relating to it. They collect experience or memory. In addition, a place may have acquired spiritual, political, national or other cultural sentiment for either a majority or a minority group.

As issue for following chapters is to determine how the Nana community might manifest cultural value in these terms outlined above.

Heritage

2. Heritage

2.1 Heritage Definition

Graham and Ashworth and Tunbridge (Graham and Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000, p. 3), while eschewing a clear definition, have stated that:

“Heritage....exists as an economic commodity, which may overlap, conflict with or even deny its cultural role. It is capable of being interpreted differently within any one culture at any one time, as well as between cultures and through time. Heritage fulfils several inherently opposing uses and carries conflicting meanings simultaneously.”

Cook and Yale and Marqua noted that heritage attractions can be found in several locations throughout the world. They preserve memories and experiences such as in the case of the Great Wall of China (Cook and Yale and Marqua, 2002, pp. 200-201).

ICOMOS (ICOMOS, 2008) defined heritage in terms of a conceptual framework including both intangible and tangible assets.

Also reverting to generalities, Kirdsiri cited that heritage is a cultural footprint representing civilization, both the “old things” and their history (Kirdsiri, 2010, p. 15)

For present purposes, heritage will be seen as belonging to the culture of society such as traditions, languages and buildings that were created in the past and have emerged as historically relevant. People value all of those resources beyond mere utility.

2.2 Cultural Heritage Assets

The International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS, 2008) defines heritage as a broad concept including tangible assets, such as natural and

cultural environments, encompassing landscapes, historic places, sites, and built environments as well as intangible assets, such as collections, past, and continuing cultural practices, knowledge and living experience as summarized in figure 1. The key principles of cultural heritage management are tangible and intangible assets.

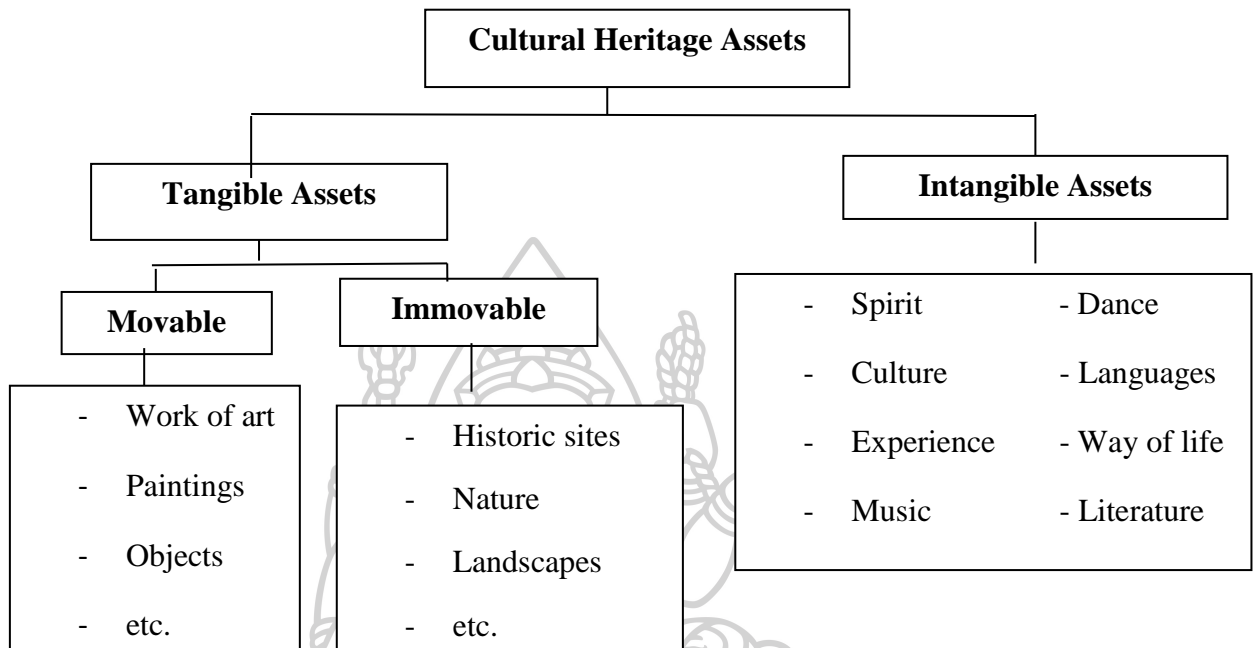


Figure 1: The distinction between tangible and intangible assets of cultural heritage

Source: Adapted from (ICOMOS, 1999, p. 4)

Cultural heritage assets can be divided into two categories. The first is “Tangible Cultural Heritage” that is present in material objects. Movable objects consist of work of art, paintings and physical objects. Immovable objects consist of nature, historic sites and landscape. The second is another form of heritage, namely “Intangible Cultural Heritage” such as song, myths, beliefs, superstitions, oral poetry, spirits, culture and experience.

Tangible cultural assets can be stored and physically touched. The human cultural heritage includes the living expressions and traditions that communities and groups in every part of the world receive from their ancestors and pass on to their descendants. This includes items such as traditional clothing, utensils, jewelry accessories, vehicles, architecture and landscapes, etc.

Intangible cultural assets are more than the monuments and objects that have been preserved over time. They include songs, myths, beliefs, superstitions, oral poetry, as well as various forms of traditional knowledge and many other practices that might pertain to physical sites and are thereby part of the intangible heritage and history associated with these sites through oral stories, places, names and songs, etc.

The Nana Indian community is expected to manifest as cultural heritage that includes both tangible and intangible assets.

Tourism

3. Tourism

3.1 Tourism Definition

Jafari stated that tourism research is a study of people who have traveled away from their home countries and of how the host country responds to their needs. In addition, it would embrace a study of impacts on the host country's socio-cultural, physical and economic environments (Jafari, 1981, p. 13)

Matthieson and Wall noted that tourism would comprised people temporarily moving to destinations outside their home countries. Tourism activities and facilities are created to serve traveler's' needs (Matthieson and Wall, 1982, p. 1)

Prossor stated that travelers move and temporarily stay in places, with activities and experiences that demand resources and facilities (Prossor, 1998, p. 374)

Cooper and Fletcher and Gilbert and Wanhill noted that tourism is multi-faceted and multi-dimensional, covering activities that touch many different activities and lifestyles (Cooper and Fletcher and Gilbert and Wanhill, 1998, p. 8).

William cited the World Tourism Organization (1991), defining tourism as: (Williams, 1998, p. 3) "the activities of a person travelling to a place outside his or her usual environment for less than a specified period of time and whose main purpose of travel is other than the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited".

McKercher and Hilary saw tourism in the context of necessary commercial activities (McKercher and Hilary, 2002, p. 26). In similar vein,

Cook and Yale and Marqua noted that the business of travel is tourism (Cook and Yale and Marqua, 2002, p. 4).

In the chapters that follow, tourism will especially be seen in the context of providing services for visitors on holiday such as transport, hotel and entertainment.

3.2 Tourism Theory

Butler stated that the evolution of the tourism life-cycle has seven stages (Butler, 1980, p. 6)

1. The exploration stage – a site is visited by a small number of visitors, as it lacks access and facilities. This attraction remains unchanged by travelers and local people.
2. The involvement stage – local communities make decision to encourage tourism.
3. They provide advertisements for visitors that may increase the volume of visitors. The public sector provide infrastructure to the site.

4. The development stage – large numbers of travelers are attracted at peak periods. Therefore, problems can occur if structures are weak.

5. The consolidation stage – although total numbers are still increasing, the rate of visitors increase falls.

6. The stagnation stage – the numbers of travelers have reached a the peak, as the destination is no longer fashionable. It relies on repeat visits from previous visitors.

7. The decline scenario – new visitors look for newer accommodations, as Old accommodations look for a new target group.

8. The rejuvenation – the site will be re-launched by new marketing and developing a new product. It helps to stabilize visitation. Butler's tourism area life cycle is shown in figure 2.

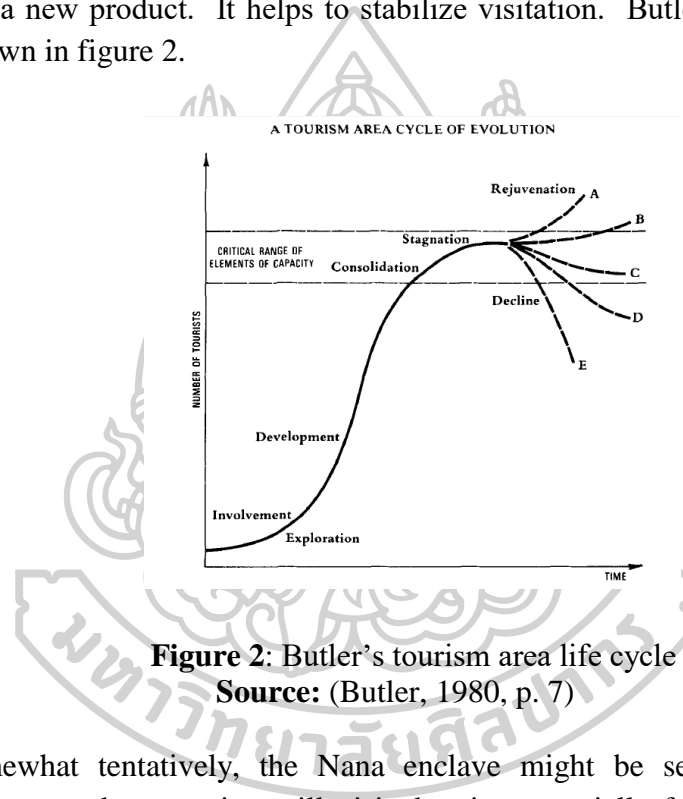


Figure 2: Butler's tourism area life cycle
Source: (Butler, 1980, p. 7)

Somewhat tentatively, the Nana enclave might be seen as being at the stagnation stage, where tourists still visit the site, especially for hedonistic tourism and medical tourism. In another sense, however, it will be seen in the context of a rejuvenation stage as new waves of tourists (Chinese, Indian) descend on the precinct.

3.3 Types of Tourism

Rojek (Rojek, 1993, p. 27) identified four kinds of tourism. There are specifically to: 1) Black spots, 2) Heritage sites, 3) Literary landscapes, and 4) Theme parks. Seen more widely, there are many kinds of tourism that constitute a tourism industry. For example, one can identify:

1) Incentive tourism: this includes a diversity of lucky individuals with a holiday package as a reward from companies they work for.

- 2) Business tourism: travel which is related to business activities that is a part of the business world.
- 3) Medical tourism: people seek special medical treatments far away from their home. Moreover, they also make associated trips to other places.
- 4) Adventure tourism: tourists look for some unusual experiences such as bungee jumping, rock climbing and shark cave diving.
- 5) Hedonistic tourism: people want to enjoy a break from the routine of life.
- 6) Cultural tourism: tourists prefer to witness the World Heritage Sites and other cultural resources of the traveled country.
- 7) Sport and recreation tourism: people either take part in the activity or just watch sport events, such as soccer world cup 2015 and volleyball world grand prix 2017.

3.3.1 Hedonistic Tourism

Of these categories above, hedonistic tourism especially needs attention if one is to interrogate tourism in the case of the Nana precinct.

Goossens proposed a conceptual model that shows push, pull, and hedonic factors (Goossens, 2000). It means that tourists are pushed by emotional needs while pulled by emotional benefits. These are related in pleasure-seeking and accompanying behaviour. This concept is known as the affective and motivational reaction from customers to managers, as provoked by promotional stimuli.

Gu (Gu, 2004) noted that Macau is an Asian gambling destination for casino players. While it does compete with Las Vegas in the USA, Macau will also try to compete with Hong Kong for non-gambling visitors from around the world. In this context,

Song and Witt (Song and Witt, 2006) explored the forecast tourist flows to Macau from eight major origin countries during 2003-2008. Different tourists revealed different needs to satisfy themselves.

Sundstrom and Lundberg and Giannkis (Sundstrom and Lundberg and Giannkis, 2011) studied different tourist shopping types based on their motivation at different shopping destination and in relation to low prices.

Cohen and Neal (Cohen and Neal, 2012) have previously researched Nana in "A Middle Eastern Muslim Tourist Enclave in Bangkok". Middle Eastern Muslim tourists play hedonistic opportunities against religiously prescribed services. Gulf Arab sex tourists in the early 1980s became a center for sexual service to Middle Eastern visitors. Middle Eastern hedonistic tourists came to a quite specific hotel. Later, Middle Eastern medical tourists and their family sought treatment in a nearby hospital. They reflected upon the relationship of the enclave with the wider international tourist zone.

The observation to be made here is that hedonistic tourism defines a type of traveler seeking pleasure, for only recreation and fun activities such as gambling, shopping and sexual servicing, but not for business.

3.3.2 Medical Tourism

Many researchers have offered some measure of understanding of medical tourism. For example,

Connell (Connell, 2005) noted that medical tourism linked directly to medical intervention, so a tourism niche has emerged to satisfy customer's needs. Further, (Connell, 2006) studied patients' travel across seas for operations; especially for cosmetic surgery. Many Asian countries are dominant in this industry. Finally, the rise of medical tourism emphasizes the globalization of both tourism and health care.

Cohen (Cohen, 2008) noted that foreign demand for medical treatment has been rising, because hospitals offer high quality and ready accessibility of medical services at reasonable prices. Visitors will then combine treatment with vacationing.

Parsiyar (Parsiyar, 2009) cited that medical care in the United States failed to satisfy many Americans, because some could not afford to pay. They would travel to obtain cheaper medical care in Latin America. Thus, the medical tourism market plays a major role in the globalization of a health care industry.

Pornphol and Naveevong and Chittayasothorn (Pornphol and Naveevong and Chittayasothorn, 2015) studied medical tourism in Thailand, seeing it as one of the top three in the world. Many medical tourists have had medical treatments such as beauty treatment, surgery and cosmetic surgery. Hospitals have the expert doctors, advanced equipment and high technologies, especially at reasonable prices. Moreover, Thailand has the added attraction of many tourist attractions with affordable prices, many kinds of food and convenient accommodation.

Noree and Hanefeld and Smith (Noree and Hanefeld and Smith, 2016) investigated the magnitude and characteristics of medical tourism in Thailand and the impact of tourism to the Thai economy and health system. The number of medical tourists is around 1.2 million per year. They bring economic benefits to Thailand and positive effects on the health system.

In the specific case of the Nana enclave, Edey (Edey, 2002) noted that the Bumrungrad International Hospital, in the heart of the city's Muslim enclave, was resplendent with prayer rooms, halal kitchens and Arabic interpreters in Bangkok.

Medical tourism defines many medical tourists to the Nana area, seeking medical treatments such as surgery, beauty treatment and cosmetic surgery in a developing country, combined with vacationing. Thailand offers affordable medical care, advanced equipment and technologies and high levels of the doctor's expertise.

Finally, the Nana precinct presents two dominant forms of tourism - hedonistic tourism and medical tourism.

3.4 Tourist Definition

Cooper and Fletcher and Gilbert and Wanhill (Cooper and Fletcher and Gilbert and Wanhill, 1998, p. 79) observed tourists' purposes for their visits including holidays, visiting friends and relatives and business. They noted (1998: 11-12) that tourists are represented in a heterogeneous group with different experiences, characteristics, personalities and demographics. There are two basic types of tourists.

- 1) Basic tourists can be divided between domestic and international tourists.
- 2) Special tourists can be described by "purpose of visit category," such as leisure and recreation, other tourism purposes and business and professional activities.

The World Tourism Organization (WTO) (1991) stated that tourism can also mean temporarily staying in a location while in transit to a destination region.

In conclusion, "tourist" defines someone visiting a place with pleasure and interest, possibly on holiday with different purposes i.e. leisure and recreation, other tourism purposes and business and professional activities.

3.5 Tourist Destinations

Laws (Laws, 1995, p. 8) noted that destinations in terms of tourism mean places that are usually larger areas and that include many attractions with services and infrastructure. Not all destinations are created equally. They may also be classified as primary and secondary destinations due to many factors such as size, scale, popularity, interesting attractions, significances, management and promoting, etc.

3.5.1 Primary Destinations are usually the first priority for tourists because they have more potential than others to attract visitors and are closely linked to the image of the destination as promoted in marketing campaigns, i.e. floating market, the Emerald Buddha, and the Grand Palace in the case of Bangkok.

3.5.2 Secondary Destinations are those that enhance the tourist experience, but are not part of the major destination. They act like supporting destinations because they do not possess any pulling power of their own and cannot bring tourists to the secondary destinations. Secondary destinations provide a cultural menu of attractions for a destination. They can be seen as supplementary attractions able to serve as breaks for a long journey. They can also provide a place for rest and refreshment, enhance diversity to tourist experiences in providing vital additions to a ready-made market or to primary destinations i.e. medical tourism, hedonistic tourism and sex tourism.

In this context, the Indian community of Nana is to be considered a secondary destination.

Interpretation

4. Interpretation

Many researchers give definitions and objectives of interpretation, often in considerable detail.

4.1 Interpretation Definition

Tilden (Tilden, 1997, p. 8) gave definitions of interpretation that aim to reveal relationships and meanings by using original objects with first time experience and illustrative media.

Uzzell (Uzzell, 1989, p. 3) stated that “interpretation has been referred to as novel way of peppering up tired tourist attractions and giving them a value-added component”, adding that

“if interpretation is to be a source of social good then it must recognize the continuity of history and alert us to the future through the past. Interpretation should be interesting, engaging, enjoyable, informative and entertaining. But now and again it has to be shocking, moving and provide a cathartic experience”.

McArthur (McArthur, 1996, p. 88) argued that the aims of interpretation are: enriching tourists’ experiences, developing awareness of the heritage being visited, managing resources and understanding of managers and heritage programs. A model interpretation plan would ensure that it (1) is placed in a heritage management strategic plan; (2) is staged; (3) is monitored, evaluated and changed when needed.

Carter (Carter, 1997, p. 11) noted that special places are interpreted such as an area of countryside, a building, a town, an object, an industry, an historical event or period and a collection of objects. However, good interpretation also needs to satisfy customers for business such as making money and more selling.

Aplin (Aplin, 2002, p. 37) noted that language is interpreted differently by different groups of visitors, posing a real problem presentation in a city like Bangkok, even more so in polyglot Nana.

Staiff and Bushell (Staiff and Bushell, 2003, p. 10) explained that natural and cultural heritages are interpreted for international tourists. They further noted (Staiff and Bushell, 2004, p. 8) that interpretation seeks to communicate the value and significance of objects.

ICOMOS (ICOMOS, 2008) defines interpretation as: a full range of potential activities intended to heighten public awareness and enhance understanding of a cultural heritage site. The role of interpretation is to present the significance of heritage value in a relevant and accessible manner to the host community and the visitor, with appropriate, stimulating and contemporary forms of education, media, technology and personal explanation of historical, environmental and cultural information from a charter of interpretation and presentation that is well-intentioned to protect cultural heritage sites.

4.2 Objectives of Interpretation

Tilden (Tilden, 1997, p. 8) outlined six interpretation principles. Principle I: any interpretation that does not somehow relate what is displayed to something within the visitors' experience will be sterile. Principle II: information is not interpretation. Principle III: interpretation is an art. Principle IV: the main aim of interpretation is not instruction, but provocation. Principle V: interpretation should present a whole rather than a part. Principle VI: interpretation should follow a fundamentally approach.

ICOMOS (ICOMOS, 2008) has declared certain objectives or principles in its Charter: principle 1: Access and understanding; principle 2: Information Sources; principle 3: Attention to Setting and Context; principle 4: Preservation of Authenticity; principle 5: Planning for Sustainability; principle 6: Concern for inclusiveness; and principle 7: Importance of Research, Training, and Evaluation.

Although many researchers of interpretation have defined many words about 'interpretation,' nevertheless these above articulated in the principles of Tilden and ICOMOS are still very relevant today and are referred to in many interpretation subjects.

In conclusion, interpretation means to express ideas about the intended meaning of languages, objects and visitor's experience by using media. The Indian community of the Nana district presents just such a challenge.

4.3 Types of Interpretation

There are many ideas and arguments regarding interpretation. For present purposes, we will review the literature that would seem relevant to the themes of the five questions developed in Chapter 1 above, namely issues of spectacle, diversity, commodification, political economy and tourism.

4.3.1 Spectacle

Many researchers have conducted research in the topic of spectacle, also theorizing it extensively. For instance,

Debord (Debord, 1983, p. 11) said that the modern concept of "spectacle" refers to the domination of consumer society and media images over the individual, while the concept of the spectacle refers to consumers organized around the production and consumption of images and commodities

Baudrillard (Baudrillard, 1985, p. 129) has emphasized that fake label brand name are consumed rather than the real brand name because those former were referred to as spectacle. He noted further (1988: 22) that "in order to become the object of consumption, the object must become a sign".

Urry (Urry, 1990, p. 86) notably advanced the idea of the tourist gaze, emphasizing the importance of the visual and the gaze for visitors to whom the world

presents as spectacle. He further notes (Urry, 1995, p. 132) that places are chosen to be gazed upon, because there is the fantasy of intense pleasure. Urry calls this anticipated outcome the “tourist gaze”. Quite specifically, he argued (Urry, 2002, p. 45) that costumes attract the tourist gaze.

Gotham (Gotham, 2002) examined that the Mardi Gras celebration in New Orleans as an entertainment destination. The paper used the concepts of commodification and spectacle in urban tourism, also the political economy of tourism in New Orleans.

McKercher and Hilary (McKercher and Hilary, 2002, pp. 132-133) argued that the person is made a spectacle in tourism. He/she will have a specially important experience in becoming spectacle.

Dirsuweit and Schattauer (Dirsuweit and Schattauer, 2004) said that it is a chance to claim the city that is less tourist spectacle. The city is not messy so it is less spectacle for tourists.

Williams (Williams, 2006) suggested that marketing innovation has been overlooked in tourism, hospitality marketing and promotion. The need is to understand marketing theory and to conduct research with hospitality and tourism components.

Porananond (Porananond, 2014) noted the process of traditional beliefs and practices by splashing water and using sand in the Songkran Festival in Chiang Mai, Northern Thailand. The festival influenced tourism, the accompanying commoditization process and the development of a market economy while the festival eroded the significance of Buddhism in the local communities in Chiang Mai.

King and Varavarn (King and Varavarn, 2017) cited Bangkok as a city of mutual intrusions and the hybrid spaces-Buddhist, Christian, Muslim, Thai and Chinese. Moreover, it is notable that the street markets are seen as the realm of fakes, the pirated brand, advertising and billboards etc. They see lower Sukhumvit – the area of Nana – as indeed a realm of spectacle.

In conclusion, spectacle defines an unusual or unexpected situation attracting visitor’s interest and their past experiences such as an ambiguity of labels and, in the Nana precinct, disorders.

4.3.2 Diversity

Many researchers have researched in multi-cultural landscapes in detail.

Rimmawi and Ibrahim (Rimmawi and Ibrahim, 1992) noted that, for Muslims, tourism is a waste of time because Muslim people should spend time in pleasing only God (Allah). Moreover, tourism was not suitable for Muslims due to activities such as swimming with swimming suits. The Muslim cultural landscape has been changed with modernization flowing from tourism.

Edensor (Edensor, 2000) explored that a diversity of tourists walks as a performers and how they are formed on the street. It means that they look like performers on the street when we look around that area.

Staiff and Bushell (Staiff and Bushell, 2003) have said that cross-cultural translation is a dimension of multicultural societies.

Liu (Liu, 2005) said that the local gaze transformed the tourist gaze such as through heritage and cultural preservation. Thus, Hawaii has many cultures in a milieu of ethnic harmony, humanitarianism and a powerful economy. The city of Las Vegas diversified from gambling into family, entertainment, shopping.

Evans and Evans (Evans and Evans, 2009) noted that a variety of commodities is available for shoppers such as faked Rolex watches, DVDs and CDs for a little money. Nightlife is colorful with theme parks and venues for rock concerts. Finally, English is widely spoken for visitors. Sometimes when sellers do not fully understand, they just smile and say "Yes" all the time.

Ashworth and Page (Ashworth and Page, 2011) researched urban tourism's expansion since the 1980s. The phenomenon was examined in the context of urban studies and the notion of world cities, as urban tourism became integrated into these academic debates.

Jafari and Scott (Jafari and Scott, 2014) studied Western concepts reflected in travel and hedonistic tourism, noting that the number of Muslim travelers has increased in the tourism industry. Alternative perspectives can offer new insights and inform tourism.

Wong and McKercher and Li (Wong and McKercher and Li, 2014) explored Goossens' concept of motivational modes in hedonic tourism by linking cultural interest, cultural travel motivation, destination constraints and hedonic responses. Moreover, past travel experience affects cultural interest and cultural travel motivation.

Pielichaty (Pielichaty, 2015) explored gender as negotiated in the festival area. People celebrate to enjoy a break from the routine of every day work.

King and Varavarn (King and Varavarn, 2017) cited Bangkok as a city with mutual intrusions and hybrid spaces-Buddhist, Christian, Muslim; Thai and Chinese. Moreover, it is notable that the street markets are seen as the venue of fakes, the pirated brand, advertising and billboards etc. Bangkok displays both formal and informal urban spaces such as Klong Toei and the Khlong Phra Khanong bank, challenging the tourist's understanding of both the city and its society.

In conclusion, a dimension of diversity defines people living in one area, deriving from various religions, origin countries and beliefs. The Nana enclave is multi-national with Western people, Middle-Easterners, wealthy Thais and Asians.

4.3.3 Commodification

Many researchers have conducted extensive research in the topic of commodification.

Pretes (Pretes, 1995) examined that a Santa Claus Village in the city of Rovaniemi was developed in Lapland to understand why tourists visit such attractions. Some would argue that Santa Claus is the intangible attraction of Christmas; hence here it becomes commodification. It meant that tourists could consume intangible Christmas concepts.

Cohen (Cohen, 1998) noted that commoditization is to be reexamined related to the mode of tourist experience. However, it is argued that the meaning of cultural products is not destroyed by commodification.

Clancy (Clancy, 2002) noted the commodity chains linking international processes and the local sex tourism industry, constituting the production and consumption of an illicit global commodity. However, sexual services have become a global sex tourism industry.

Medina (Medina, 2003) studied how cultural commoditization for tourism has affected Maya traditional practices in Belize. Even though the majority of Maya villagers had ignored Maya identity, they still responded to the tourism demand for Mayan cultural representations by using new channels. Finally, they reclaim Maya identity.

Williams (Williams, 2006) examined how marketing innovation has been overlooked in tourism, hospitality marketing and promotion. There is a need for an understanding of marketing theory and research with a focus on hospitality and tourism.

As a conclusion, commodification suggests the use of products and services to make a large enough profit to support the Nana economy.

4.3.4 Political Economy

Researchers have also produced significant studies in the area of political economy that are relevant to the Nana situation.

Leheny (Leheny, 1995) noted that sex tourism has led to economic and political transformations. Sex tourism demand can exceed supply, so that developed countries such as Japan seek sex destinations.

Rojek and Urry (Rojek and Urry, 1997) said that taste, fashion and identity are determinants of a set of economic activities in terms of tourism.

Gray (Gray, 2000) noted that a region's political economy has influenced outcomes in the tourism sector of every country, especially in North Africa. However, it depends on the strategic and developmental challenges of tourism in North Africa.

Pietikainen and Kelly – Holmes (Pietikainen and Kelly – Holmes, 2011) noted that an ambiguity of souvenir labels was linked to the local political economy of language in Inari. Buying souvenirs is a part of tourists' experience.

Wang and Bramwell (Wang and Bramwell, 2012) brought a political economy perspective to the government's role in China. Policy making protects heritage and tourism development, but tourism development still remained a prominent driver.

King and Dovey (King and Dovey, 2013) explored that urban informality in cities of developing countries arises in gaps of the formal spaces of cities. The argument of the paper is that a new and potentially transformational level of invasion comes with the tourist's gaze, the intrusions of global media and so on.

As a conclusion, political economy defines the acts of buying and selling, production, consumption and the relationships to laws, customs and government' policy.

Nana Precinct and Related Researches

5. Nana Precinct and Related Researches

Following chapters will be preoccupied with the Indian commercial community of Nana in Bangkok's lower Sukhumvit corridor and its linked tourism precinct. They will especially address the paradox of intersection cultures. This literature review needs to conclude with some discussion of a few other studies that have explored instances of multicultural intersections in Bangkok, for Nana may be unique but it is certainly not alone.

The discussion begins with the briefest reference to some previous writings on the Nana precinct, then to a few other studies of other such precincts that can yield some partial context in which to consider Nana.

Askew and Logan (Askew and Logan, 1994, pp. 100-102) cited that the Indian businessman A.E. Nana was an entrepreneur with landholding in the lower Sukhumvit area. The rice-growing district at lower Sukhumvit stretched to the east towards Khlong Prakanong. The lower Sukhumvit area had another name, "Bangkapi," and Prakanong became a major suburban area. A.E.Nana had sold much of the land on Sukhumvit Road. By the mid-1970s Sukhumvit Road was lined with shophouses and hotels. Many buildings were built to service the American GI's on R&R. The Nana sites were local market places with the main roads attracting rapid commercial development.

Pitayathorn (Pitayathorn, 2014) studied "The identity of Nana-Asoke district," emphasizing both tangible and intangible cultural identity. This revealed the identity of the Nana-Asoke enclave as "an international multi-culture of Indians and Arabs for recreational tourism".

King (King, 2017) cited that Bangkok's Nana precinct consists of an Indian community, while tourists have continually changed from American servicemen, to Westerners, Middle-Easterners and Asian groups. An accidental urban theme park is approached through four perspectives: (1) spectacle, (2) cultural destabilization, (3) political economy and (4) global transformation.

In conclusion, the Nana precinct was researched emphasizing both intangible and tangible cultural identity, international multi-cultural intrusions from American servicemen, Westerners, Middle-Easterners to Asians respectively. In addition, it was interpreted (in King, 2017) in four perspectives: (1) spectacle, (2) cultural destabilization, (3) political economy and (4) globally transformation.

Some Related Researches

Four conceptually related studies will be referred to following; these have also addressed multicultural (multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-economy) communities that can "sharpen the eye" as it observes Nana.

Varavarn (Varavarn, 2007) studied "Landscapes of Consumption and Hidden Heritage of Sukhumvit Road". Sukhumvit is an over-built, congested and muddled urbanized developed form. It has been a center of western tourists with bars, hotels and prostitutes since the 1960s. Sukhumvit is a place of diverse cultures that have continued from the past to the present. Additionally, this research analyzes the significance of a Thai viewpoint and of its characteristics. It led to an understanding of Thai responses to globalization.

Sirthammasak (Srithammasak, 2010) studied the "Conservation of Kudijeen Community for cultural tourism"—the conservation of a historic community can maintain traditional values and identity. This research emphasizes both physical and cultural significance. Thus, the objective was to investigate the cultural significance of Kudijeen community, which consists of different ethnic and religious groups posing their own cultures. This study proceeded through the following steps 1) history and evolution of the community 2) cultural significance assessment in terms of historic value, aesthetic value, scientific value and social value including the impacts from tourism on Kudijeen community.

Phungwong (Phungwong, 2011) studied "the interpretation of European settlements (such as Portugal, Dutch and French) on the Chao Phrya River during the Ayutthaya era". This objective was to interpret the influence of European settlements of the Chao Phraya River bank during the 15th to 17th centuries. In addition, the researcher sought to understand why they came to Siam and the reasons behind that decision. The dissertation studied historical sites and cultural heritage to explore the Europeans' life and their activities.

Kaewdang (Kaewdang, 2014) studied "Developing the interpretation of the ancient settlements, the Portuguese, the Dutch and the Japanese at Ayutthaya," based

on the vestiges of three ancient settlements, of the Portuguese, the Dutch and the Japanese. The study sought the views and practices of the three immigrants groups making decisions to settle there. Moreover, political, economic and social factors can be interpreted for better understanding of the historical background of the Ayutthaya area.

To conclude, like Kudijeen, the Chaophraya riverbank settlements and old Ayutthaya, lower Sukhumvit has been a place of diverse cultures, stretching to the present. Studies of these other areas can help to explain how this has led to globalization of the area. The background of such a site can usefully be interpreted in relation to political, economic and social factors.



Chapter 3

The Indians in Bangkok

No one knows exactly when the Indians immigrated to Thailand. However, evidence indicates that a relationship between Thailand and Indian people has existed for a very long time. Such evidence includes drama performances based on stories from the Ramakian period that were adapted from the Indian Ramayana (Beek, 2016, p. 79). Others include spices, jewelry, salt, and woven Indian cloth. The Indian cultural background migration to Thailand has nine parts: Indians' migration to Thailand, religion, costume, architecture, food, language, education, career and law. These relate to the Indians' history in Bangkok in detail and will be considered sequentially, following.

Indians' Migration to Thailand

3.1 Indians' Migration to Thailand

3.1.1 The Way of Indian Life

The influx of people migrating to Thailand included nationalities from India, Pakistan, Laos, Myanmar, and Vietnam, but especially Indians. Indian merchants from the Chola and Pallava dynasties came to Thailand. They exchanged goods with villages along the southern peninsula. They were established by 1275 in the Sukhothai era of 1238–1420 (Beek, 2016, p. 28). This introduced the Thai people to fabrics from India, mostly Chowls (ผ้าลาย) (Sahee, 2003, p. 4).

During the Ayutthaya era in 1350–1767, the arrival of Brahmans from Angkor Thom in Cambodia influenced Thai culture. Brahman priests were responsible for many royal ceremonies. There were many Braham temples in Sukhothai and Ayutthaya. It is important that the Giant Swing ceremony was influenced from Brahman religion. A team of four men was swung very high into the air in order to snatch a small gold bag hanging from a tall pole (Beek, 2016, p. 79). The Braham temple and the Giant Swing are situated across the road from Bangkok's Wat Suthat. The cloth district was in the Tungmark (ทุ่งหมาก) district and the Chakiatyai (ฉะไกรใหญ่) district. The bestseller in Siam was clothing from India in many kinds of fabric (Sahee, 2003, p. 4).

In the Thonburi era in 1767–1782, Thai people continued to exchange goods with the people of India.

During the early Rattanakosin era in 1782-1855, Thailand exported elephants and tin into India, while Thailand imported many kinds of clothes from India (Somdetgromprayadamrongrajanuphap, 1962, p. 144). Indian fabric was needed in Thai society and so Indian merchants traveled and sold their products in South East Asia.

Prior to the Bowring Treaty of 1855 during the King Rama IV (Mongkut) era, the economy of Thailand was self contained. The process of division of labor could not be developed by specialization (Hussain, 1982, p. 36). Thailand was not strong enough economically compared to other countries.

In 1855 John Bowring was invited by King Rama IV, the governor of Britain's opium capital from Hong Kong, to negotiate a trade treaty (Baker and Phongpaichit, 2005, p. 45). Later King Rama IV signed the Bowring Treaty with the United Kingdom of Great Britain in the same year. This caused international traders to visit Thailand to launch new products. Moreover, there was progress in the process of division of specialized labor leading to rapid economic growth in Thailand (Sahee, 1991, p. 1)

The Bowring Treaty radically changed the social and economic condition in Thailand and altered the threat of colonialism. Siam or Thailand collected within its borders very different histories, languages, cultures, religions and traditions (Baker and Phongpaichit, 2005, pp. 46-47). International companies had a new location in Thailand. New businesses were situated in Thailand such as import-export businesses, insurance companies, banking and shipping. The Bowring Treaty caused international people to come to Thailand; especially the Indians.

Before the Bowring Treaty, the Thai people's dress was very simple with long local fabric. Generally men and women had no upper cloth. Some women from high nobility wore Jukaben (จุกกระเบน), which are similar to trousers without sewing. The Thai people began ordering fabric during the King Rama I to III era for royal families, noblemen, and high society as in figure 3.



Figure 3: Women's dress in King Rama I – III era

Source: the author, on January 31st, 2017

Indian merchants originally came from western India. They were Muslim from Bombay or from Surat in Gujarat State. These latter merchants were fabric experts,

because that state produced and exported clothes. Fabric from Gujarat was imported for princes and the noble families. Those products were not for general people.

After the Bowring Treaty, King Rama IV ordered people attending court to wear an upper cloth in order to appear more civilized. However, just a few in high society had sufficient purchasing power to buy a lot of Indian fabric. Furthermore, cloth was the largest item of nonessential Southeast Asian expenditure and the major imports of Thailand were brightly colored and woven Indian cloth (Reid, 1988, p. 26). Meanwhile, Thai people grew crops in order to make more money for economic growth. Import tax was not only low, but the cost of fabric was also low. The general Thai population now had purchasing power to buy Indian cloth. Due to the high number of orders for fabric, machines began replacing handmade looms to keep up with demand. Later fabric' prices from industrial production became cheaper than local hand-made clothes.

Chowls (ผ้าลาย) played an important role in Thailand. Thai values and taste favored chowls. In addition to Indian merchants, the Chinese, Western, and Japanese merchants played important roles as well. Prior to World War I (WWI), Thailand also ordered textiles from Western countries, especially the United Kingdom. Later India produced such textiles as well. During WWI the United Kingdom could not send goods, therefore textiles were sent by Japan instead. Chinese merchants took Japanese textiles to sell to local people in other provinces. This led to Chinese and Indian merchants competing with each other. Due to the increase in population, decrease in import tax and the expansion of the textile business to the general public, imported fabric from abroad was cheap. Chinese merchants used to order Japanese clothes, however Chinese merchants made decision to against Japanese products. Therefore, Chinese merchants were replaced by Indian merchants (Sahee, 2003, pp. 213-214). It is obvious that the textile trade flourished. Indian merchants had a lot of chowls to sell to Thai people and, in addition, Thai people ordered fabric from textile industries more than hand-made fabric because it was cheaper.

King Rama IV was influenced by Westerners, especially in western style dress. Western textiles and clothes became popular in Thailand. This led to tailor shops opening and owned by Westerners, followed by Chinese people, Indian people and Thai people. They learnt how to make a shirt and trousers in Western style from the Western owners and then opened a tailor shop. The landscape of Thailand reflected these two sides of Eastern and Western cultures. Royal families and high nobility liked to dress in Western style, as in figure 4.



Figure 4: Women's dress in King Rama IV – V era

Source: the author, on January 31st, 2017

Although no one knows exactly when the Indians first came to Thailand, however, they long participated in Thai society. For example, King Rama V (Chulalongkorn) saw 1,000 Sikh guards in one area. Some women looked tall and big with many children (Chulalongkorn King Rama V, 1964, p. 75). This refers to Sikh guards with turbans who came from India. Furthermore, when King Rama V went to Phuket in 1890, he saw many uniformed policemen who looked different such as Chinese people, Thai people and Indian people, a total of 238 policemen (Chulalongkorn King Rama V, 1964, pp. 122, 144). Indian men apparently worked as policemen and guards in Thailand. One day King Rama V met an Indian man during a visit with the general population. He was a Sikh Indian named “Mr. Kiraparam Madan (นายกิริปาราม มาदान)”. He worked as a trader and travelled around the world. He looked for products to buy and sell in India. While walking his the horse across Thailand, he saw King Rama V. He was happy to meet the King and he offered his horse as a gift. King Rama V was very appreciative. King Rama V then gave him an elephant along with some necessity items. After he returned to his homeland, Mr. Madan gave the elephant to the King of Kashmir. He described his good experiences in Thailand (Sikh religion of Srikurusignsapa, 1999, p. 8). Thus many Indians came to Thailand during the King Rama V era, for many reasons.

3.1.2 Important Reasons to Move to Thailand

An epidemic in 1907 had killed two million Indians. Drought conditions, crop failures, political problems and unemployment were the main causes that Indians moved to Thailand (Sandhu and Mani, 1993, pp. 957-959). Thus, Indians started to move out to other countries in 1910 due to poverty (Sahee, 1991, p. 77). There were four important reasons why they moved to Thailand.

First, from a study of Indians in Thailand, twenty - eight percent (Sidhu, 1993, p. 11) of the Indians said they left their homeland in order to look for better opportunities, implying that their homeland could not sustain their incomes and way of life.

Second, most Sikh Indians were in Punjab state under Pakistan whereas Pakistan was a land of Muslims and India was mostly a land of Hindu and Sikh. Thus some Sikh Indians moved out from Pakistan to India, then to other countries after India had gained independence in 1947, as they could not stay in Pakistan where the Sikhs was surrounded by Muslims. Twenty four percent (Sidhu, 1993, p. 11) of the Indians immigrated to Thailand in the late 1940s and especially in 1948.

Third, twenty percent of Indians (Sidhu, 1993, p. 11) said they had no choice, because their parents brought them to Thailand (Sidhu, 1993, p. 11).

Last, Thailand was a peaceful and attractive place, because foreign people could work and run their businesses there.

The majority of Indians are Hindus, followed by the Sikhs including two sects, Namdari and Akari, also Muslims and Christians (Hussain, 1982, pp. 88-89; Singh, 1952, p. 260). Inthira Sahee has noted that the last were also divided into three sects – Keshdharis, Sahajdharis and Namdharis (Sahee, 2003, p. 36). However, most Indians in Thailand are Sikhs. More than seventy percent of Sikh Indians in Thailand previously lived in Gujranwala city and Shekhu Pura city. When India became independent from Great Britain in 1947, some made the decision to move out to other countries.

3.1.3 Three Routes to Thailand

Indians arrived in Bangkok by three routes. The first was from India to Penang and from Penang to Singapore by ship. Later they typically took a train or a bus to Bangkok. They stayed in the provincial towns of southern Thailand before moving to Bangkok.

The second route was from India to Penang and then from Penang to Phuket, also by ship. Then they moved into Bangkok.

The third route was from Myanmar to the North of Thailand by local transport. They spent some time in Myanmar towns in order to reach northern Thailand thence to reach Bangkok (Sahee, 1991, pp. 35-36; Sandhu and Mani, 1993, p. 959).

The Indian immigrants settled through out many parts of Thailand. Some stayed in the north in the Chiang Mai province. Others stayed in the east in Pattaya city in Chonburi province. They also settled in the northeast in Nakornpanom province while some also decided to stay in Pahurat, Sampeng and elsewhere in Bangkok. The early market area of Sampheng had sprawled south east in a cluster of streets and markets with different specializations. Furthermore, the family typically lived above and worked below in the characteristic two-storey shophouse (Baker and Phongpaichit, 2005, p. 101). These areas were filled not only with Chinese shrines,

but also with a gurdwara reflecting the presence of both Chinese people and Indian people there. At first, young men would come to Thailand to set up business, then return to India.

Later, an Indian person might persuade his family and relatives to stay in Thailand, in turn fostering wider relationships. However, Indians still felt Thailand was a place to work while India was their birth place. The more Indians came to Thailand, the bigger the Indian society became.

Family, friends and relatives migrated to Thailand and settled down in Bangkok, especially after WW II (1939–1945). They felt a strong need to stay and help each other. They were also compelled by a strong need to do something together such as religious ceremony and praying. Indian people are divided into many religions. Many Indians migrating to Thailand came from Punjab state in the north of India where the majority of Sikh Indians lived, although Punjab state also has Sikh and Hindu Indians (Vaid, 1993, pp. 296-299). However, the main focus here is on Sikh Indians, because the majority of Indians in Bangkok are Sikh Indian merchants in clothing. From 1912 to 1913, they set up a wooden gurdwara to be the center of worship among the Sikhs (Poolthupya, 2008, p. 675). This gurdwara was rented by Sikh Indians, situated in Pahurat. They had every day service for several years. In 1927, the textile business was flourishing with best textiles sold such as jacoet, muslin, chowls (Sahee, 1991, pp. 30-31). Thus, Sikh Indians collected enough money to buy land and build a new five story gurdwara so that a new permanent gurdwara was established with 41,200 baht in 1932 (Hussain, 1982, p. 43). Before World War II (WW II), many Indian people visited and observed Thailand. When they returned to their homeland, they persuaded their friends, relatives and families to go and work in Thailand. After WW II, Indians took their families and relatives to Thailand as textile traders. They began to settle and had shop houses in Pahurat, Sampeng, and Baan Mor (King Rama IX's Royal duties in terms of Sikh religious patronage, 1987, pp. 62-63; Narksuwan, 2013, p. 1).

Later, the gurdwara was bombed during World War II. The bombing did not destroy the whole gurdwara; however several hundreds who took shelter there were hurt. This incident was seen as a miracle by the Sikh community (Poolthupya, 2008, p. 675). The gurdwara has become an expression of cultural identity and Sikh presence in Bangkok, Thailand (Sandhu and Mani, 1993, p. 932). After the war, single men came first and then families (Sandhu and Mani, 1993, p. 915).

After WWII, Indians with their family, friends, and relatives stayed together mostly in Pahurat and Sampeng. Indians formed groups by religion that reinforced Sikh Indians' culture and beliefs within their group. They were happy and also ran their businesses very well. Indians worked in the textile industry such as in a fabric shop or a tailor shop due to their expertise in textiles and their networks. Their fabric samples were colored piece-goods, jacoet, muslin, and chowls (Sahee, 1991, pp. 30-31, 164-172).

The majority of arora merchants or professional traders from Gujarat city were also experts in the textile industry in Thailand. Arora groups used an Indian packman to carry the clothes on his shoulder from door to door.

Although the Chinese dominated Thai businesses, the key factors to Indians' success have been proficiency in English and good service at competitive rates (Sidhu, 1993, pp. 75-83). The Indians could hold an edge over the Chinese textile merchants. Because of religious conflict the Hindu and Sikh Indians in Pakistan did not remain in their country. It is one of many reasons for these people to move from their country, as Indian refugees spread out all around the world after 1947. This led to Hindu and Sikh Indians migrating from Pakistan to other countries such as India, Thailand, Malaysia and so on.

Some Indians moved into Thailand and stayed with their family, friends and relatives, especially in Pahurat, Sampeng, Baan Mor, Ban Khaek, Mahanak, Klongton, Prakanong and Minburi. The Indian community seems to have formed a buffer between the Thai elite and the Chinese along Charoen Krung (Sandhu and Mani, 1993, pp. 925-926). They all can communicate in Punjabi, Hindi or their native tongue to each other. Some areas were limited from expanding such as Sampeng and Pahurat because of laws relating to proximity to the Grand Palace. The Sikhs had at least two choices: to open a tailor shop for overseas visitors, or to open a cloth shop for the local people. Some Sikh Indians worked in the textile business such as import-export while some invested in the real estate business such as apartments and hotels. When Sampeng and Pahurat became too congested, the Indians moved away to Charan Sanitwong Road, Tha Phra, Bang Kae, Baan Khaek Intersection, Sukhumvit Road and so on.

In 1950, Sukhumvit Road was completed. As Indian people looked for other places to expand their business, they turned to Sukhumvit Road between soi 3 and soi 4, also called "Nana".

Religion

3.2 Religion

The Indian community was very fragmented, mostly of different origins and different religions such as Hindu, Muslim, and Sikh (King, 2011, pp. 47-48). There are three Indian categories who migrated to Thailand.

3.2.1 Hindu Indians - the majority of Indians were Hindu Indians who came to Thailand a long time ago. Hindu Indians from many parts of India such as the North, South, and Punjab state had moved to Bangkok from Phuket, Penang and Singapore. Moreover, they participated in the cattle trade and precious-stone mining (Sandhu and Mani, 1993, p. 912). They subsequently settled in Pahurat and Sampeng in Bangkok.

3.2.2 Muslim Indians – Almost all Muslim Indians came as wealthy traders to import British goods and export local goods. Muslims married Thai women who were not of the same religion, as they melted into Thai society. Moreover, people from other religions married and then became Muslims. They always pray five times a day (Smithies, 2005, pp. 21, 25). Some countries allow Muslims to work hours adapted to Friday prayers and to take Muslim holidays off. They can also take holidays to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca (Smithies, 2005, p. 59). Muslim Indians farmers liked to stay together in Ban Khaek, Mahanak, Klongton, Prakanong, and Minburi. Especially, the Oriental Hotel area is a self-sufficient Muslim community. It has a mosque, a graveyard, a religious school and a number of Muslim restaurants in and around the area (Hussain, 1982, p. 53). All Muslim Indians keep a strict rule on their diet in the month of Ramadan due to Islamic belief. A minority of Muslim Indians live and work in the Nana enclave.

3.2.3 Sikh Indians – Sikhism can be defined as a syncretic mixing of Hindu and Muslim beliefs (McLeod, 1997, p. 1; Singh, 1952, p. 61). The homeland of the Sikh religion is the Punjab in north-western India (Cole and Sambhi, 1978, p. 58). Sikh religion teaches that there should be no class discrimination and that people should respect to each other. They should also take control of themselves and know themselves. There are three special characteristics.

1. The Sikh should constantly study the scriptures and meditate upon God and the Gurus' teaching.
2. They should pay 10% of income in serving the community.
3. The most notable appearance of the Sikh is the Five K's. Its purpose is symbolic (Sikh religion of Srikurusignsapa, 1999, pp. 6-7).

The teaching bans followers who are addicted to drugs, eat meat, have relationships with other ladies and cut their hair. The Sikh religion has no priests or monks.

Marriage is strictly between an Indian man and an Indian woman. Sikhs restrict marriage between relatives and with other nationalities. Women move to men's house after marriage to take care of their house and follow the Sikh's strict rules. Funerals should take place quickly according to the Sikhs, normally on the day after death (Cole and Sambhi, 1978, p. 119).

These beliefs made their stay in Thailand peaceful. The Sikh cultural heritage is not only of tangible properties, but also of intangible properties. Intangible cultural heritage represents the variety of living heritage of humanity at any moment. On the other hand, the Sikh characteristics are authenticity of tangible cultural heritage such as the "Five Ks" (McKercher and Hilary, 2002, p. 73). Thus, the Sikhs have their own life styles, characteristics and beliefs.

Some Sikh Indians moved into East and Southeast Asia such as to China and the Philippines. However, significant groups remain in Singapore, Malaysia, and Thailand (McLeod, 1997, p. 254). The Sikh Indian–Thai people follow the Sikh religion strictly. They seek marriage specifically within the Indian community as they still maintain their culture and religion.

Sikh Indians reside in the Punjab state in India but have also established in Sampeng and Pahurat (Grewal, 1990, p. 8). These are predominantly Punjabis engaged in the textile trade (Nakavachara, 1993, p. 951). The majority of the Sikh Indians work as textile traders and in tailor shops (Narksuwan, 2013, p. 1). Pahurat is essentially a Sikh locality (Hussain, 1982, p. 53).

Costume

3.3 Costume

Costume indicates religious identity.

3.3.1 Hindu Costume – The Hindu religion has no costume restrictions so their dress is in common with what might be worn all around the world.

3.3.2 Muslim Costume - Muslim Indian men usually wear a white skullcap and men’ legs are covered while women cover themselves modestly and show only their faces, hands and feet or wear the headscarf and the hijab (Poolthupya, 2008, p. 675; Smithies, 2005, p. 21). Thus that someone in a white skullcap or a hijab will be Muslim.

3.3.3 Sikh Costume - The significant identifiers of the Sikhs are the “Five Ks” (Singh, 1952, p. 259). Men wear their hair and beard unshorn (Kesh), carry a comb in the hair (Kangha), wear a pair of shorts (Kechera), a steel bangle on the right wrist (Kara) and carry a sword (Kirpan) (Cole and Sambhi, 1978, p. 106; Singh, 1952, p. 37). Especially, the turban appears notably in figure 5, indicating that the wearer is Sikh.



Figure 5: the “Five Ks”

Source: the author, on October 13th, 2017

Sikh women commonly wear Saris or Punjabi pants suits even though there is no religious reason for them to do so. The sari has become increasingly popular, worn with a full blouse which covers the midriff. Around their shoulders or over their

heads women wear a muslin scarf. When young women see a stranger, they will use a scarf and then cover their face (Cole and Sambhi, 1978, p. 109). However, it is difficult to see Indian women wearing traditional dress or Saris in Thailand. Nowadays, they all wear western style dresses such as shirt, blouse and trousers (Hussain, 1982, p. 57; Poolthupya, 2008, p. 674).

Most Sikh men wear turbans even with western suits. The turban is the most notable sign of men's clothing. Its purpose is symbolic, but it is not functional (Cole and Sambhi, 1978, pp. 110-111). However, the turban has sometimes been banned for military, policeman, or other uniforms in Western countries, but the Sikhs have usually won the right to have the turban and the restriction was lifted (McLeod, 1997, p. 211). It indicates that whoever wears a turban in a Sikh cultural sense is a Sikh in terms of identity.

The Sikh religion was formally accepted in Thailand in 1969 by religious organizations. They were allowed to take a picture with a turban on identification cards in 1970 and to be trained in the civil service also in 1973 (Kamwang, 2014, p. 374).

Architecture

3.4 Architecture

Religious architecture refer to immovable objects under the category of tangible cultural heritage. Each religion has different architecture.

3.4.1 A Hindu Temple - The Sri Mahamariamman temple is the oldest and most important temple and is located on Silom Road, Bangkok. It was built in 1879 by a Tamil Hindu Indian immigrant. His name was Vaithi Padayatchi. Soi Vaiti, a street off Silom Road, is named after him (Sandhu and Mani, 1993, p. 912). Hindu Indians always come to the Hindu temple on Silom due to the fact that it stands as a symbol of Hindu Indian identity in Bangkok.

3.4.2 A Mosque - A Muslim community will have a mosque, a graveyard, a religious school, and a number of Muslim restaurants in and around a Muslim living area (Hussain, 1982, p. 53). There are many Mosques in Bangkok such as Suan Phlu Mosque, Tonson Mosque, and Bangluang Mosque. However, the Nana enclave has no Mosque because very few Muslim Indians actually live over there.

3.4.3 A Gurdwara - Sikh architecture is most typically expressed in Sikh shrines. All the most important Sikh shrines have a pattern in line with the style of the Golden Temple in Amritsar, with a large dome shaped like a squashed onion surrounded by smaller ones (Singh, 1952, p. 252). The four-storeyed building of the gurdwara is located in the centre of the business district in Pahurat, Bangkok. It reflects that wherever the Sikh is; there will be a gurdwara. Moreover, there are

gurdwaras in the North, the South, and the Northeast of Thailand as well. The Sikhs should visit the gurdwara as often as possible (Cole and Sambhi, 1978, p. 169). The gurdwara has services every day.

Food

3.5 Food

Each religion has different dietary restrictions so that each group should follow their respective religious rules.

3.5.1 Hindu Food - No Beef

The Hindu religion worships cows so that they do not eat beef. Almost all Hindu Indians remain vegetarians and avoid eating beef.

3.5.2 Muslim Food - No Pork

All Muslim Indians have halal food and kept a strict rule on their diet in the one month of Ramadan due to Islamic belief. They regard pigs as unclean so that they do not eat pork. Hence wherever there is halal food, there will be Muslim people around.

3.5.3 Sikh Food – No Meat

Generally, Sikhs' diet is not limited; however some strict Sikh will eat vegetarian food without meat. They avoid pork, chicken, and beef. Some still eat meat, because they forget the Sikh restriction at times.

Language

3.6 Language

Each country and in some cases each religion has its own language such as Hindi, Arabic, Thai, English and Punjabi.

3.6.1 Hindu Language - Hindi

Hindi is largely spoken from Uttar Pradesh in India. Moreover, Hindi is widely used when dealing with other Indian businessmen or employees (Sandhu and Mani, 1993, pp. 915, 968). It indicates Hindu Indian identity.

3.6.2 Muslim Language – Arabic

The formal language of Muslims is Arabic. Muslim Indians speak in their own languages or local languages. Muslim Thai people from the south of Thailand speaking in Yawi are common. Yawi is derived from Arabic and is linked to religion. It is traditionally written with characters used in Arabic (Smithies, 2005, p. 53). Arabic and Yawi languages are indications of a Muslim identity.

3.6.3 Sikh Language – Punjabi

The language of the Sikhs is Punjabi. All people living in the Punjab in both the Pakistan and the Indian provinces speak in Punjabi. Thus, Punjabi is spoken by a larger number of people than many of the other Indian languages in

Punjab state (Singh, 1952, p. 231). It reflects that Sikh language identity is Punjabi. However, they variously speak in English, Thai and Panjabi. Almost all Sikh people will speak in Punjabi within their family. Punjabi or Hindu languages are widely used when dealing with other Indian employees or businessmen (Sandhu and Mani, 1993, p. 968).

Related to language are customs of name giving. The birth of any boy or girl should be welcomed equally as a gift of God (Cole and Sambhi, 1978, p. 112). They are made to drink out of the same bowl and given new names with the suffix “Singh”. “Singh” is given as a boy’s name. It means a strong lion (Cole and Sambhi, 1978, p. 112; Mcleod, 1997, p. 213; Sahee, 1991, p. 45; Singh, 1952, p. 37). On the other hand, a girl is given new names with the suffix “Kaur” which means a beautiful princess. It reflects that whenever “Singh” and “Kaur” appear at the end of their names, they come from a Sikh family.

Education

3.7 Education

Boys tend to study until the age of fourteen or sixteen, while girls are permitted to enter colleges or universities. Indians have tried to conserve their tradition and identity as Indians. Globalization, however, threatens their traditional ways such as in education. Previously, Indian parents used to send their children to India in order to study their culture and prevent them from being totally absorbed into Thai culture. However, modern Indian parents send them to study in a Sikh college in Bangna, among the international schools in Thailand. Some Indian families send their children to the United States so that they can study western culture, advanced technology, and business administration. When they return to Thailand, their behaviors have been changed by western culture. Some Indian parents cannot accept these new behaviors. Younger generations prefer to seek professions matching their educational background such as a doctor, a dentist and a lawyer. They often leave the family business to do “their own thing” while many Indian youths still carry on their father’s business and then expand it with globalization (Poolthupya, 2008, p. 683). Currently they might also refuse to get married early in the Indian tradition (Poolthupya, 2008, p. 683) and adjust more to a modern life style. It is obvious that their education and environment can lead them to leave the family’s business such as in tailor shops and restaurants.

Career

3.8 Career

Indians in the past had two important kinds of careers. First, they sought to work as a policeman (พลตำรวจ) with the government during the King Rama V period. Thai people at that time had no experience in law enforcement. Second, the Thai government hired international guards to protect the city which was needed due to

prosperous trading at that time. The numbers of guards and policemen hired at one time consisted of 179 people comprising of 28 Sikh Indians and 28 Hindu Indians, also others 123 (“Hiring as a policeman”, 1901). Later, Indian policemen were reduced by Thai policy because they were British–Indian people who, under the United Kingdom law were classed as British. Moreover, the government did not trust Indian policemen so that the number of Indian policemen gradually declined. There were two reasons behind the reduction in Indian policemen. First, government policy reduced their number as Indian policemen were never replaced until all Indian policemen had gone. Second, they needed to change their nationality from British-Indian to Thai because the law dictated that a policeman needed to be a Thai citizen. Moreover, a trading career is one of the important religiously sanctioned careers for Indians.

3.8.1 Hindu Indians Careers – They have low education and do not make enough income. They must work as a servant, night watchman, guard, milk seller or a newspaper motorcycle driver. While some have high education and speak English very well, they work as jewelry seller, import–export company owners and textile sellers (Poolthupya, 2008, p. 675).

3.8.2 Muslim Indians Careers - They work as night watchmen, nut hawkers, milkmen, newspaper drivers, textile traders and farmers (Hussain, 1982, p. 57). They produce clothes, salt, sugar, spice and onions. Rich Muslim Indians work with the royal family and relatives in jewelry companies, stationery, import-export companies. Famous Muslim Indians’ last names are Nana, Siamwala, Marica, Sarabi, Magati (Sahee, 1991, pp. 35-40).

3.8.3 Sikh Indians Careers – the immigrants to Thailand comprised some ninety percent aroras or traditionally traders by profession, eight percent jats or traditionally cultivators or farmers (Grewal, 1990, p. 114) and two percent tank sanjar or traditional goldsmiths (Sidhu, 1993, p. 4). First, they tended to work in fellow Sikh shops, because they did not know the Thai language. They might work as a pedlar or a textile trader. Some did not have money enough so that they carried the cloth on their shoulders or on their motor bikes and operated as door-to-door salesmen. They continued to be in this profession until he could open a cloth shop (Sandhu and Mani, 1993, p. 965; Sidhu, 1993, p. 19). Those that do not have shops let customers borrow clothes and pay later. They can thus generate more profit as interest from their clientele. Indian shops are mostly retail shops, selling textiles and related material as well as traditional forms of dress and ornament (Nakavachara, 1993, p. 953). Some became rich and moved into Sukhumvit Road and worked in tailor shops and Indian restaurants.

The settlement of Sikh population in Bangkok can be described as 25 percent at Sukhumvit (Sandhu and Mani, 1993, p. 917) of whom 60 percent are vendors selling textiles (Sandhu and Mani, 1993, p. 922).

According to class discrimination in India, there are five classes, from the highest to the lowest respectively. Indian people are automatically ascribed their status in detail at birth.

1. Priest or monk class (Brahmins) - people follow religious rules as a priest or monk. These people commit their lives to the gods.
2. King or warrior class (Kshatriyas) – people work as a king and a warrior. They help to protect the population from danger.
3. Millionaire or trader class (Vaisyas) – people work as a farmer, a millionaire, and a trader such as arora or trader, jat or farmer. They produce food and generate money for their country.
4. Labor or employee class (Sudras) – people work as an employee.
5. General people class (Pariahs) – people clean toilets, sweep roads and do shoe repair.

A child once born could not change their status or class. People are only allowed to get married within the same class. Marriage across class barriers is prohibited. If a marriage occurs in different classes, the child's status is in a lower class than their parent. For example, a man from a trade class marries a woman from an employee class will result in their child being assigned into the general class.

Sikhs have supplied made-to-order tailor shops variously to American troops, tourists and wealthy Thais, with increasing numbers of tailor shops on Sukhumvit Road (Sandhu and Mani, 1993, p. 917). Indian people have worked as textile traders since the King Rama IV period. The majority of Indian people in this trade are Sikh Indian Thai people working as a tailor shop or restaurant owner or an arora or traditional trader by profession, or third class according to the class discrimination system. They cannot change their status which is mandated by Indian beliefs.

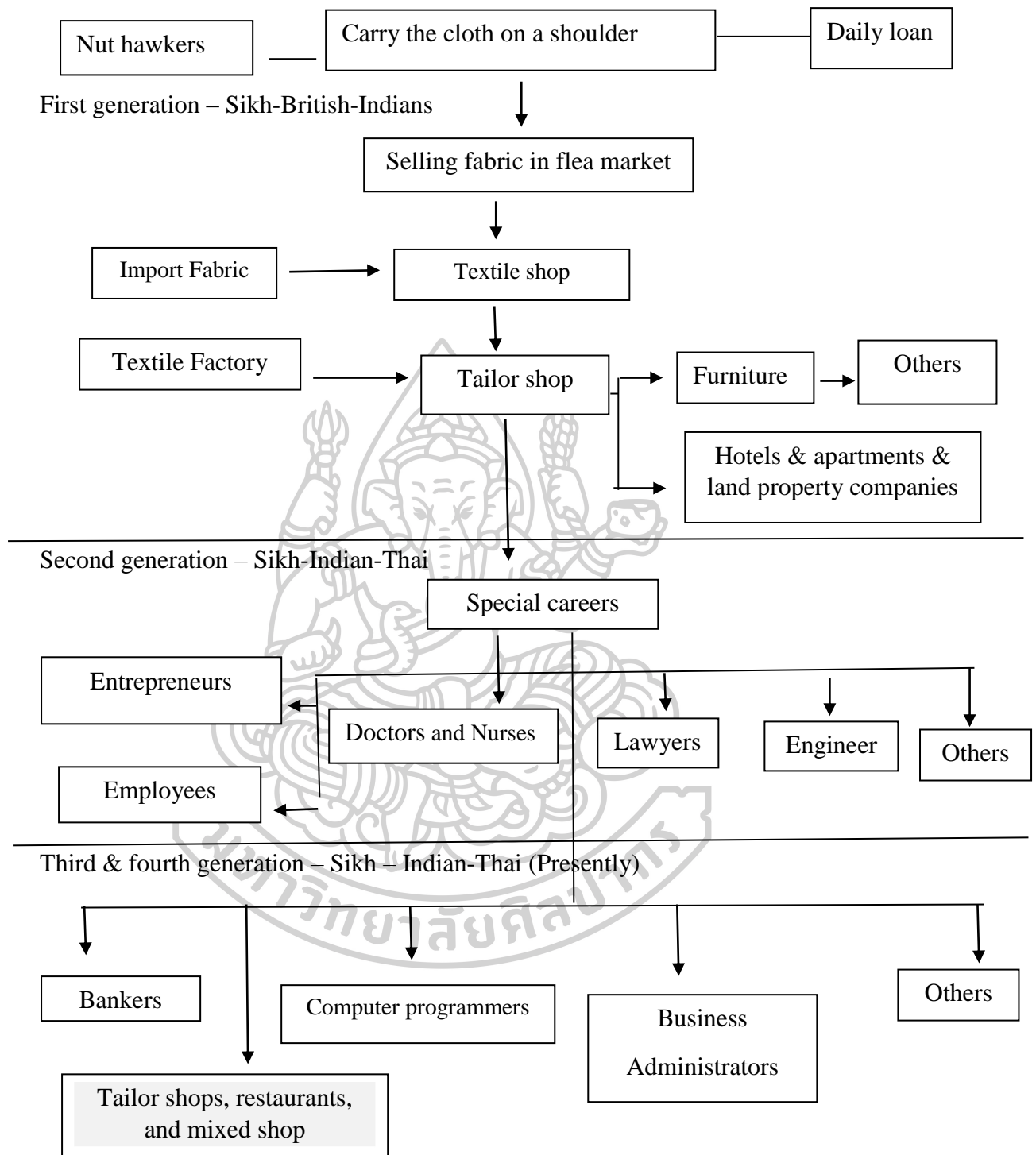


Figure 6: Sikh Indian Thai generations in Thailand

Source: the author, on January 31st, 2017

Figure 6 indicates a Sikh-British-Indian generational scale in Thailand from the first generation coming to Thailand. That first generation typically had many careers such as a nut hawker, a daily loaner, a fabric salesman and so on.

Furthermore, they collected money to buy a new shop to sell fabrics. Some Sikh-British-Indians ran their businesses very well and ordered fabric from abroad to sell to Thai people. Moreover, they might extend their business to a tailor shop to serve customer's need such as for suits, trousers and shirts. Some Indians ran businesses in furniture, hotel, apartment and land property companies.

The second generation, born in Thailand, were called "Sikh Indian Thai". They studied and worked in Thailand. They could speak in Thai, Punjabi, and English fluently. Moreover, they made their own decisions based on education background to work in other careers such as doctors, nurses and lawyers. Many worked with their families.

Presently, third and fourth generations born in Thailand are also called "Sikh Indian Thai". They have been studying and working in many careers such as bankers, computer programmers, business administration, tailor shops and restaurants. (Jim, 2014). They can speak in Thai, English and some Indian languages. A few Sikh Indian Thai still work in diverse lines of business, because they went to school and studied in many universities. Presently the Thai government is encouraging university education. Thus tailor shops do not interest the younger generation (Kamwang, 2014, p. 385) while others remain in the same career as a trader or in other traditional lines of business.

Sikh Indians are presently mainly in business and are better off than other minority groups. Most of them can speak Thai, but prefer to speak an Indian language or Punjabi or English among themselves. They speak a mixture of Punjabi and Thai at home (Sandhu and Mani, 1993, p. 967). Sikh Indians usually deal in the textile business such as in a tailor shop or a fabric shop, particularly in the area of Sukhumvit, while some set up Indian restaurants (Hussain, 1982, p. 57; Poolthupya, 2008, p. 674; Sidhu, 1993, p. 158). Sikh Indians run about 500 tailor shops in Thailand (Sidhu, 1993, p. 158). Skilled workers were successful for further expansion so the successful Indian families sent them to other branches of their businesses even as far away as Singapore, Tokyo, and Hong Kong (Sidhu, 1993, p. 94).

Law

3.9 Law

Most Sikh Indians worked as a textile traders and resided at the capital city of each province. In addition, the Thai government announced a tax policy increase from 3 percent to 5 percent in 1931 (Royal Gazette of Thailand, 1931). Textiles' price from abroad was low so they competed with local textile products. Sikh Indians were peaceful at that time (Hussain, 1982, p. 43), and so government did not pay attention to them because they did not break the laws.

The government had announced that international people must have land property far away from the Grand Palace. The distance was about 5 kilometers but

could include those staying more than 10 years ("Land for International people law", 1924). Thus, they could get that land (Sahee, 1991, pp. 164-172), but had to change their nationality from Indian to Thai before buying land. The Thai government had earlier announced the Nationality Act of 1913: those born inside the borders could claimed the nationality (Baker and Phongpaichit, 2005, p. 65). However, they needed to present evidence of language and ethnic origin. Many Indians also needed to change their nationality to Thai citizen so they could apply to work in military service. For example, Mr. Ampros Lersun (นายเอมโปรศ เลอซัน) was an Indian person of British citizenship. He worked in the civil service; therefore he needed to change his nationality from Indian to Thai ("Nationality changing law", 1911). Thai Indians could establish a closer relationship with Thailand by three means. First, they might acquire Thai citizenship by birth. Second, they might change their name to a Thai name or Thai sounding name. Last, they might participate in Thailand's civic and social activities (Sidhu, 1993, p. 94).

The Indians as Heritage

The Indian residents have been maintaining their own identity from their ancestors since the first generation came to Thailand during the reign of King Rama V. The younger generation has still kept their sense of authenticity until now.

Table 1: Indian identity in different religions

Indians in different religions	Sikh	Muslim	Hindu
The way of life	Following Sikh rules	Following Muslim rules	Following Hindu rules
Career	A merchant	Many careers	Many careers
Costume	Five K's	White skullcap and hijab	In common
Language	Punjabi	Arabic	Hindi
Name giving	Singh and Kaur	None	None
Architecture	A gurdwara	A mosque	A Hindu temple
Food	No meat	No pork	No beef

Source: the author, on May 31st, 2017

Table 1 summaries Indian identity indicators in the various religious traditions. People in each religion follow their respective rules. Indian people follow many careers, with many Sikh Indians working as merchants. Costume can indicate different religions such as Five Ks costume in Sikhism, and white skullcap and hijab in Islam. Language reflects that different languages come via different religions such

as Punjabi for Sikhs, Arabic for Muslims and Hindi for Hindus. A specific name is “Singh” or “Kaur” deriving from Sikh religion. Different religions have their own architectures, such as a gurdwara for Sikhs, a mosque in Islam and a Hindu temple for the Hindu religion. Last, food signifies that religious authenticities differ in ways such as vegetarian food for strict Sikhs, the prohibition on pork for Muslim people and on beef for Hindu people.

Regarding the Indians as heritage, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) defines heritage as a broad concept including tangible assets, such as natural and cultural environments, encompassing landscapes, historic places, sites, and built environments, as well as intangible assets, such as collections, past, and continuing cultural practices, knowledge, and living experience (ICOMOS, 1999, p. 4). Cultural heritage offers a complexity of tangible and intangible cultural heritage, as displayed in figure 7.

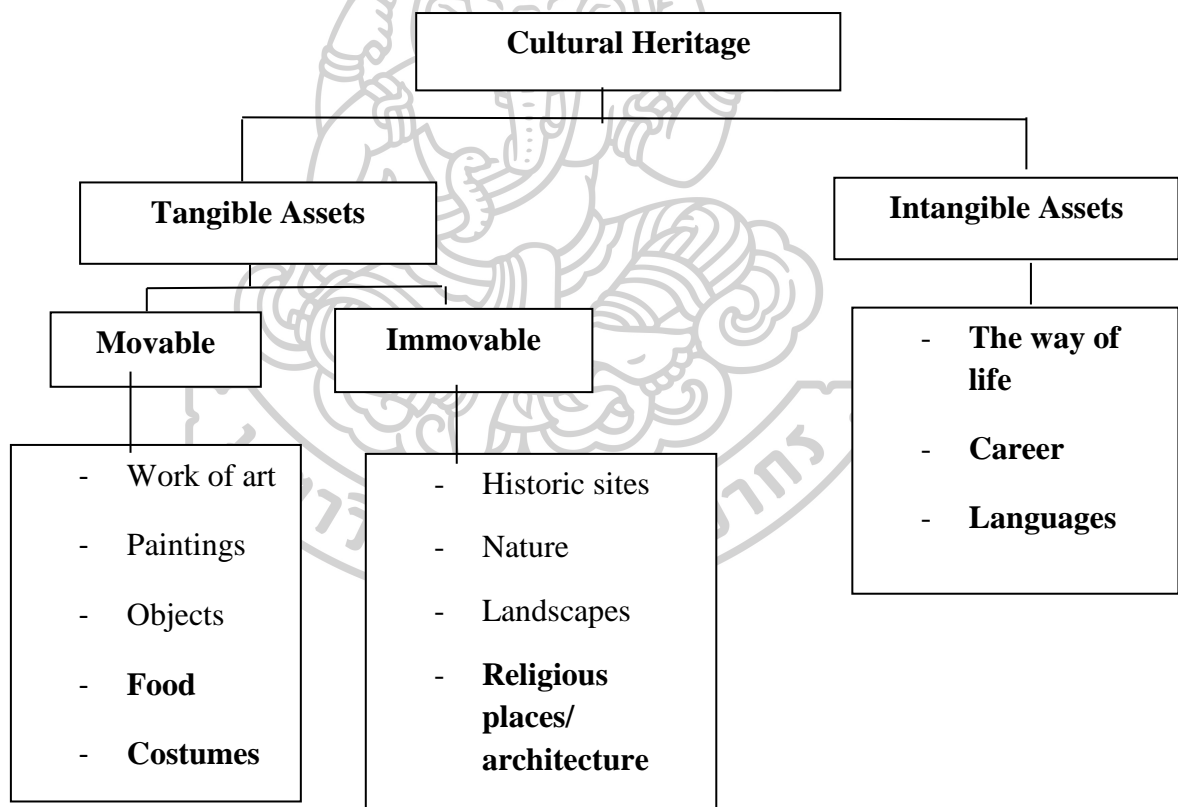


Figure 7: The distinction between tangible and intangible assets of cultural heritage

Source: Adapted from (ICOMOS, 1999, p. 4)

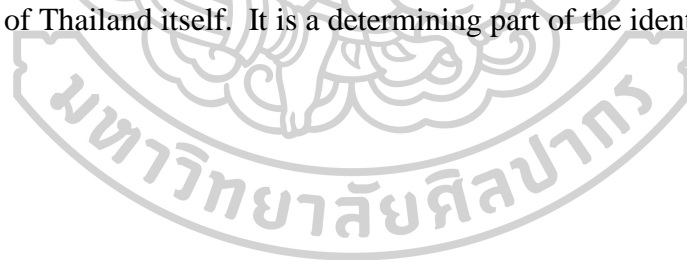
From figure 7, cultural heritage assets can be divided into two main categories. The first is “Tangible Cultural Heritage” that presents itself in a material, tangible

form: movable objects consist of works of art, paintings, objects, food and costumes, immovable objects comprise nature, historic sites, landscape, religious places or architecture. There is a second form of heritage, referred to as “Intangible Cultural Heritage” such as way of life, careers and languages.

Tangible cultural assets are cultural products that can be stored and physically touched. The cultural heritage of humanity also includes the living expressions and traditions that countless communities and groups in every part of the world receive from their ancestors and pass on to their descendants. This includes items produced by the cultural group such as traditional clothing, utensils, jewelry accessories, vehicles, architecture and landscapes, etc.

An intangible cultural asset is that which exists intellectually in the culture. It is more than the monuments and objects that have been preserved over time. It includes songs, myths, beliefs, superstitions, oral poetry, as well as various forms of traditional knowledge and many other physical sites and part of their intangible heritage as their history is associated with these sites through oral stories, place names and songs.

In conclusion, the cultural heritage of the Indian community comprises moveable tangible assets which are food and costume, whereas immovable tangible assets are the area’s distinctive architecture, albeit an architecture mostly of signage and interiors. Intangible architectural assets are the way of life, careers and language. In a somewhat different sense, the very vibrant and ever-changing culture of the Nana enclave of lower Sukhumvit is rightly to be seen as part of the heritage of Bangkok and thereby of Thailand itself. It is a determining part of the identity of the city.



Chapter 4 The Nana Precinct

Due to rapid economic growth in the 1970s to the 1990s, Indians could increasingly afford luxurious houses and cars. Many Indians began to move out from Pahurat, Sampeng, Ban Khaek and Silom to other areas of Bangkok. Meanwhile some have stayed the same area, because it is near a gurdwara, a mosque or a Hindu temple. Those who chose to stay might go to their religious centre every day. Subsequently, they found places in new business districts such as Suravong and Sukhumvit Road (Poolthupya, 2008, p. 676). The reason why they congregated to the Nana area was due to their family not being able to expand their business around the old business district. Pahurat and Sampeng were limited areas, because they were close to the Grand Palace, as explained in Chapter 3. Due to regulations, business areas were not allowed in close proximity to important landmarks such as the Grand Palace. This drove the Indian entrepreneurs to relocate their business to areas that would allow them to expand. Pahurat and Sampeng locations are closed to the Grand Palace in figure 8.



Figure 8: Pahurat and Sampeng are closed to the Grand Palace

Source: (Google Map, 2018).map (27.2.2018)

One area to which a few hundred Indian families had moved is near a new commercial and tourist hub for travelers to be found along Sukhumvit Road. In fact, Indians' business establishments mainly comprised tailor shops, Indian restaurants and mixed shops along Sukhumvit Road around the Grace hotel, the Ambassador

Hotel, the Landmark Hotel and the other hotel complexes which attracted many rich American and European tourists.

Sukhumvit Road History

Bangkok had expanded eastward from the original location by the Chao Phya River, into an area called “Bangkapi”. It was developed along both sides of Sukhumvit Road. “Sukhumvit Road” is a continuation of Phloenchit Road, reaching to Trat province close to the Cambodian border in the east of Thailand. It was built starting in 1936 (King, 2011, p. 87; Pimolsatier, 2009, p. 195). It was built and controlled by Phra Pisansukhumvit (พระพิศาลสุขุมวิท). At that time he was a head civil engineer and highway director general (อธิบดีกรมโยธาเทศบาล). It was completed in 1950.

The Royal Gazette of Thailand (หนังสือราชกิจจานุเบกษา) in section 67, book number 67 in December 12th, 1950 dealt with the issue of titling “state highways and big bridges”:

“State highways and big bridges are given names”.

A. State highway

The State Highway from Bangkok to Chonburi, Rayong and Trat provinces was in 1950 named “Sukhumvit” to honor Phra Pisansukhumvit (official rank) or Prasob Sukhum (ประสพ สุขุม) as the fifth Director General of the Department of Highways (อธิบดีอธิบดีกรมทาง).

It was paved and enlarged to a two lane highway from Bangkok to Trat province (Sukhum, 2004, p. 334).

Phra Pisansukhumvit was the third son of Chaoprayayommarach (เจ้าพระยายมราช) (official rank) or Pun Sukhum (ปั้น สุขุม) and Tanpooying Talab (ท่านผู้หญิงตลับ). He was the first Thai to graduate with a bachelor degree in engineering from Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in the United States. Afterwards he worked as a civil engineer at the Bangkok department (กรมทาง, กระทรวงนครบาล) of the Ministry of Interior (Pimolsatier, 2009, p. 195; Sukhum, 2004, p. 394).

The space limitations of Pahurat and Sampeng led some people to move out to the other areas of Bangkok such as Sukhumvit Road. Some chose the Nana area to stay and work, on Sukhumvit Road along soi 3 and soi 4. Sukhumvit Road is compared between in the past and at present in figure 9 and 10.



Figure 9: Sukhumvit Road in the past
Source: Sukhum (2004: 348)



Figure 10: Sukhumvit Road at present
Source: the author, on January 31st, 2017

Physical Nana Area

In the past the Rama I–Phloenchit–Sukhumvit Road was a shophouse strip whose transformations began simultaneously. Over ensuing decades the Nana area progressively acquired Maneeya Plaza, Gaysorn Plaza, Nana Plaza, Robinson department store, also Asoke Market for more Thai-style consumption (King, 2011, p. 94). The physical Nana area is shown in figure 11 and figure 12.

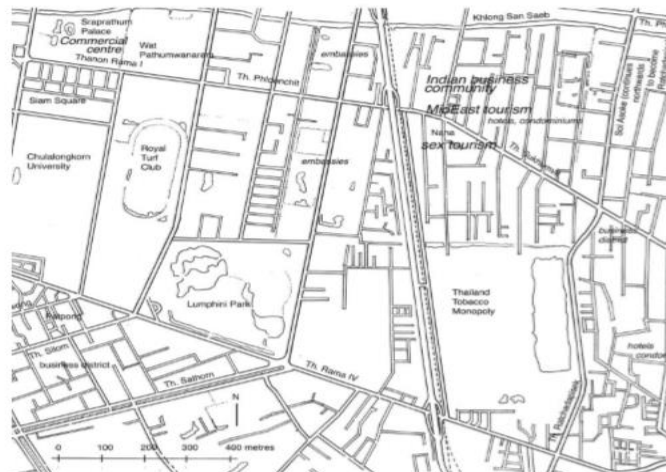


Figure 11: Overview Nana Area
Source: King, R 2017: 3

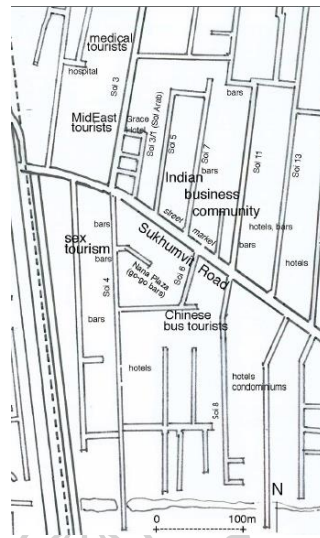


Figure 12: The Nana Area

Source: King, R 2017: 4

Presently, due to economic growth, Sukhumvit Road has many condominiums and the BTS sky train and subways (MRT). There is easy access to the Nana enclave by taking the BTS sky train from Nana station to Phaya Thai station and then taking the Suvarnabhumi Airport Rail Link to the international airport.

Giving its Name: “Nana” History

Ahmed Ebrahim Nana or A.E Nana or Mr Lek Nana was born in India in 1877 and later moved to Thailand in 1890. He was a Muslim - Indian and third generation of a wealthy Gujarati businessman. Notably he was also a prominent Bangkok businessman. He was educated in Bangkok and then proceeded to further his learning in India. When he returned to Thailand, he helped his father to trade textiles at an Indian building near Anongkaram temple. His father passed away when he was 24 years old. He founded a real estate business in 1913 whereupon he built a successful company named Randery Bramakran Company. Later, he established an import/export company named “A.E Nana & company” in 1915. In 1916, he established “A & A Nana Company” to import sugar from Indonesia. Even though he had many companies, he was especially famous in landed property. He was also known as “*King of the land*”, especially on Sukhumvit Road. The landed property of his family in the Sukhumvit Road area extended on both sides of the road. His wooden house with a large Nana property is located between sois 1 and 3.

The sub-roads or sois were named Nana Nuea (North Nana) or soi 3 and Nana Tai (South Nana) or soi 4. First, each soi was named for a member of the family. Later, a governor mandated a change from an Indian to Thai name. Sukhumvit soi 3

and 4 were named for him (Hussain, 1982, pp. 68-69; King, 2011, p. 49; Poolthupya, 2008, p. 672).

He entered politics and became quite successful. Mr Lek Nana got involved in politics as party secretary and general of the Democrat Party and Deputy Minister for Science & Technology. Exceptionally, he had a number of Muslim-Indians become members of the political party.

Soi Nana in Bangkok

The Nana name is associated with two sois in Bangkok. The first soi Nana is on Charoengkrung Road and the other on Sukhumvit Road.

A. Soi Nana on Charoengkrung Road

The Soi Nana on Charoengkrung Road is near China town. Sino–Thai people living in two-story shop houses sell scales, Chinese herbs, sewing machines, operate machine shops and Chinese restaurants. Soi Nana is given its name from the Nana family. It is the same Nana family name in soi 3 (Nana) on Sukhumvit Road, because Nana family name was famous and they used to live near both areas.

B. Soi 3 (Nana Nuea) on Sukhumvit Road

Soi 3 (Nana Nuea) on Sukhumvit Road was given its name for Mr Lek Nana. Originally a two-lane road, it was bordered by single and two-story houses, mostly occupied by Indians. There are many kinds of shops such as drug stores, shoes shops, bag shops, convenience stores, restaurants, street shops and tailor shops. Soi 3's continuation on the south side of Sukhumvit is also identified as Nana.

Nana as Authenticity

A typical Indian refugee in Thailand will come from two social classes: merchant and Brahma. A merchant will travel to many places to sell his products. On the other hand, Brahmas works at the Thai royal ceremonies such as the Giant Swing and the spirit house ceremonies. The Nana commercial community has many kinds of Indians such as Muslim Indians, Hindu Indians and Sikh Indians. The majority of the business owners in this community, however, are Sikh Indian-Thai. Not many Sikh Indian /Thai people have their roots in the Punjab. While Punjab state has many religions as some came from other parts of India, nevertheless the majority of the Sikhs came from the Punjab. Thus, the Nana commercial community can be described in detail in relation to this Sikh background.

The Nana Commercial Community History

“Nana” on Sukhumvit Road attracted wealthy businessmen from Pahurat and Sampeng due to the focus on the real estate business at that time, especially by the Nana family. More families moved to new homes on Sukhumvit Road while some

retained shops at Sampeng and Pahurat Road. In addition, the settlement pattern of the Sikh Indian population in Bangkok can be described as about 25 percent at Sukhumvit Road (Sandhu and Mani, 1993, p. 917). They moved to Sukhumvit Road because they focused on Western tourists and businessmen on Sukhumvit. The second national economic and social development Plan (1961-1966) had focused on foreign investors in Thailand looking for housing; also the Tourism Organization of Thailand (TOT) emerged in March 1960 (Beek, 2016, p. 39), reflecting that a lot of tourists were coming to Thailand. The Indians who had Sukhumvit land properties started to build buildings and a market for serving foreigners' needs. Thus, the Nana precinct derived social value as a secondary destination.

4.1 American Tourists

In the Vietnam War era in 1955-1975, American soldiers were sent to work in Vietnam, Lao, and Thailand. Bangkok was transformed with massive influx of American "tourists" with the rest and relaxation (R&R) program, with 40,000 to 45,000 visiting by 1967 (Baker and Phongpaichit, 2005, p. 149; Beek, 2016, p. 55). When they had time to visit a Rest and Recreation (R&R) place, US servicemen came to business and entertainment areas such as soi Patpong on Silom Road, soi Cowboy, and soi Nana on Sukhumvit. Thus, the Nana enclave became popular among westerners as a center of sexual pleasure for foreign men.

Lower Sukhumvit was seen as a spot for the American rest and relaxation (R&R) hotels: the Grace on soi 3, Park on soi 7, Ambassador on soi 11 among others. The mid 1960s saw a frenzy of hotel building added over 7,000 rooms (Baker and Phongpaichit, 2005, p. 149). Total foreign visitors increased very fast to over 600,000 by 1970 (Baker and Phongpaichit, 2005, p. 149). In the same period the Nana Entertainment Plaza with twenty go-go bars opened in the Sukhumvit district to take advantage of the expansion of tourist hotels in that area. Furthermore, some hotels had been converted to temporary time hotels for freelance prostitutes for their customers such as the Grace Hotel (Askew, 2002, pp. 251-259). The largest groups of visitors were Americans. In addition, the Americans provided the Indians with another opportunity for business expansion such as a fabric shop, a tailor shop, an Indian restaurant. Due to their knowledge of English, it enabled Indians to open shops in the American areas and supply American needs. There were numerous restaurants, bars, entertainment venues, a heavy sex scene, also notably Indian tailors in the entertainment district.

Until the mid-1970s, Sikh Indians had earlier supplied ready - made textile materials to American troops, tourists, and wealthy Thais. Thus, this led to an increased number of tailor shops along Sukhumvit Road (Poolthupya, 2008, p. 676; Sandhu and Mani, 1993, pp. 915-921). Tourist annual arrivals swelled from a few hundred thousand in the mid-1970s to 12 million at the millennium (Baker and Phongpaichit, 2005, p. 229). The sex industry that developed over the Vietnam War

was repackaged for changing tourist demand. J.W. Marriott, Sheraton, Westin and Sofitel serve American and other Western tourists. American tourists numbers visiting Thailand are displayed in table 2.

Table 2 American tourists to Thailand 2012 -2016

Country	Year				
	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
America	768,638	823,486	763,520	867,505	974,632

Source: (Department of Tourism Thailand, 2017)

When tourism was ranked as the fifth largest earner of foreign exchange in the mid 2000s, the largest group of travelers was American (Baker and Phongpaichit, 2005, p. 149). While American tourists increased over this period, that increase was far outpaced by tourist growth from the Middle East and elsewhere in Asia, including India and China.

At the end of the 1970s, new opportunities were provided by the end of the war and the withdrawal of the American GIs. Thus, the western end of Sukhumvit Road especially became a Middle East focus (Beek, 2016, p. 56; King, 2003-2004, p. 119).

4.2 Middle – East Tourists

OPEC oil prices rose in the 1970s so that Middle–Eastern tourists began to replace the Americans with the end of the Vietnam War. Later Saudi recruiters looked for cheap Thai labors in the early 1980s. In the early 1980s, Thailand’s agricultural exports gradually decreased at the same time as US soldiers went back at the end of Vietnam War.

The oil crisis of 1980 -1981 raised the cost of the country’s single largest import. The government reacted initially with measures that delayed the impact of the oil crisis, while heavily promoting tourism and labor export to the booming Middle East to earn more foreign exchange. Nevertheless, tourism continued as falling air–flight prices increased the potential market. However, that was not enough to help Thailand’s economy.

Lower Sukhumvit was a zone of flux. There were constant flows of the Middle Eastern and other tourists. Additionally, the India embassy is located near the Nana area, on Sukhumvit soi 23. Some Indians living near their workplace work at the embassy. Thus, Indian restaurants emerged in the Nana enclave. Many were halal restaurants serving Muslim people. Later small bars and restaurants emerged on Sukhumvit Road. The Nana restaurant sector belongs to Muslim Indians, causing

Middle–East visitors to come to the Nana enclave, because they can easily find Muslim or halal food.

In 1983–84, the economy slumped. Debtors stopped paying their bankers. One bank crashed, and another bank and several finance companies had to be bailed out to avoid a domino effect. The Finance Ministry ran out of money to service Thailand’s foreign dues (Baker and Phongpaichit, 2005, p. 203). Labor flowed in from Burma and other neighboring countries. It also flowed out from Thailand to Japan, Taiwan, and the Middle East (Baker and Phongpaichit, 2005, p. 229).

In the present time the Nana precinct has become the main focus for Middle Eastern tourism to Bangkok. Many Middle Eastern visitors come to Thailand because they want to escape the extreme heat of their own countries (King, 2011, p. 102). The Nana enclave included the street vendors, stall holders, beggars and freelance prostitutes, all of whom were affected by these changes.

Middle East tourists’ objectives in coming to Thailand are first to travel and relax, second for business and last to see a doctor for their general annual checkups in Thailand. The numbers of Middle Eastern tourists traveling to Thailand in recent times are displayed in table 3.

Table 3 Middle – East tourists to Thailand 2012 -2016

Middle – East Countries	Year				
	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Egypt	19,918	28,175	28,934	25,216	28,114
Israel	129,551	134,874	138,778	141,021	161,502
Kuwait	64,611	71,173	57,845	66,772	61,562
Saudi Arabia	17,084	21,452	12,860	19,163	24,830
United Arab Emirates	113,547	123,926	117,907	124,719	130,940
Other	260,766	250,643	241,568	281,238	340,187
Total	605,477	630,243	597,892	658,129	747,135

Source: (Department of Tourism Thailand, 2017).

These numbers reveal an increase and also significant fluctuations from year to year. Many of the tourists will be in Bangkok for only a few days; then travel on to one of the beach resorts. Beach and island resorts are especially created for holiday makers. Some families come to see a doctor at Bumrungrad International hospital (BI) in soi 3 on Sukhumvit Road, also Vejthani hospital, and Bangkok hospital.

The Middle Eastern tourists are mostly family groups. There are the black veiled and long-dress Muslim women with their children in the street market of the northern side of Sukhumvit. They are clearly shopping tourists identified by their big plastic bags. It is common place for them to aggressively bargain for the best price. The Middle Eastern men will cross to the other side of Sukhumvit to frequent the go-go bars, drink alcohol and experience Bangkok's sex scene (King, 2017, pp. 6-7). The Middle East tourists of Sukhumvit blend in among other Asian visitors. Especially, the Sukhumvit soi 1 to soi 5 area is a Middle Easterner area while Sukhumvit soi 7 to soi 13 is more for Europeans and Indians (Sahee, 1991, p. 174).

5.3 Asian Tourists

5.3.1 Chinese Tourists - China reopened to the world in the 1980s and emerged as an economic power in the 1990s. Original Chinese families in Thailand travelled back to visit their birthplace and contacted their relatives in China, as Chinese visitors began to travel around the world including to Bangkok and elsewhere in Thailand (Baker and Phongpaichit, 2005, p. 206).

In the mid 2010s, Thailand's religious aura attracted Asian visitors. Tourists came from China and India. The Nana enclave on Sukhumvit Road might be seen as an indication of global shifts in affluence and the emergences of the middle class in Asian societies. Chinese tourists were mostly elderly couples. Their objectives were first to relax and then to visit the temples. The Chinese visitors do not seem to patronize the street market or the tailors at the Nana area. Package tours allow them to explore the scenery and spend nights at the hotel. The number of Chinese people traveling to Thailand are in table 4.

Table 4 Chinese tourists to Thailand 2012 -2016

Country	Year				
	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
China	2,786,860	4,637,335	4,636,298	7,934,791	8,757,466

Source: (Department of Tourism Thailand, 2017).

This growth is clearly extraordinary, signaling a fundamental shift in Thailand's global inter-dependence and, by implication, its economy and geo-politics.

By further implication, it heralds a fundamental shift in the potential role of lower Sukhumvit.

5.3.2 Indian Tourists - The Indian tourist invasion, though far less than the Chinese, is to be seen as manifestation of the rising affluence and growing middle class in India. In recent year, around 1 million Indian tourists visited Thailand annually, as shown in table 5.

Table 5 Indian tourists to Thailand 2012 -2016

Country	Year				
	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
India	1,013,308	1,050,889	932,603	1,069,149	1,193,822

Source: (Department of Tourism Thailand, 2017).

The majority of Indian tourists can be divided into two tourist groups: those for meetings, incentives, conventions and exhibitions (MICE), and those in wedding and honey moon tourist groups. In 2013, approximately 30,000 Indian businessmen had MICE meetings in Bangkok. Further, wedding ceremonies brought an average of 200 people and their guests per a wedding to Thailand (Department of South Asian-Middle East and African Affairs, 2017). Many Indian tourists stay at the Ambassador Hotel. Indian men frequent the bar as customers; however they are not part of the Nana Indian commercial community. Indian women do not patronize the bars in the hotels or on the street.

The flow of visitors to Thailand has fluctuated since 1960, it is correlated to Butler's tourism area life cycle. Butler's tourism area life cycle theory can be explained in figure 13.

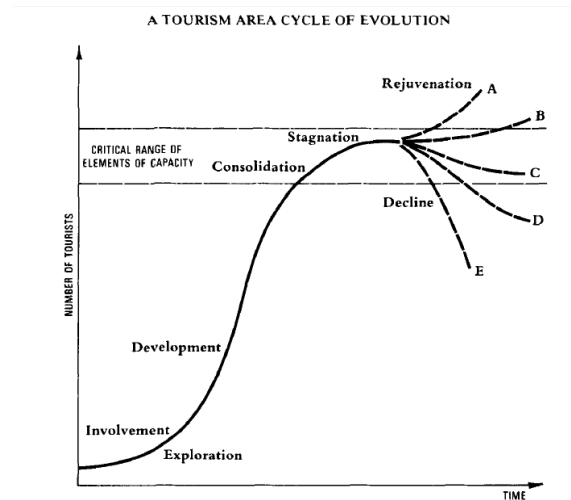


Figure 13: Butler's tourism area life cycle

Source: (Butler, 1980, p. 7)

Butler (Butler, 1980, pp. 6-10) noted that a tourism cycle has six stages: the exploration stage, the involvement stage, the development stage, the consolidation stage, the stagnation stage and the decline scenario. The Nana peak numbers of tourists and its capacity level are reached and property turnover is high in the stagnation stage. On present evidence of both the official statistics and direct observation, one would conclude that Nana's capacity level has *not* been reached – new hotels have recently been opened (Sofitel, Terminal 21) – and there is little indication of stagnation. Nor is there hint of a loss of authenticity – simply, there has never been a quality of authenticity associated with Sukhumvit.

In conclusion, the Nana enclave derives social value from its uniqueness and as a secondary destination. People relate to it in their collective experience or memory. Visitors come to Thailand with different objectives – relaxation, business and also demand for various medical services. Sometimes they come to the Nana area to order a suit, a pair of trousers, or go shopping in the street market at night time.

The flow of visitors to Thailand has fluctuated during different times. Economic and political factors within each country, including that of the hosts with its social disturbances and coups, have impacted the flux. The uncertain political climates has had significant effects on the numbers of travelers to Thailand. While the massive increase of tourists is clearly from China, reflecting the extraordinary transformations in that country, of special relevance to the lower Sukhumvit community and economy has been the relative stability and persistence of the Middle Easterners and Indian tourist streams.

Chapter 5 Nana as a Tourist Realm

Sukhumvit as an entertainment district is ephemeral, characterized by constant change (King, 2011, p. 100). The Nana precinct on Sukhumvit Road is no less beguiling than many other precincts such as Rattanakosin, Khaosan Road, Silom, Phetchaburi, Charoen Krung and the Chao Phraya River. It offers a variety of products and services to tourists. Hosts are Thai, Thai-Isan, Indian, Burmese people and others. In the 2007 census, the whole population of Thailand was 63,038,247 while 75 per cent were Thai, 14 per cent were Chinese. The Indian ethnic group was included in the 11 percent of “others” (Poolthupya, 2008, p. 670).

Table 6: Thai, Burmese and Thai-Lao

Host	Thai	Burmese	Thai-Lao
Career	Owners and sellers	staff	Owners and sellers
Costume	In common	In common	In common
Language	Thai	Burmese	Thai-Isan
Architecture	Temple	Temple	Temple
Food	Thai food	Burmese food	North-eastern food
others	None	Thanaka face	None

Source: the author, on July 31st, 2017

While Indians may hold economic hegemony, the main hosts in the Nana enclave are Thai, Burmese, and Thai-Lao (Isan) people who have maintained their cultural heritage from their ancestors through their languages, architecture and food, noted in table 6.

From table 6, Thai people are typically owners and sellers, while Thai-Lao (Isan) are sellers and Burmese are staff. Thai people have their own language as Thai; Burmese people have their own language as Burmese; Thai-Lao people have their own Isan language. Thai, Burmese and Thai-Lao people live in a Buddhist land so a Buddhist temple is a symbol. Food in different areas has different styles such as Thai food, Burmese food and North-eastern food. Finally, thanaka face or yellow lines on the face identify Burmese people. The faces of Nana’s visitors, on the other hand, are universal – every ethnicity seems to be represented, especially American, European, Middle Easterner, and Asian.

The Nana community consists of a diverse group of people, religions and cultures, all fitting in with the broader life of the lower Sukhumvit area. The area is bursting with activities. Some previous residents moved out to the outskirts and sold their land to buy bigger homes in another area. Sukhumvit land is very expensive.

On the other hand, some wealthy people have moved to new high-priced condominiums. The Nana businesses can be categorized into eleven types, i.e. accommodation, restaurants, tailor shops, shoe shops, perfume shops, massage parlors, beauty shops, convenience stores, telephone agencies, hospitals and street stalls.

Accommodation

1. Accommodation– There are currently many hotels; the smaller hotels and guesthouses serve Middle Eastern, Pakistani, Indian, Chinese and African visitors, providing them cheaper prices and facilities in the Nana enclave. In the past, at Sukhumvit soi 3 (Nana Nuea), the Grace Hotel was purchased and renovated by Saudi Arabian investors (Askew, 2002, p. 241; King, 2011, p. 101; Varavarn, 2007, p. 29). Most clientele are Islamic Middle-Easterners. Sukhumvit soi 3 and soi 5 is staged as an Islamic area for Middle-East tourists (King, 2011, p. 101). Additionally, there is a Middle-East Street (soi 3/1) as well. The Grace Hotel is very popular with many tourists; with five hundred eighty rooms it has many Middle-Easterner “sex tourists” (King, 2011, p. 101) with men allowed to bring a lady to their rooms. Other favorites for Middle-East tourists are the Amari Boulevard and the Ambassador hotel.

Smaller size hotels include the Amari Boulevard that has around three hundred ten rooms, the Zenith hotel, the Landmark hotel and the Ambassador hotel. The Ambassador hotel on soi 11 is an old hotel from the American R&R era. The Amari Boulevard accommodating a somewhat heterogeneous clientele has more Middle East families coming to Bangkok for medical treatment and on vacation than the Grace Hotel (Cohen and Neal, 2012).

Accommodations located in the odd numbered soi are where Middle East Muslim tourists choose to stay; especially family groups from Saudi Arabia, the Gulf states, Iran, Afghanistan and their neighbors. The even numbered soi are preferred by Western tourists.

Further, Western and East Asian business people stay in other up-market hotels (J.W. Marriott, Sofitel, Sheraton and Landmark) in the Nana precinct. The area is very good for accessibility to the city’s business districts such as Siam, Silom, Asoke, etc. Currently the Ambassador Hotel has especially become an Indian tourist zone, with Indian tourists arriving in multiple buses. On a “heavy” tourist night, one might count up to eleven buses jammed into the hotel’s car park. Business tourists tend to be the main market for the Indian tailors. Thus, the Nana area is a secondary destination for business tourists that frequent tailor shops.

There are also some building in the area that are half completed projects that the investors abandoned during the economic collapses variously in 1997 and 2008. If completed, the area will have yet further accommodation.

Tailor Shops

2. Tailor Shops - there are fifty four tailor shops belonging to Indian owners identified in the Nana area in the appendix. Other tailor shops belong to Thai and Canadian owners; for example, Narin and Tailor on Ten in soi 8 (Prida). They aim to provide excellent service and good quality products for their clients. The vast experience of these shop owners stems from their having to work since their youth. This helps them to understand how to attract different clienteles in addition to knowing the high expectations the diverse customers have come to demand. The tailor shops open from 10.00 am to 9.00 pm, although a few will persist until after 10.00 pm.

The tailor shops incorporate technology to enhance their business. Most have their own web site for selling their products to customers abroad, ranging from men's collection, women's collection and reselling.

1. Men's collection consists of suits, blazer/sport jackets, pants, vests, shirts, overcoats, tuxedos, designer shirts and accessories.
2. Women's collection consists of skirts, suits, pant suits, pants, shirts, dresses and overcoats.
3. Due to resale, tailor shops have needed to expand their business and to provide backup to their agents/dealers in order to supply their own customers.
4. Some tailor shops visit clients in major cities in Europe, Australia and U.S.A. for service. They bring along a large selection of fabric samples in the latest designs and colors. Customers can then personally discuss the styles and fabrics required for their items of clothing and be measured. The order will be taken back to Bangkok, processed and delivered to a client's door by air-mail within 6-8 weeks.

Owners: all tailor shop owners are Sikh Indians except Narin and Tailor on Ten. The most notable item of the Indian men's clothing is the turban. Some shoe and travel shops also belong to Indian owners, for example Ever Rich and M.S Fashion & Travel. Indian owners do not live above their place of business. They usually live in another area as Nana is essentially a commercial community. Most of the newer generation seek different kinds of careers that are more in line with their education rather than continuing a business started by their families (Kamwang, 2015, pp. 113-138). Customers: the clientele are mostly Middle Easterners on the north of the strip. Westerners' shops are mostly on the south side. Therefore, some of the tailor shops will provide hybrid products such as tailored suits and shoes to appeal to both groups. It is essential that the Indian tailor shops mostly cater to a Western clientele as the demand from that sector is greater. Customers come from many countries, such as Switzerland, Germany, England, U.S.A, Australia, and New Zealand. Chinese tourists do not appear to patronize the tailor shops of Sukhumvit.

Employees: the tailor shops' owners employ their staff from Pakistan, India, Burma, Thailand and Nepal (Narksuwan, 2013, p. 82). Their features are similar to Indians. The Nepalese people come to Thailand in order to seek their fortune due to the lack of high paying employment in Nepal. Many Nepalese have also set up tailoring businesses (Poolthupya, 2008, p. 675). They can speak various languages such as Thai, Punjabi, Hindi, Nepali, English and Arabic. They have qualified working skills, intelligence, and communication abilities under challenging conditions. The shopkeepers are almost always male. Sometimes they have to work overnight. Employment is not stable, because it depends on the labor policy, also on seasonal factors.

The tailor shops can make suits for tourists in 5-7 days. It is important that a suit's price in Bangkok is cheaper than a suit's price in Europe and the United States of America. The appeal is that it is unique and brand new. Only a few Sikh Indians families stay above their shophouses on Sukhumvit Road (Sidhu, 1993, p. 75) ; others will stay somewhere else in Bangkok after work. Some tailor shop owners let their staff stay above their shophouses. The tailor shop operators received orders from the tourists and will have the garments tailored by local tailors. Many of them have good relations with their clients so the clients can place orders from Europe or other countries. Even though Indians might have strong businesses, they have also needed to diversify such as into an Indian restaurant.

Restaurants

3. Restaurants - Restaurants in the Nana area can be divided into three groups namely halal restaurants, Indian restaurants and general restaurants and bars.

3.1 Halal Restaurants

They offer the widest variety of Middle Eastern Muslim food between soi 3 (Nana Nuea) and soi 7 (Loet Sin 2), such as Omani, Lebanese, Gulf and Iraqi cuisine. The halal restaurants are alcohol free, because of the Muslim are prohibitionists. Basically, the restaurants open from 11.00 am to 11.00 pm.

3.2 Indian Restaurants

Fourteen Indian restaurants aim to provide excellent Indian food and service, listed in the appendix. The majority of the owners are Indians. Their employees are Thai, Indian, Burmese and Nepalese. Some Nepalese people cook in Indian restaurants (Poolthupya, 2008, p. 675). Some Indian owners have two lines of business; a tailor shop and an Indian restaurant. This indicates the diversification of their business into several avenues of income to mitigate risk.

Clients may dine in at the restaurants while some restaurants also provide delivery. The popular foods are garlic naan, chicken tikka masala curry, lamb Rogan Josh curry. Unique to the area are vegetarian southern Indian restaurants; Dosa King, for instance, serves mango lassi, gulab jamun and butter Dosa. The restaurants open from 11 am to 11 pm. Restaurant owners are Indians. The Indian customers are

vegetarian. Indian restaurants hire Thai, Thai–Isan, Nepalese and Burmese workers, because they can speak in Thai, English and sometimes Arabic as well.

3.3 General Restaurants and Bars

Several types of restaurants and bars are located in the Nana area such as go-go bars, sports bars, coffee shops, and cafes. They serve many kinds of food such as Thai and European. The restaurants continually serve alcohol to Westerners, especially in soi 4 (Nana Tai), soi 8 and soi 11. The restaurants open from 11 am to 11 pm. The large Gulliver’s Bar in soi 5 is mostly supported by Westerners. On Sukhumvit soi 4 (Nana Tai), Nana Plaza was a small shopping mall with some restaurants. In 1982, many bars on soi 14 and 16 were closed due to new construction. Those bars which included go-go bars moved to Nana plaza; replacing the restaurants. Most sex tourists like to visit a go–go bar at night. The majority of customers would appear to be Middle Eastern and Indian at the Nana Plaza “entertainment” center in soi 4. Soi 4 is known to be Bangkok’s sex tourism spot.

Shoe Shops

4. Shoe Shops - there are many shoe shops in the Nana area. The shoe shops serving the Middle Eastern tourists are located between soi 3 (Nana Nuea) and soi 5 (Loet Sin 1). A variety of shoe styles are offered to Middle Eastern men and women who will discuss and try on the shoes with their companions. The shoes that they pick should be proper to their leisure activities. Some shoes and travel shops belong to Indian owners, for example Ever Rich and M.S Fashion & Travel. They offer a variety of products, because the customers walking around that area are Middle–Easterners. A pair of sandal and a travel agent can interest them. This illustrates the fact that most customers have changed from Westerners to Middle Easterners. Customers come for shoes and travel goods. Middle Easterners mostly like shoes shops that are located on the north, because they prefer to go shopping on the north side. The north side is considered more of a “shopping” district than the south side which is more the high-end hotel district, despite the sex scene of Nana Plaza.

Perfume Shops

5. Perfume Shops – There are 7 or perhaps 9 perfume shops in the Nana area, depending on how one identifies these. Middle Eastern societies value their perfumes. The Middle Eastern tourists like to purchase expensive perfumes for personal use or as gifts to show wealth and status.

Massage Parlors

6. Massage Parlors - There are 12 to 15 massage parlors in the Nana area. Middle East Muslim tourists cannot seek massage services, because it against Muslim restrictions whereby the opposite sexes are not allowed to touch each other. Massage is seen as an immoral leisure activity for conservative Muslims, although it should be observed that the prohibition is not a restriction. It is seen as observance, not

adherence to the rule. Thus, massage parlors try to change to foot-massage instead of full traditional Thai massage service. On the other hand, some Middle East Muslim tourists can take a lady entertainer to another place. While Middle-Easterner sex tourists are forbidden from sexual adventures, however, when they arrive in Bangkok this prohibition may be overlooked and the Muslim restriction ignored. It is mostly Thais and Iranians that operate massage shop.

Beauty Shops

7. Beauty Shops - There are 10 to 14 shops which are beauty salons and facial shops in this enclave. Some tourists go to salons and facial shops, especially women. Thais and Thai-Isan predominantly operate these businesses.

Convenience Stores

8. Convenience Stores - There are 10 to 12 convenience stores, such as 7-eleven stores and pharmacies. The tourists can easily buy consumer products with good service and smiling faces at any time.

Telephone Agencies

9. Telephone Agencies - A large number of telephone agencies are scattered around soi 3/1 called Middle East Street. Those shops have Arabic script on their hoardings. They offer SIM cards, international calls, specialist phone numbers and Internet access. Many shops around that area provide additional services such as laundry service and currency exchange. Many Middle-Easterner tourists need to call back home in order to report their medical treatment progress.

Hospitals

10. Hospitals - The Bumrungrad International hospital (BI) is located between soi 3 (Nana Nuea) and soi 1 with international patients from around the world. They come to Bangkok for many reasons including for the hospitals and for travel. Due to the fact that Middle East patients come to these hospitals, some family members stay in hotels while others stay in hospitals. The patients choose these hospitals, because they are more affordable than hospitals in their countries and with better service. The Bumrungrad International hospital (BI) Arabic inscription is shown in figures 14.



Figure14: Arabic inscription in Bumrungrad Hospital
Source: the author, on August 12th, 2016

Street Stalls

11. Street Stalls - There are many kinds of street stalls. Street vendors are located along soi 3 (Nana Nuea) to soi 11/1, also soi 4 (Nana Tai) to soi 10 (Saen Samran). As they travel, tourists with family like to shop around the Nana area. Their hours are 7 pm to midnight every day. The street stalls provide:

- | | |
|--|---------------------------|
| 1.Sex Toys | 2.Toys |
| 3.Luggage | 4.Videos, DVDs |
| 5.Sun glasses and glasses | 6.Hair dryers |
| 7.Souvenirs | 8.Fruit, juice |
| 9.Cosmetics | 10.Watches |
| 11.Classic cup and bowl | 12.Mobile phones and sim |
| 13.Calculators, amplifiers, headphones | 14.Purse, bag |
| 15.Scarfs | 16.Tours |
| 17.Counterfeit brand name bags | 18.Laundry shops |
| 19.Clothes, socks | 20.Currency exchange |
| 21.Drug stores | 22.Pens, belts |
| 23.Telescopes, scissors | 24.Battery, pocket knife, |
| 25.Other weapons etc. | |

All street vendor owners are Thai and Indian. The clientele are Middle Easterners, Thai, ASEAN and some Westerners. Street vendor owner will hire Thai, Thai–Isan, Pakistanis, Nepalese and Burmese employees. The languages spoken include Arabic, English, Thai, Burmese, and Northeastern Thai (Isan). It is common for sellers to communicate to tourists in English. Most tourists around the area of soi 3 (Nana Nuea) to soi 11 (Chai Yot) are Middle–Easterners. The sellers will also try to speak in Arabic in addition to English. Arabic script is posted on merchants’ windows. Soi 3/1 (Middle East street) is locally known as “a Little Arabia or Middle East street” as shown in figure 15 (Bohwongprasert, 2009, p. 40). It reflects that there are clearly visitors from a diversity of cultures.



Figure 15: Middle East street
Source: the author, on August 16th, 2016

There is a focus on Middle Eastern women visitors with their large plastic bags who go shopping along the Nana enclave and buy multiple products from street vendors. It is common practice that the Middle-Easterners and Indian tourists bargain with the vendors in English that is attractive to tourists. The vendors communicate a “Greeting” in Arabic to Middle-Easterners. Customers who cannot communicate through language will utilize calculators to bargain prices. Some street vendors are deaf so they use body language and calculators. Younger couples are offered cheap watches from street vendors. Many Gulf Arab women claim that evening shopping on Sukhumvit Road is an enjoyable and sociable leisure activity – “fun shopping” (Cohen and Neal, 2012, p. 581). The night market on the south side of Sukhumvit Road is mostly comprised of Indian tailor shops with Western clientele. The street vendor are not many compared to the northern side of Sukhumvit Road. Presently the Sukhumvit night market has been swept away by strong regulation with only a single row against the shop fronts.

Soi 3 is a major road of eight lanes with heavy traffic and is frequently congested. It is extraordinary for the taxis and tuk-tuk to look for customers at night. The vendors, beggars, prostitutes and tuk-tuk drivers of the Nana area on Sukhumvit Road may be seen as an urban landscape of leisure, production, consumption and entertainment (King, 2011, p. 122). Tourists shop around the Nana precinct both by day and by night. Nevertheless it must be stressed that this is an ephemeral landscape – a zone of fleeting establishments, constantly changing, moving, being rebadged and changing the commodities that they offer.

Comparing Nana Day and Night Time

There are also sharp differences to be observed across the day and night, as in figure 16 to figure 17.



Figure 16: Gulliver's Bar soi 5
(Day time)

Figure 17: Gulliver's Bar soi 5
(Night time)

Source: the author, on August 12th, 2016

Nana by Day Time

Nana is quiet and peaceful due to few customers and tourists during day time. Signage is mostly in Arabic and English script on windows in soi 3 (Nana Nuea) and soi 3/1. The street has little street life. There are mostly bars and massage parlors between soi 5 (Loet Sin 1) and soi 7/1 with a mostly Western clientele.

Nana by Night Time

Night time brings life and vibrant energy to the shop area. The street is filled with diverse clienteles such as Middle Easterners, Africans, Westerners, Indian tourists and especially Middle East Muslim tourists are there. Although alcohol is banned for Middle East Muslim tourists, they often choose to forget that Muslim restriction. This is especially true since it would allow them to include sexual adventures to their experience. Many people walk across to the bars and go-go bars of soi 4 (Nana Tai) and change from their distinctive clothing and headgear to normal clothes such as T-shirt, shirt, pants and so on.

Nana in Different Seasons

There are also sharp differences to be observed between seasons. Referring to Middle East Muslim visitors, the five pillars of Islam are the framework of the Muslim life. They are the testimony of faith, prayer, support of the needy, fasting during the month of Ramadan, and the pilgrimage to Makkah once in a lifetime for those who are able to go.

Middle - East Muslim tourists therefore come to the Nana enclave in the month of Ramadan less frequently than in other months. During Ramadan, the Nana

area is quiet. In contrast, Middle-Easterner tourism increases considerably during the May to September period which are extremely hot in the Middle East, in contrast to Thailand.

The more general tourist season is from December to February which are the coolest months in Thailand. However, tourists come and visit the Nana precinct throughout the year, albeit in varying numbers.

In conclusion, the tourist realm has accommodations, tailor shops, Indian restaurants, shoe shops and travel agents, perfume shops, convenience stores, street stalls, hospitals, beauty shops, massage parlors and other business combinations in the Nana precinct. Some Indians have had to adjust to new changes where Middle Easterners stay and spend their money. In order to survive, these shops must change their products from tailor shops to offer more merchandise such as shoes and fashionably tailored ready-to-wear suits. Meanwhile the tourists to the Nana area are a diversity of international people such as Western, Middle Eastern and Asian people. They all go where they please without restriction, most notably patronizing the bars and hospitals. Sellers not only offer products, but also they offer good services. Finally, whenever government policy changes, the sellers will also adjust themselves to suit a new government policy.



Chapter 6

The Nana Indian Commercial Community and Interpretation

The Nana Indian commercial community attracts many groups and individuals. Many tourists seek souvenirs from the Nana enclave, while Indian tailor shop owners attract tourists by using globally recognized brand name on imitated bill boards such as Giorgio Armani, Tom's Tailor and Hugo Boss. Assessing the Nana enclave can be segmented into three principles: attention to settings and context related to wider *social*, *cultural* and *historical* contexts (ICOMOS, 2008). The Nana Indian commercial community can be interpreted as a 'theme park' which is a living re-creation of a setting by verbal and non-verbal techniques (Tilden, 1997, p. 8). It can be used to help build community identities and help visitors to experience the place (Aplin, 2002, p. 37; Carter, 1997, p. 11; Tilden, 1997, p. 8). It shows that advertising boards, commodities, food and costumes are interpreted in many ways.

Nana as Spectacle

6.1 Nana as Spectacle

The Nana Indian commercial community is exceedingly diverse and ever changing. Tourists seem to be fascinated by what they consider to be strange new experiences offered by the community. The stranger the experience, the more spectacular it is. Interpretation of Nana seeks to inform the value and significance of objects (Staiff and Bushell, 2004, p. 8). The spectacle offers intrigue that is attractive and enticing to tourists.

Debord (Debord, 1983, p. 18) has said that the modern concept of "spectacle" refer to the dominance of consumer society and media images over the individual, and to consumers organized around the production and consumption of images and commodities. Gratification is found through the purchase of more commodities (Gotham, 2002, pp. 1746-1747). Moreover, spectacle is a tool of leisure, entertainment and consumption as ruled by advertising and commodified media (Gotham, 2002, p. 1737). It reflects to the reality that tourists are interested in sign value such as in Disneyland, Las Vegas, Mardi Gras Festival, Times Square in New York City and Songkran Festival in Thailand.

Spectacle is a part of the tourist experience. Urry (Urry, 1990, p. 86) cited the importance of the visual and the gaze. Tourism has always been drawn by spectacle. The Nana spectacle will be detailed into three main parts.

6.1.1 Ambiguity of Labels

Famous brand names will be imitated, for example with Indian tailor shops adorned with names to reflect brands like Hugo Boss, Giorgio Armani, Tom's Tailor. Language will be interpreted differently by different groups of visitors (Aplin, 2002, p. 40). Baudrillard has emphasized the potency of signs (e.g. fake Louis Vuitton labels are consumed as spectacle rather than the real Louis Vuitton (Baudrillard, 1985, p. 129). There are large advertising boards and signs over an Indian tailor shop identifying brand names. Some shops are attractive, because their brand names are very similar to famous brand names worldwide. For example, the "Hugo Boss" brand name is very popular. Some shops will change one word to become "The Boss" or "Boss Avenue" in order to avoid licensing requirements (Singh Jame, 2014). There is another tailor shop displaying the high fashion appellation of "Armani". On closer inspection, the signage reveals it is not *Giorgio Armani* but an alleged *Peter*.

A. "Boss Avenue", "Boss", and "The Boss" brand name derive from "Hugo Boss" (Singh Jame, 2014). These shops are shown in figures 18 to 22.



Figure 18: Boss Avenue



Figure 19: Boss

by the author, on August 12th, 2016



Figure 20: The Boss



Figure 21: The Boss Sign

by the author, on August 12th, 2016

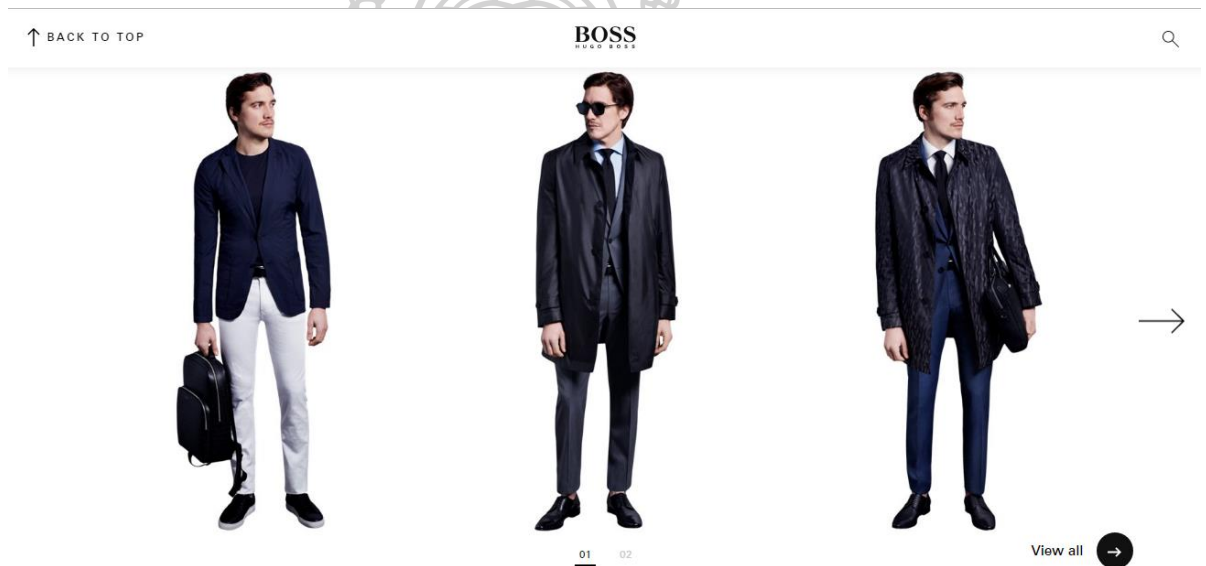


Figure 22: The authentic Hugo Boss brand name

Source: (Hugo Boss, 2017)

B. “Tom’s Fashion” brand name copies from “Tom Tailor” (Singh Peter, 2014). The shop is shown in figure 23 and Tom Tailor brand name is shown in figure 24.



Figure 23: Tom's Fashion
by the author, on August 12th, 2016

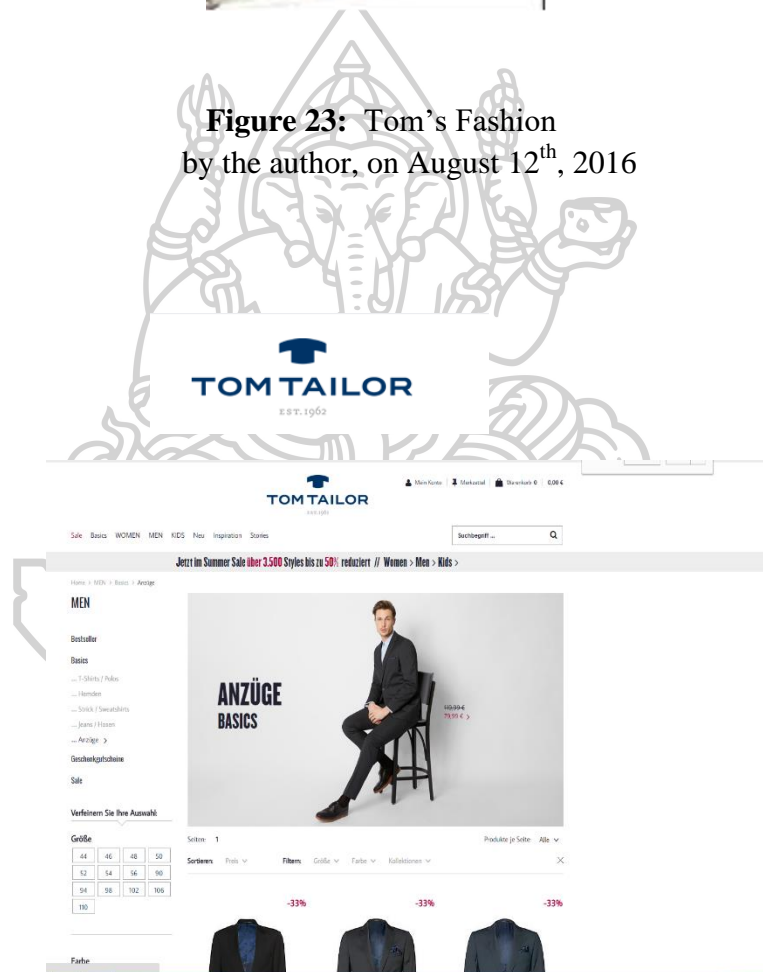


Figure 24: Tom Tailor brand name
Source: Tomtailor.com

C. “L ‘Louis’” from “Louis Vuitton”. The shop is shown in figure 25 and figure 26 and Louis Vuitton brand name is shown in figure 27.



Figure 25: L'Louis's collection



Figure 26: L'Louis's (day time)

by the author, on August 12th, 2016



Figure 27: Louis Vuitton brand name

Source: Louisvuitton.com

D. "Inter-Milan" is derived from "Milano" (Singh Tom, 2014). The shop is shown in figure 28 and Milano brand name is shown in figure 29.



Figure 28: Inter – Milan Tailor shop
by the author, on August 12th, 2016

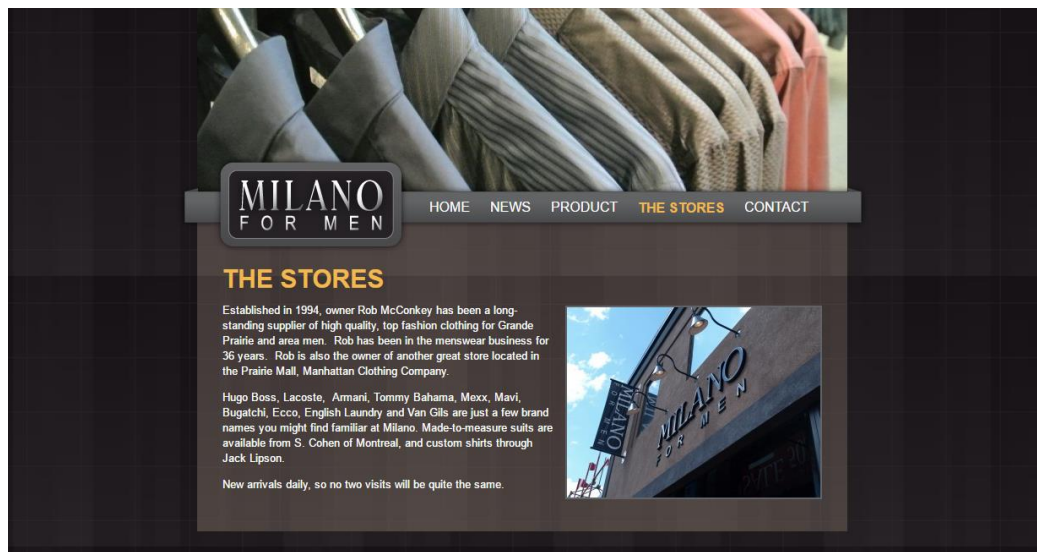


Figure 29: Milano brand name
Source: Milanoforment.ca

E. “Armani tailor studio” brand name is taken from “Giorgio Armani”. The shop is shown in figure 30 and the authentic Giorgio Armani brand name is shown in figure 31.



Figure 30: Armani tailor studio
 by the author, on August 12th, 2016

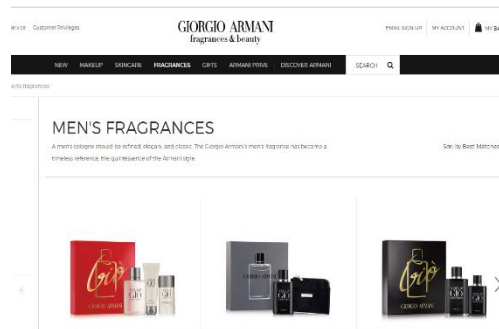


Figure 31: Giorgio Armani brand name
Source: giorgioarmani.com

These brand names are imitated from globally famous and popular brand names. The appeal to the tailors' "labels" is in their marketing display of claimed current fashion trends. Some customers believe those shops can make tailor-made suits in the similar manner such as the cutting and fabric texture as those of the famous shops. This indicates that the "labels" are claimed seem to achieve comparable characteristics to the real brand name guarantee.

F. Owner's name – Ravi Sehgal, Raja, Jim's Collection

Some shops use their real names in order to make their own brand names (Jim, 2014). These shops are shown in figures 32-33.



Figure 32: Ravi Sehgal



Figure 33: Raja

by the author, on September 5th, 2016

G. Location – Rajawongse clothes, Nana Fashion. Some shops choose brand names with a locational implication such as Rajawongse and Nana because they simply like those names. These shops are shown in figures 34-35. It implies that perhaps they used to live on Rajawongse Road or the Nana area (Victor, 2014).



Figure 34: Rajawongse



Figure 35: Nana Fashion

by the author, on September 5th, 2016

H. Others

Other shops choose names that can suggest an association with another institution. Some examples are Siam Emporium Custom Tailor, New Landmark Boutique and Classique fashion. These shops are shown in figures 36-37.



Figure 36: New Landmark Boutique



Figure 37: Classique fashion

by the author, on September 5th, 2016

Ambiguity of labels attracts visitors as spectacle. Baudrillard notes that “in order to become the object of consumption, the object must become a sign” (Baudrillard, 1988, p. 22). Signs are very important to attract customers. People become fascinated by signs where signage and images have become more important than what they stand for. Heavy promotional efforts involve visitors including the production of spectacle and sophisticated advertising (Gotham, 2002, p. 1745). It reflects that consumers consume imagery and do not concentrate on what the images mean (Williams, 2006, p. 484).

6.1.2 Famous Brand Name Imitation in Shopping

Urry notes that places are picked to be gazed upon, because there is the fantasy of intense pleasures (Urry, 1995, p. 132). As part of the tourist industry,

businesses not only try to sell “products”, but also the “experience”. Urry calls this anticipated outcome the “tourist gaze”.

Normal business hours for shops are 9 a.m. to 8 p.m., except that convenience stores stay open 24 hours. The Nana enclave has little to no activity during the day time. When the sun sets, the bright lights, the bars and restaurants come alive. Diverse music can be heard throughout the district. Sukhumvit Road transforms from seedy by day to the bright lights and spectacle of a “glamour zone” by night. The dominant characteristic of this stretch is the night market. Middle Eastern women visitors with their large plastic bags buy some souvenirs for their family and relatives. Some stall-holders on the same stretch of Sukhumvit offer the usual pirated DVDs, imitation Louis Vuitton, Dior, Yves Saint Laurent as well as Rolex and other designer watches (King and Varavarn, 2017, p. 176). This is where the gaze involves spectacle (Urry, 1990, pp. 86, 93). What customer see and how customers interpret it filters through their eyes and imaginations (Gotham, 2002, p. 1747). It reflects that tourism has become increasingly linked to spectacle.

The night-time vendors push clothes-rack trolleys with their collection of less expensive ladies clothes and various other merchandise. The vendors lining the night market are predominantly Indian; some also came from Nepal, Burma and Pakistan. They all could well be linked to the adjoining Indian shops although the salespeople seem mostly Thai–Isan, Lao and Burmese. The night market stalls begin to disassemble by 11 p.m. Towards the end of 2016, street vendors have been swept away from sidewalks due to the Bangkok governor’s policy. The vendor stalls previously occupied both sides of the sidewalk and left only a narrow space for pedestrians between the two rows. There is now only a single row against the front of the shops under the shop’s roofs. Therefore the Nana enclave is now less attractive for visitors. However, the night in the Nana enclave still reflects the fact that this transformation totally gives way to spectacle. It is a chance to claim the city with its less controllable spaces. It has been a loss in tourist spectacle (Dirsuweit and Schattauer, 2004, p. 247).

6.1.3 The Nana Area’s Physical Disorder

The Nana area is a combination of commercial and residential. The shophouses located in the front of Sukhumvit Road are commercial. The owners and their staff may occupy the second to the third floor of the shops. This area has also been a residential area with condominiums and single houses.

Poles loaded with electricity cables along Sukhumvit Road are a spectacle for foreigners, because most such wires are put under the ground in developed countries. It means that the wires appear very dangerous for the pedestrians whenever they spark. Moreover, Bangkok streets are very disordered with broken pavements, reflecting that city management is very important for tourists.

Sometimes, the streets are under construction and the visitors have to walk up and down along a somewhat hazardous Sukhumvit Road and its sois.

Several scholars describe how production centered capitalism has shifted to consumer capitalism based on leisure and spectacle (Gotham, 2002, p. 1737). Pietikainen and Kelly – Holmes have cited how the use of visual and linguistic resources for the labelling of souvenirs in Inari is an important part of the material culture of that tourist place (Pietikainen and Kelly – Holmes, 2011, p. 323). Nana is similar. It reflects that spectacle strongly attracts tourists.

Baudrillard has commented that if everything is reduced to spectacle, there will be no spectacle, however, means no tourists (Baudrillard, 1985, p. 129). It suggests that authenticity is visual and not historical. It links fantasy theme parks, shopping, and consumption together. For example, the Indian community in Argentina has been developed as a tourist attraction because it expresses Indian identity and economic benefit as a tourist spectacle (Porananond, 2014, p. 166). King and Varavarn has observed that the informal settlement of shophouses and improvised houses has disordered Bangkok, especially in Khlong Toei and the Khlong Phra Khanong banks (King and Varavarn, 2017, p. 179). However this unplanned and disordered Bangkok space is also to be seen as spectacle.

Label imitation may be seen as illegal. Brand names should be used carefully in terms of licensing. In some countries, imitated brand names seem to be fun but ultimately are not good for businesses. Moreover, in some jurisdictions commercial areas should be completely separated from residential areas – fortunately it is not so in Thailand. No one can stay in the upstairs because it is illegal in the U.S.A. Thus, owners and staff have to stay in other areas and commute to their workplace every day. Fortunately, Bangkok's governors have not discovered how to separate commercial and resident areas. Rather, the Bangkok policy has controlled Nana spaces in order to clear sidewalks for pedestrians, regardless of the reality that it may be the sidewalk markets that those pedestrians might be seeking.

Nana as a Unity of Diversity

6.2 Nana as a Unity of Diversity

The Nana enclave in Bangkok is a hybrid of different cultures and religious spaces-Buddhist, Christian, Muslim; Thais and Chinese (King and Varavarn, 2017, p. 161). It has changed from homogeneous to heterogeneous because it consists of many types of people living in the area. Heterogeneous spaces are normally located in non-western destinations where tourism has emerged with an unplanned and contingent process (Edensor, 2000, pp. 322-344). Although the inhabitants come from different cultures, they can live together in the same area. It seems that some cities in the USA present as a paradigm. Many diverse people from around the world live in the US city because they try to find new opportunities. As they live and respect each other,

implying that many kinds of people from around the world can live together in one place. They seem to live together peacefully with various cultures in one area, effectively globalization with different cultures.

Consequently, the Thai, Indian, American, European, Middle –eastern, and ASEAN populations congregate in a manner that is ambiguous and inconsistent in the Nana area (King, 2017, p. 3). This reflects that cross – cultural translation is an element of multicultural societies (Staiff and Bushell, 2003, p. 10). In the 2010s, the Nana enclave presented Westernization and Islamization in a Thai host embedded in an Indian commercial community with East Asian tourists and sex tourism from Westerners (King, 2017, p. 12). There are many nationalities in the Nana enclave. The Indian commercial community of Nana can be seen as a diversity of people and cultures in highlighted, even exaggerated detail.

6.2.1 Fabulous Presentation

The Nana enclave on Sukhumvit Road has supplied many of the entrepreneurs for both informal, formal, and underground economies consisting variously of vendors, beggars, and prostitutes (King and Dovey, 2013, p. 10). It is a zone of spectacle and tourist attraction for millions from the world. Many tourists come and visit in the Nana enclave. They dress in different costumes. For example, Middle Eastern men wear turbans and long robes, women in black dresses with their faces covered. Thai people and western people wear casual dress. Some Sikh Indian men wear turbans. The turban is the most notable presentation of the men’s clothing. Indian women wearing saris become popular for the elderly people. All walk through the Nana area. Tourists’ dress clearly implies the differences and inconsistencies of various cultures (King, 2017, p. 2).

Outfits of both men and women contribute to a festival experience. During the Songkran holiday, Thai people wear colorful shirts in order to celebrate Thai New Year. All costumes command the attention of the tourist gaze (Urry, 2002, p. 45).

6.2.2 Food

Many restaurants offer many varieties of food. The Nana enclave has halal restaurants, Thai restaurants, vegetarian restaurants, Indian restaurants and Western restaurants. Halal food is especially served for Muslim Middle Easterners and Muslim Indians. Islamic doctrine defines what foods and drinks may be consumed by Muslim people (Jafari and Scott, 2014, p. 4). Vegetarian and Indian foods are served to those Indian and Thai people who do not eat meat. Western food such as pizza, hotdog and hamburger are served mostly to Western people. Thai restaurants offer Thai food to all tourists who would like to try it. An example of popular Thai food is papaya salad, grilled chicken, fried rice and coconut soup. All

such restaurants reflect that people around this area come from many regions of the world. The tourists know the way to eat, live, behave and enjoy their lives.

6.2.3 Multi – Languages

English is widely spoken in the Nana enclave, though not everybody understands it as much as the English speakers do. Especially, Thai people have a habit of smiling and always saying “Yes” to almost anything (Evans and Evans, 2009, p. 27), because they do not deeply understand the meaning. Language is a key aspect of identity (Medina, 2003, pp. 353-368), it is also a factor to determine ethnic classification.

The Indian commercial community of Nana is to be seen as engaged in a diversity of multi-voiced communication. Those voices are exchanged and transacted variously with the flow of both Middle- Eastern and Western tourists and a wider “host” of the Thai community. There are also Lao-Isan and Burmese in Nana as a social space and the Indian shopkeepers. Street vendors speak in Thai, English, Burmese, Arabic, some Indian languages, Nepali, Japanese and Thai-Isan. Western and Middle-Eastern tourists speak mostly English and Arabic. Many voices are spoken and heard in at least five languages in that area. Tourists always bargain the price to sellers in English. For example, soi 3 (Nana Nuea) to soi 3/1 are called “*Little Arabia or Middle East Street*” where all sellers speak Arabic and English to Middle-Eastern tourists. Although sellers are Thai, Thai-Isan, Indian, Nepalese, Middle-Easterners and Burmese, they all try to speak Arabic and English as well.

Multiple languages in Nana also present in written forms of communication. The Indian commercial community of Nana is to be seen as engaged in a diversity of multi-voiced presentations in Japanese, English, Arabic and Thai on signage and windows of shops. Thai and English on the window are shown in figure 38. English and Arabic on the board is shown in figure 39.



Figure 38: Thai and English



Figure 39: English and Arabic

by the author, on September 5th, 2016

Then, Japanese and English are displayed on a window as shown in figure 40.



Figure 40: Japanese and English
by the author, on September 5th, 2016

Between soi 5 (Loet Sin 1) and soi 11 (Chai Yot), also from soi 4 (NanaTai) to soi 10, there are numerous Asian visitors and Westerners and that has led sellers to advertise on their windows in English, Thai, Japanese and Arabic.

The languages of signage vary across the area from Arabic in soi 3 and soi 3/1 to English and East Asian in soi 5 to soi 11. On the other side of Sukhumvit the languages of signage vary across the area, from English and East Asian in soi 4 to soi 10. The “voice” with all communication, both written and spoken reflects the person’s prospect, concepts and intention.

6.2.3 Hotels

People of different cultures and languages are grouped in different ways. Some manners may be considered variously desirable or unacceptable in some cultures. A way of life varies from a non-Muslim country to a Muslim country (Jafari and Scott, 2014, p. 15). The Grace Hotel on Sukhumvit soi 3 mostly caters for a Muslim Middle –East clientele, as does the Amari hotel soi 5. Some hotels focusing on Muslim tourists offer prayer rooms and halal foods for travelers. Prayer rooms mean Muslim visitors are there.

Hotels in the Nana enclave are of many kinds and levels. Normally, tourism staff are provided with training about cross– cultural communication. They are informed how to treat Muslim tourists with honour (Jafari and Scott, 2014, p. 8). Some hotels are small and cheap with simple facilities such as hot water, air–conditioner but little else. The owners rarely operate with exclusion policies (Edensor, 2000, pp. 322-344).

Heterogeneous space tends to become global. Globalization has extended international tourist flows. Tourism is growing in political and cultural importance. These changes also derive from international migration that has impacted upon non-residential areas. For example, restaurants and cafes come with the emergence of

ethnically distinct districts e.g. Little India in Singapore, Chinatown in Chicago and London's Brick Lane (Ashworth and Page, 2011, p. 5; Ashworth, 2011, p. 5). Thus, within the global community there is variety from the blending of religion, politics, culture and historical influences (Jafari and Scott, 2014, p. 2). It is not surprising that the North Africa region is quite diverse, as economic, political and social structures are significantly different (Gray, 2000, p. 395).

6.2.4 Religious Symbols

Many kinds of symbols in the Nana enclave indicate spirit houses, prayer rooms, and Chinese shrines. A spirit house means that Thai people live or work around that area, just as Chinese shrines means Chinese–Thai people or Chinese people are in the area as well. The local prayer room was built in an old building with a narrow space in the middle of the area in order for Muslims to pray five times a day, also in the Grace Hotel for Muslim people (Cohen and Neal, 2012, p. 581). These all indicate the diverse people and cultures of the Nana area.

In a somewhat similar case, Morocco's emphasis on diversity from the broad types of tourists that it receives, has proven to have both advantageous and disadvantageous influences on the development of its tourism division (Gray, 2000, p. 397). Meanwhile, some countries such as Malaysia focus on attracting Muslim visitors and developing their tourism industry accordingly (Cohen and Neal, 2012, p. 572; Jafari and Scott, 2014, p. 8).

On the other hand, some scholars have observed that the way costume and dressing impose limitations in some situations (Pielichaty, 2015, p. 245). For example, Saudi Arabian women enjoy shopping on holiday and that is a popular activity; however, they may feel constrained in a host country because their dress looks strange (Jafari and Scott, 2014, p. 8).

Some researchers argue that Muslim women wearing a bikini at the beach have been criticized as posing a possible appeal to westerners and that this impacts on the decision–making process for a Muslim holiday (Jafari and Scott, 2014, pp. 12-13). Moreover, Rimmawi and Ibrahim have argued that tourism is widely misinterpreted as a waste of their time, as Muslim people should be spending their time in pleasing Allah (God) (Rimmawi and Ibrahim, 1992, p. 93). Further, pork and alcohol are proscribed and food should be prepared correctly; especially, Muslims are to eat halal meat (Jafari and Scott, 2014, p. 8). Hence the view that tourism is not a proper Muslim activity. Thus, the requirements of Muslims in terms of food, travel pattern, daily prayers need to adjust in the tourism offering of most destination, as some non–Muslim people do not respect the Muslim requirements in every destination.

The researcher strongly agrees with Arthur Richardson who has described the concept of getting along as “intercultural,” meaning that they make diversity work in a sense of ethnic harmony as a humanitarian and an economic force (Liu, 2005, p. 5). One might suggest that unity in diversity should be the law.

Nana as Commodification

6.3 Nana as Commodification

Commodification means things and activities coming to be evaluated primarily in terms of exchange-value (trade) over use-value. Goods and services are valued by consumption rather than production (Cohen, 1998, p. 380; Gotham, 2002, p. 1735).

First, there is the consumption of tangible goods including souvenirs, food and drink, transport, medicine, and accommodation where market relations dominate social life (Gotham, 2002, pp. 1736-1737). Secondly, commodification turns to services in business units such as hospitals, restaurants, and tailor shops, especially Bumrungrad international hospital on Sukhumvit Road (Cohen, 2008, p. 24).

Walter Benjamin (1978) noted that “this commodity phantasmagoria of the spectacle infusing the radiant world of commodities began in the 19th century in the Paris Arcades” (Gotham, 2002, p. 1744). It can also be seen as the quality of the Sukhumvit night market.

Consequently, the Nana enclave has many kinds of goods and services offering to visitors such as souvenirs, food and drink, entertainment, and healthcare establishments. Those things attract the tourist’s eyes by an ambiguity of labels and the physical city area itself as spectacle. The visitors always buy a variety of goods and then they buy services as well. For example, when tourists buy a suit in the Nana area, they will buy service from the owners such as sending a suit to the customer’s room at the hotel. The transformation reflects changes in values and the meanings for the community (Porananond, 2014, p. 166).

Commodification as spectacle extends to customer services as well. The tourists will consume commodities and services in the Nana area such as in restaurants, hospitals, tailor shops, street stalls and so on. It implies that the increase in tourism and the creation of consumption space within cities have emerged from style as identity, visual images, and electronic media (Gotham, 2002, p. 1738).

Medical tourism is the commodification of health care to attract medical tourists. Hospitals have to adapt their services to suit customer’s need (Cohen, 2008, p. 32). In addition, sex tourism has become a sexual service in a global industry (Clancy, 2002, p. 63). At another level, Santa Claus has been transformed from commodities for consumption into services as intangible sights for the Christmas festival (Pretes, 1995, p. 14); likewise the Pravasi Bharatiya Divas festival brings the Indian diaspora together for a key experience (Williams, 2006, p. 491). Thus, tourism entrepreneurs are involved in reshaping, adapting and manipulating images of places to be desirable to the targeted clients (Gotham, 2002, p. 1743). The Nana area is sold not just as products, but also as commodified spectacle designed to ensure its uniqueness (Ashworth and Page, 2011, p. 11). Images and spectacle create the area’s identity in different ways.

As Cohen (Cohen, 1998, p. 382) argues, commoditization preserves traditions by generating demand for them. However, commoditization cannot be accessed through traditional means.

Commoditization ranges from buying goods to selling services. However, both goods and services have to be good and stay in visitors' memories, so that customers will come back or tell their friends to come. Presently, the service and its visual appearance is very important to meet the customer's needs and satisfaction. Thus, selling goods is not enough; image may count even more.

Nana as Political Economy

6.4 Nana as Political Economy

Tourism is a significant part of the regional economy for Thailand, and there are also growing markets in Asia. Thus, every country tries to advertise in order to persuade tourists to come to their countries. Tourism attraction marketing, the use of imagery and the selling of places have become segments of the political economy of tourism and strategies of cities as well (Gotham, 2002, p. 1736). The policy making process is to be viewed in the context of a city's political economy.

The concept of political economy suggests that government can give priority to specific sectors of the economy. Wealth provides income to the government and population provides political support. Therefore, political economy emphasizes the significance of economic and power relations, while policy decisions involve attitudes and personal perceptions (Wang and Bramwell, 2012, pp. 989, 990).

American soldiers were sent to work in Vietnam War because of political conditions. When they took rest and recreation leave (R&R), they came to Thailand. This led to an increasing sex industry presented by massage parlors, dance halls, and other marketing of sex (Leheny, 1995, p. 373). Thus a form of sex tourism occurred at that time. The Thai government tried to control the sex industry, while the numbers of women working as prostitutes increased. Later Japan's demand focused on Thailand for sex tourism (Leheny, 1995, p. 381). However, it was not only one or two countries to focus on Thailand in terms of sex tourism, especially on Silom Road, soi Cowboy, and soi Nana, but also people from many countries concentrated on Thai sex tourism also. The political circle associated with government is strongly related to social, cultural, and economic spheres (Wang and Bramwell, 2012, p. 989) and hence to all aspects of tourism. Thus, changes in government policy and behavior directly affect tourism as well (Leheny, 1995, p. 374).

6.4.1 Political Factors

Government policies had allowed entertainment hubs to close at 4 a.m., later it was reduced to 2 a.m. People had to go home and all entertainment businesses were closed at 2 a.m. Street vendors offered their products from 7 p.m. to midnight. Recently street vendors were all swept from the sidewalk by the Bangkok governor's policy. Thus government policy influences people around the Nana area such as sellers, bartenders, travelers, and restaurant owners.

6.4.2 Economy

The Nana enclave has vacant land, also half-completed projects. Some buildings have been abandoned completely. The built fabric reflects the 1997 collapse of the Thai economy to the winds of an increasingly integrated world economy. The global economy plays an important role in the Nana area in detail.

Indian tailor shops are transient, moving from one place to another. Originally, an Indian family sold fabrics in Wongwian Yai (วงเวียนใหญ่) and then moved to Sukhumvit Road in 1992, recognizing that foreign tourists or target customers stay at hotels on Sukhumvit Road. The Tom's tailor owner has been operating for 24 years (Singh Peter, 2014). On the other hand, a shop's lease would typically expire in 5 years. After the expiration of the lease, they would move to another shop in the same area, as the Nana area was seen as the right place to make money. A business is dependent upon the shop's lease which is why some tailor's shops would be moved around the Nana area. It implies that the Nana area has a lot of target customers, especially Westerners, and that if the Nana enclave had no Westerners, the economy would not be good. For example, "Ever Rich Design" tailor shop located in the Sukhumvit Grande Hotel soi 6 had closed down 3 years ago, in figures 41 and 42. It was moved to a new shop between soi 5 (Loet Sin 1) and soi 7 (Loet Sin 2) because of the lease expiration and the target group had changed from Westerners to Middle-Easterners, in figure 43. It reflects also that customers and their relationship to commodities also changed. The Sukhumvit Grande Hotel has Chinese on package tours and they would not appear to patronize Indian tailor shops, whereas Indian tailor shops are patronized by Western business tourists. It is a reason why the "Ever Rich Design" was also moved to a new location. That tailor's shop sells suits, fabric and leather shoes. Some tailor's shops had been located on Sukhumvit Road soi 12 for 20 years, then moved to between soi 8 (Prida) and soi 10 (Saen Samran) where they have been operating until now for 30 years. Moreover, Roberto Raggic tailor shop moved from soi 11/1 to soi 6 (Chai Saman) with a new location sign in figures 44 to 46, illustrating that the Nana enclave is the right place, with a diversity of customer groups and a good economy.



Figures 41 and 42: The Sukhumvit Grande Hotel I & II



Figure 43: Presently, “Ever Rich Design” tailor shop is located between soi 5 and soi 7

by the author, on August 12th, 2016



Figure 44: Roberto Raggic shop



Figure 45: new location’s map

by the author, on August 12th, 2014



Figure 46: Roberto Raggio tailor shop soi 6
by the author, on August 16th, 2016

Whereas the first generation of Indians sold fabric, the second generation sold fabric and tailor-made suits, and the third generation sells mostly tailor-made suits. The third generation tailors reported that they were used to selling fabric and then expanded to be a tailor-made suit shop. Several shops have two branches on Sukhumvit Road. For example, one branch is located in the Nana area and the other on Sukhumvit Road soi 19. Unfortunately their tailor shops are now gone, because there was no one to run the business the new generation would not continue in this line of business. They choose other careers such as doctors, dentists, nurses and IT businessmen.

Due in part to the 2008 economic crisis, Indian tailor owners have to travel abroad in order to get orders for tailor-made suits from foreigners. They needed to generate more business in order to survive. Some Indian tailors will travel abroad to countries in Europe, Australia, New Zealand, and U.S.A to generate orders and return to Thailand to make the suits.

The present economy provides both advantages and disadvantages. Due to the benefits, city governors everywhere have acted to attract capital investment and business into place marketing and major infrastructural schemes (Wang and Bramwell, 2012, p. 991). These lead to the development of their own countries with the generated wealthy from tourism. Tourism will be considered as a set of economic activities linked to taste, fashion, and identity (Rojek and Urry, 1997, p. 2). Visitors all around the world come to visit the marketed countries. They all buy local products, pay for hotels, transportation and so on. Thus, tourism would create employment such as hotel staff, chefs, and guides related to economic restructuring and earning valuable currency (Gray, 2000, p. 396). Both Egypt and Tunisia have implemented economic liberalization programs with tourism. For example, the strengths of Egypt are “historical and natural attractions” and of Tunisia are “the sun, surf, and sand,”

attracting large numbers of visitors (Gray, 2000, p. 406). Elsewhere, the Mardi Gras festival connects with political economy aspects to satisfy needs to structure a spectacular environment (Gotham, 2002, p. 1748). The conclusion is that tourism seems to encourage investment and increased income to local people, but it affects the wider economy as well.

Meanwhile, Wang and Bramwell (Wang and Bramwell, 2012, p. 993) argue that it is necessary to think about both cultural protection and economic growth at the same time. For example, the Thai government tried to limit sex tourism, but it responded ambivalently to an economic boom linked to the sex industry. Thailand presents negatively in comparison to other countries. It is important that AIDS had rapidly grown in Thailand, but the Thai government reacted positively to that crisis. It reflects that tourism is seen to be good for the country, but that it also brings disease to host countries, which must be countered. In contrast, North Africa had faced serious problems in the global financial crisis so that the tourism sector resisted economic development (Gray, 2000, p. 394). Some countries give wrong information. For example, Morocco has problems with tourism advertisements and with small-scale fraud against visitors, an issue much criticized by travelers (Gray, 2000, p. 406). In conclusion, although tourism growth can contribute largely to income and employment creation, it does not solve indefinitely economic problems. Notably, the governments of North Africa have paid almost no attention to tourism since 1950 (Gray, 2000, pp. 394, 396).

The researcher comments that tourism gives advantages and disadvantages at the same time. Thus, governments should plan for but also control tourists when they come to the tourist attractions and then maintain them. For example, the Kingdom of Bhutan has limited the time and the numbers of tourists coming to the Kingdom of Bhutan; similarly with Yellowstone National Park in the USA.

Nana as Tourism

6.5 Nana as Tourism

Tourists are established almost exclusively on hedonistic motivation, for seeking personal, relaxation, interpersonal rewards, and escape from their same environments (Sundstrom and Lundberg and Giannkis, 2011, p. 213).

Moreover, Goossens's hedonic tourism motivational model stated that cultural travel motivation, cultural interest, destination constraints and hedonic response are linked together (Ashworth and Page, 2011, p. 7; Goossens, 2000, p. 316; Wong and McKercher and Li, 2014, p. 1).

The tourism industry in the Nana enclave is centered around entertainment hubs, nightclubs, gambling, medicine, and prostitution. In some contrast, Las Vegas in the USA continues to diversify from gambling into the family entertainment market and shopping at the same environment (Clancy, 2002, p. 75; Liu, 2005, p. 3). There are many types of tourism such as cultural tourism, bicycle tourism, sex tourism,

hedonistic tourism, and medical tourism. The focuses are on hedonistic and medical tourism in the Nana enclave.

6.5.1 Hedonistic Tourism

A hedonistic tourist is a kind of traveler that seeks pleasure only, or at least primarily. The tourists are traveling for recreation and fun activities only, rather than business. Regarding hedonistic needs, desire and pleasure are relevant emotions that have a strong motivational character including stimulus information such as feelings, moods, emotional experience, consumers' vision, and expressions (Goossens, 2000, pp. 311, 314). Leisure needs become a person's basic motivational force (Goossens, 2000, p. 303). The visitors consist of Westerners, Middle-Easterners and Asians. Westerners are mostly Americans, Europeans, and Australians. Middle-Easterner tourists in the Nana enclave come mainly from the UAE, Oman, Kuwait, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia. Finally, Asian visitors comprise Indian and Chinese people. Islamic travelling presents as an aspect of this of hedonic conceptualization of tourism (Jafari and Scott, 2014, p. 9). For example, single Saudi Arabian males wear western outfits rather than their cultural/religious clothing while hedonistic opportunities constitute the main motivation for their visits in Bangkok, Thailand (Cohen and Neal, 2012, p. 575), as they escape from religious regulations and family restrictions.

Hedonistic tourism demand is driven by different motivations. One of them is "shopping" (Sundstrom and Lundberg and Giannkis, 2011, p. 211). Shopping opportunities are found in abundance around the Nana enclave. Shopping is a great source of income for the country. However, a low-price destination attracts visitors as bargain hunters (Sundstrom and Lundberg and Giannkis, 2011, p. 212). For example, copies of the latest Hollywood movies are made and lauded to Thailand street markets within 1–2 days of their release. The copies' price is 100 baht. Although it is illegal, there are a plenty of buyers. The movie sellers may not understand much in English, but they know about the films and their content (Evans and Evans, 2009, p. 26). It reflects that the challenge to buy counterfeit products is commingled with pleasure. Traditional Middle-Eastern societies will see the Bangkok street markets as public places where Middle-Eastern women could interact with other males. Thus, Gulf Arab women with female relatives or friends would go shopping, bargaining for price. Elsewhere they would stay in their home. Therefore, Gulf Arab women can experience enjoyable and social leisure activities in evening shopping on Sukhumvit Road (Cohen and Neal, 2012, p. 581). The street market has many kinds of commodities offering to visitors such as watches, shoes, bags, clothes, cigarette lighters, knives, perfumes, and toys (Cohen and Neal, 2012, p. 580).

The halal restaurants enable Middle Eastern families or single tourists to eat and enjoy themselves with safety. The restaurants are located inside the Nana enclave and away from the main road. Middle East or halal restaurants are an identity of the

place. The restaurants offer a variety of Middle Eastern dishes, while many shops have Arabic inscriptions on their windows and signs (Cohen and Neal, 2012, p. 581). Since a group of restaurants provides entertainment, it attracts more Middle Eastern tourists and more customers (Cohen and Neal, 2012, p. 585). Although Muslims are forbidden to consume alcohol at a bar, such restrictions might be forgotten when they arrive in Bangkok. Thais and Westerners do not shop at Sukhumvit street markets unless they are seeking fun. The massage parlors help the body's relaxation, but is against the Islamic religious rules. While Middle-Eastern men might seek only pleasure when they stay far away from their country, if the girls, the alcohol, and the massage parlors were to disappear, there would almost certainly be no Arab tourists in the Nana enclave (Cohen and Neal, 2012, p. 588).

The smaller hotels and guesthouses in the Nana enclave serve Middle Eastern, Indian, African, and Pakistani men. These accommodation establishments are cheap and have easy access to the facilities and leisure opportunities in the enclave. Moreover, the hotels allow the men to bring a partner to their rooms (Cohen and Neal, 2012, p. 584). It also reflects that Middle Easterners can have extra wives without asking the real wife. Large numbers of Middle-Eastern Muslim families stay in the most well-known, Westerner-oriented sex tourism area of the Nana Entertainment Plaza, the Dynasty Inn and the Nana Hotel (Cohen and Neal, 2012, p. 582). It reflects that it is a time for hedonistic pleasure that is free from obligation and constraints, as the Nana Entertainment Plaza (soi 4) also has many freelancer bars (Cohen and Neal, 2012, p. 579). The Nana enclave was initially founded for American sex tourists in the 1970s and Gulf Arab sex tourists in the early 1980s. It has become a center of sexual service for many nationalities since 1970. The hedonistic role came to be increasingly confined to hotels (Cohen and Neal, 2012, p. 582), as the sex tourists seek out alternative locations to satisfy their desires. Male tourists are attracted to the hedonistic opportunities offered by Bangkok and they are less concerned with keeping religious practices during their visit (Cohen and Neal, 2012, p. 592).

Some scholars cite that Macau is developing into the Asian gambling destination for casino visitors, following Las Vegas in the USA (Gu, 2004, p. 89). This might suggest that the Nana enclave will become a Macau or Las Vegas in the future. Macau makes a major contribution to the economy through gambling or hedonistic tourism. The majority of customers come from China, Philippines, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Korea, Japan, UK, and USA (Song and Witt, 2006, p. 221). Cuba begins to join the global sex tourism commodity chain alongside Thailand and the Philippines (Clancy, 2002, p. 64). In the light of this evolving global network of hedonistic tourism, Nana's global role can be expected to change.

Studies may examine characteristics of demand and supply of halal food for Muslims, or the availability of alcohol for both Muslims and non-Muslim, or destination choice. Hedonistic tourism also suits non-Muslim tourists. Paralleling the growth in Mardi Gras tourism elsewhere is the increased number of hotel rooms but

also hotel chains in the Bangkok metro area in the past 20 years to accommodate tourists (Gotham, 2002, p. 1745).

Some Muslim tourists drink alcohol so much so that they have heart attacks. It seems that some Muslims are not “good drinkers” (Cohen and Neal, 2012, p. 588). However, some scholars raise questions about the use of alcohol during leisure activities and how these impact the decision-making process for their holiday (Jafari and Scott, 2014, p. 13).

Religiously inscribed gender differences in Malaysia have made it difficult for females working in tourism (Jafari and Scott, 2014, p. 12). It reflects the perception that such women turn into prostitutes. The differences between genders in terms of challenges, feeling and impacts from experiences have been identified by many scholars (Jafari and Scott, 2014, p. 14). Thus, it is argued, women should not walk alone along streets at night. Some Muslim male travelers try to mimic the hedonistic western behavior when they go out from their home countries (Jafari and Scott, 2014, p. 13) in order to release their emotions from religious constraint.

The researcher comments that sometimes travelers release their emotions and follow their pleasure, but they should be careful of their behavior because others see and debate their behaviors. Travelers should limit their behaviors when they are out of their home countries.

6.5.2 Medical Tourism

The medical tourism concept is that travelers receive medical care outside their country while they can take advantage of their visit by adding day trips, a vacation, and sightseeing (Cohen, 2008, p. 27; Parsiyar, 2009, p. 380). Presently, people from rich countries travel to developing countries in order to access health services, based on low-cost of treatment, inexpensive flights, low-cost expenditure, and online consumer information for medical services.

Because of high costs of treatment in rich world countries, long waiting lists at their home countries and favorable exchange rates, patients are willing to travel oversea for operations with new technology and skills in destination countries, especially for cosmetic surgery, general checkup, and so on (Connell, 2006, p. 1093). Thus tourists do not need to be only hedonists, but can also expect a beneficial outcome (Connell, 2006, p. 1093). One advantage of medical tourism is that it can spread income into other businesses such as hotels, restaurants, tourist agencies, and transportation agencies in host countries. It reflects that medical tourists normally have high purchasing power (Pornphol and Naveevong and Chittayasothorn, 2015, p. 378). Medical tourism has recently become one of the fastest growing fields in a number of Asian developing countries such as India, Singapore, and Thailand (Parsiyar, 2009, p. 384). Many countries link medical care to tourism, boosting other tourist attractions such as beach and mountain (Cohen, 2008, p. 24; Connell, 2006, p. 1095). Examples are Bumrungrad hospital in Phuket, and Bangkok hospital in Hun-

Hin. Accordingly there is the rapid rise in foreign demand from wealthy, highly developed nations for medical treatment in Thailand, offering high quality and readily accessible medical service at affordable rates attractive to medical tourists in Thailand. Not only is Thailand a major tourism destination but also one of the most popular countries for medical tourism.

Thailand has developed into a leading provider of international medical tourism in terms of reasonable price, good quality health care and easy access. Thailand is also a pleasant place for rehabilitation after patients are treated as there are many places and options for traveling (Pornphol and Naveevong and Chittayasothorn, 2015, p. 381). Following the various government promotional campaigns, “Amazing Thailand”, spas, hospital and herbal products to attract tourists, by the late 1990s Thailand had become a favorite destination for cosmetic surgery (Cohen, 2008, p. 28). Later, patients from the Middle East came to Thailand following the September 11 attack, when it became difficult to obtain American visas. So they turned to Thailand to seek treatment (Cohen, 2008, p. 27). Thus, leading hospitals have focused on attracting Middle Easterners (Cohen and Neal, 2012, p. 592). More than a million foreigners travel to Thailand for medical and surgical procedures each year. In 2012, the number of international patients treated in Thailand was around 2.5 million (Bumrungrad Hospital, 2017). The number of international patients is constantly growing. In 2015, the Tourism Authority of Thailand expected that Thailand would be a world destination for specific medicine with advanced technologies and medical instrumentation including reasonable price. There are many famous hospitals in Thailand such as Vejthani Hospital, Phyathai Hospital, Bangkok Hospital and Bumrungrad International Hospital at soi 3 on Sukhumvit Road.

Thailand’s Bumrungrad International Hospital is the first Asian hospital to receive the Joint-Commission International (JCI) accreditation and ISO 9001 certification. Medical tourists receiving treatment in Bangkok was pioneered by the Bumrungrad International Hospital (Cohen, 2008, p. 29; Cohen and Neal, 2012, p. 575). The types of treatment are cosmetic procedures, check-ups, dental work, and orthopedics that tourists prefer (Cohen, 2008, p. 30). The highest number of medical tourists in 2010 in Thailand came from the United Arab Emirates, followed by Bangladesh, the USA and Myanmar (Noree and Hanefeld and Smith, 2016, p. 31). Later, the majority of medical tourists came from Myanmar, United Arab Emirates, and Oman in 2016 (Bumrungrad Hospital, 2017). Bangkok’s Bumrungrad International Hospital is in the heart of the city’s Arab quarter with Islamic prayer rooms, Arabic interpreters and halal kitchens (Cohen and Neal, 2012, p. 592; Edey, 2002, pp. 77-78). The hospital takes care of everything from visas, interpreters, insurance, and correspondence with doctor at home and so on. In addition, its technology has become the same as in the west and doctors are experienced in western procedure. Labor costs are kept very low and insurance is less expensive

(Connell, 2006, p. 1095). In addition, several Thai hospitals have signed agreements with Middle East government to outsource for medical service (Cohen, 2008, p. 31). Clearly there will continue to be Middle-Easterners coming to Thailand.

Middle-Easterners and their families will seek treatment in a nearby hospital, as the Middle East enclave is located at the entrance to Bumrungrad International Hospital between sois 1 and 3 on Sukhumvit Road, specializing in services to medical tourists (Cohen and Neal, 2012, p. 579). Thus the Nana enclave's place for Muslim medical tourism.

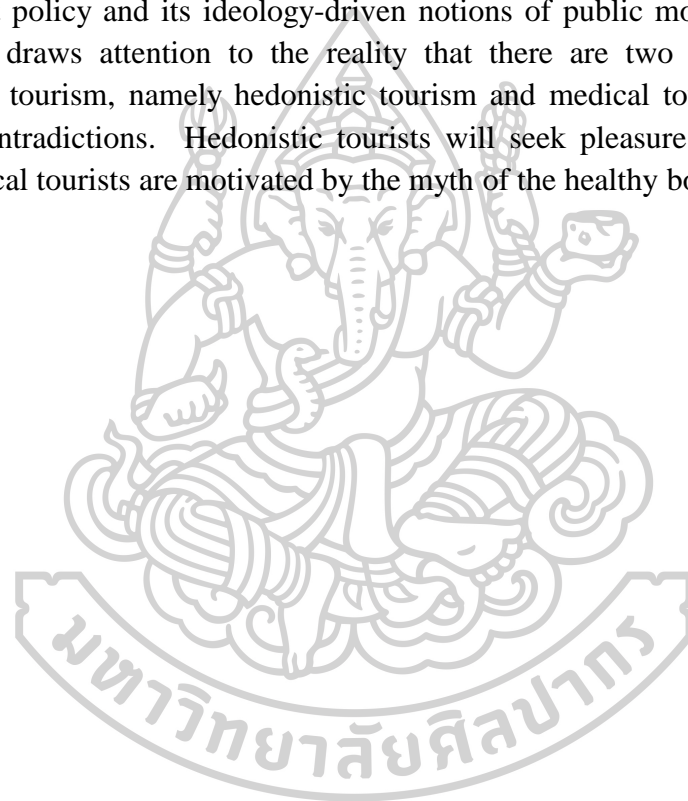
Some scholars argue that the reputation of Thailand as a tourist destination has encouraged medical tourism. Medical tourism extends to the Bangkok Dental Spa that treats many thousands. The patients know Thailand because they love Thailand as a holiday destination. Medical tourists are not a homogeneous group but a mix of patients travelling with both serious health issues and seeking minor treatments while they are taking a holiday (Noree and Hanefeld and Smith, 2016, p. 34). Presently, the Amari Boulevard is less for sex tourists and more for Middle-Eastern families coming to Bangkok on vacation for medical treatment (Cohen and Neal, 2012, p. 584), reflecting that some hotels turn from sex tourism to medical tourism.

Some scholars have noted the travel of patients from less-developed countries to developed nations in pursuit of treatments not available in their homeland (Parsiyyar, 2009, p. 382), reflecting that some medicines do not come to everyone. Some patients face serious drawbacks, with the risk of inappropriate or faulty treatment after returning home. They also need to travel for serious problems to other places, (Connell, 2005, p. 99), sometimes because they need to escape from their family and friends in terms of cosmetic surgery. In addition, tourism still promotes the rise of low-wage jobs with few benefits that lead to more harm than good (Gotham, 2002, p. 1736). For example, some tourists hire women to sleep with, hence sex tourism which is notorious in Thailand. Finally, Middle East Muslim patients may be unfamiliar with a Thai environment because they need particular services such as a prayer room and halal food (Cohen, 2008, p. 33). Generally, Bangkok has no prayer rooms nor halal food to serve Muslim people, except in the Nana precinct.

As a passing comment, one can observe the need for the right medicine to the right patient. Some medicines are banned in some countries but used in developing countries. Patients should be careful with what they see in Thailand. Some procedures are good, some bad.

In conclusion, the Nana enclave can be interpreted in five ways. Firstly, Nana as spectacle means that tourists see something strangely different from their normal experience. They are very interested in spectacle as such, also in the bewildering ambiguity of labels at tailor shops, the spectacle of shopping and the physical disorder

of the Nana area. Secondly, Nana as a unity in diversity means that the Nana area has changed from homogeneous to heterogeneous, and a quintessential exemplar of globalization. The evidence is in costumes, foods, multi-languages, hotels, and religious symbols. Thirdly, Nana as commoditization means that things become objects of consumption; services become commodities for consumption; the woman in the bar or on the street becomes an object for consumption; the economy is defined by consumption over production. More positively, products in the Nana enclave can sell with good service such as in hotels, restaurants, and tailor shops. Fourthly, Nana as political economy means that economic power is a key element in the political policy process. The pubs have closed earlier, from 4.00 a.m to 2.00 a.m., because of government policy and its ideology-driven notions of public morality. Fifthly, Nana as tourism draws attention to the reality that there are two significant kinds of intersecting tourism, namely hedonistic tourism and medical tourism, with all their inherent contradictions. Hedonistic tourists will seek pleasure gratifying the body while medical tourists are motivated by the myth of the healthy body.



Chapter 7

Conclusion and Suggestions

The Indian immigrants began building new lives in Thailand during the reign of King Rama V. They came to Thailand as merchants and Brahman for several reasons. First, Indian merchants were able to sell their local products and buy locally made products from other countries around the world. Second, the Brahman came to Thailand to work in the royal ceremonies. These immigrants and their families have lived in Thailand for more than one hundred years. The migration began before WWII consisting mainly first of Indian men. Once the men were able to establish housing infrastructure, their families followed. These groups dispersed into three main areas in Thailand; the north, south and into Bangkok, where movement was in part to the Nana enclave.

Conclusion

The Nana community comprises Thais, Thai-Laos, Burmese people and Indians as hosts or internal factors. Visitors have continually evolved from American servicemen, Westerners, Middle-Easterners and Asians as external factors. Many kinds of products and services are offered to tourists such as tailor shops, hospitals, entertainment facilities, counterfeit products and so on.

Indian Background Migration

The first objective has been to study the background to the Indian migration to Thailand. The primary reason for the movement was to improve their lives with better opportunities. Second, the freedom granted by Britain allowed them the choice to escape the religious conflict prevalent within the region in the first half of the twentieth century. Third, some of the population had no choice but to follow their parents in the move. Finally, Thailand was an attractive destination, because it was a relatively peaceful place where foreigners could find work and own a business.

The Nana Community History

A second objective has been to study the history of the Nana community. Pahurat and Sampeng were congested which led the Indians to move into the Nana enclave on Sukhumvit Road after that road was completed in 1950. The Indians focused on businesses and services to western visitors on Sukhumvit Road. The businesses they created were tailor shops, Indian restaurants and mixed shops. Customers ranged from Americans on R&R in the Vietnam War period to other Westerners, wealthy Thais, Middle Easterners, and more lately ASEAN tourists.

Indian Community Heritage

The third objective has been to observe the Indian community in its interaction with the diverse succession of the cultures of the tourists to the Nana district as well as the host (Thai) culture and with the culture of the migrant workers of the streets and stalls (Burmese, Thai-Lao), displayed in table 1.

Table 1: Indian identity in different religions

Indians in different religions	Sikh	Muslim	Hindu
Career	A merchant	Many careers	Many careers
Costume	Five K's	White skullcap and hijab	In common
Language	Punjabi	Arabic	Hindi
Name giving	Singh and Kaur	None	None
Architecture	A gurdwara	A mosque	A Hindu temple
Food	No meat	No pork	No beef

Source: the author, on May 31st, 2017

One of hosts in the Nana enclave are Indians having maintained their cultural heritage from their ancestors such as in careers, costumes, languages, name giving, architecture, and food. Their religious rules have especially been followed up to the present.

Table 6: Thai, Burmese and Thai-Lao

Host	Thai	Burmese	Thai-Lao
Career	Owners and sellers	staff	Owners and sellers
Costume	In common	In common	In common
Language	Thai	Burmese	Thai-Isan
Architecture	Thai temple	Temple	Temple
Food	Thai food	Burmese food	North-eastern food
others	None	Thanaka face	None

Source: the author, on July 31st, 2017

The main hosts in the Nana enclave are Thai, Burmese, Thai-Lao (Isan) people, all having maintained their cultural heritage from their ancestors such as in languages, architecture and food, from table 6. The Buddhist religious rules have especially been followed to the present.

Interpretation of the Nana Commercial Community

The fourth objective has been to seek explanations for the observable phenomena present in the Nana precinct, in five categories. First, Nana is a spectacle allowing tourists to see and experience something new and strange from their norm. Instrumental here are variously the ambiguity of labels at the tailor shops, the shopping experience and even the chaos found in the area. Second, the spectacle of Nana has been a catalyst for diversity in the area. The Nana enclave has transformed from homogeneous to heterogeneous and finally to a current state of cosmopolitan display of the effect of globalization. The evidence is in costume, food, diverse languages, hotels and religious symbols. Third, Nana is also a place of commoditization. Goods transform to consumable services. Products and services will be displayed as commodities to be sold on the streets, in the hotels, restaurants and tailor shops. Fourth, Nana as political economy displays the intersections of economy and power as key elements cutting through processes of market and social transaction. The street market is swept away by government policy. Last, Nana is to be seen as a tourism destination. There are two kinds of inconsistent, intersecting tourism streams, namely hedonistic and medical tourism. Hedonistic tourists seek pleasure while medical tourists will travel for various routine checkup and/or procedures offered by doctors in Thailand. Muslim Middle-Easterners will often travel to be able to consume alcohol and other pleasures, while others seek services provided by doctors and yet others for sightseeing.

A Research Problem

This research has posed a fundamental question and a sub- questions. First, the more *fundamental question*:

1. How is one to explain (interpret) the cosmopolitan disorder and spectacle of Nana?

The Nana precinct has not only many kinds of people from around the world, but they also generally communicate in English. Visitors have progressively changed from American, European, Middle Eastern to ASEAN people. It may indeed appear to be a *cosmopolitan* disorder. However, these groups seem to exist together peacefully, with various cultures in one area with effective globalization. The accepted heterogeneity is emblematic of Bangkok and Thailand at its best.

An ambiguity of labels from famous brand name displayed at tailor shops and shopping at night markets leads to a confused spectacle of Nana – there seem to be displaced imagery of Giorgio Armani, Hugo Boss and Louis Vuitton. The Nana area's

physical disorder comes as mixes of commercial and residential, confusions of signage, a cacophony of languages, also including poles loaded with many electric cables and broken pavements – simply, confusion and disorder.

Second, there is the *sub-question*:

2. What has been the role of the Indian community in the social production of that heritage and identity?

The Indian community can be seen in their fifty-four tailor shops, fourteen Indian restaurants and two mixed shops. Nana is essentially an Indian commercial community, seemingly infinitely flexible in answering to forever shifting demand.

Suggestions

Despite this great strength, the Nana Indian commercial community will evolve and lose some of their core identity for four specific reasons.

1. Culture conflict

Presently the younger Indian–Thai generation have accepted new cultures and have changed their routine activities. These activities have inevitably contributed to change in their identity. This can be seen through changes in their traditional appearance. Some Sikh Indians now keep short hair and some will alter Sikh ceremonies to suit their specific situations. This has led to a change in their identity. The ever changing environment and the increase in the Indian community have made it very difficult for the people to continue to keep their original culture and remain relevant in society today. The combination of the Indian to Thai society has led to cultural conflicts. Marriage in Indian Muslim society implies adding one more member to their religion. Muslim religious beliefs require their members to follow its rules. It will ultimately mean the Muslim society will increase in size, or else be eroded.

2. More attractive careers

Currently, the majority of young generations seek higher education, to move into different careers such as dentists, doctors, architects and nurses. The education choices have led to very little interest in the expected careers traditionally found, for example in the tailor shops. Some families will encourage one child to pursue jobs in tailor shops or restaurants to maintain the family's trade. The present trend suggests that there will be fewer tailor shops and possibly their disappearance altogether. Indian-Thai people are not necessarily striving to sell fabric when other careers such as dentists, doctors and computer programmers look more lucrative.

3. Lost identity

Each generation has different levels of proficiency in Punjabi, Arabic and Hindi. Indian-Thai people can communicate in multiple languages such as Punjabi, Hindi, Arabic, English and Thai. Due to a consequently flexible identity, the young

generation speaks in English more than local or traditional languages i.e. Punjabi. Family plays a significant role as a starting point for transferring ancestral cultural heritage from generation to generation. New generation cannot speak proficiently in Punjabi, Arabic, Yawi, and Hindi languages. They can only *listen* to and understand Punjabi, Arabic, Hindi languages. Increasing they can *speak* only Thai and English.

4. Less spectacle

The Sukhumvit night market has been swept away by heavier regulation and heavier-handed police action. The vendor stalls previously occupied both side of the sidewalk, leaving only a narrow space for pedestrians between the two rows. There is now only a single row against the shop fronts and even this is under threat. The previous turmoil of shoppers jostling their way along Sukhumvit is now a thing of the past; no more Middle Eastern ladies stuffing cheap trash in their big plastic bag. Sukhumvit Road has become less of a spectacle. Yet that turmoil defined its very identity, just as Bangkok's vibrant street life and its disorder defines the city itself and, more broadly, the culture.

The conclusion must be to safeguard Nana as an aspect of Bangkok heritage. There are four difficult tasks: to better understand the emerging dimensions of culture conflict; to come to terms with the loss of less attractive careers; to confront the dilemma of lost identity vis-à-vis new identity and its manifestation – what is Nana becoming; and to counter the loss of spectacle; or is it more a case of the transformation of spectacle – the emergence of entirely new forms of spectacle. Ultimately there is always change-becoming.

Future Research

Three paths for future research emerging from this project would seem especially relevant.

1. The Nana enclave is changing with globalization and will continue to do so. It will have many international tourists from around the world coming to visit the site; however they will change. Already those from India and China would appear to be replacing the Middle-Easterners just as the latter had earlier replaced the Americans. Moreover, continuing scholarly observation of Nana will throw a small light on the mounting avalanche of globalization and on the way that communities and their occupied space react to the onslaught. Some other researchers will hopefully get the idea to interpret other sites from this particular perspective demonstrated in the present study.

2. Presently, due to increasing accommodation on Sukhumvit Road, many African tourists stay at hotels in the Nana enclave close to fashionable commercial district such as the Platinum fashion mall. Thus, there are already many African

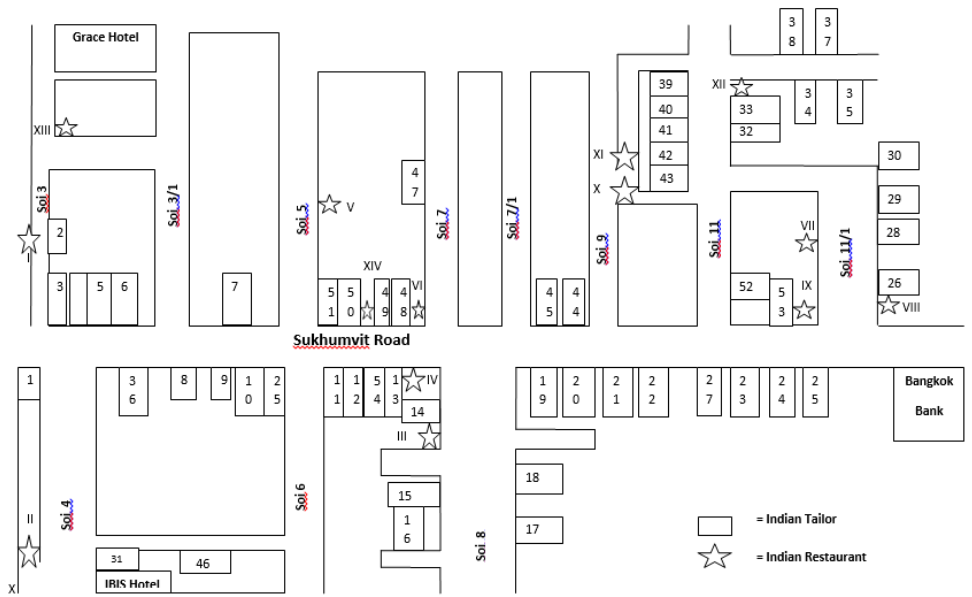
visitors walking around the Nana area. As new cultural groups join the cultural maelstrom of lower Sukhumvit, new study will be called for.

3. This dissertation can be seen as merely a sample – a case study–of the cultural complexity within Thailand. It would be revealing to select a further site for investigation such as Pattaya in Chonburi province or Patong in Phuket province and to learn how to analyze and interpret that site. A comparison with Nana would then be of real interest.



Appendix

The Nana Indian Community On Sukhumvit Road, Bangkok



1

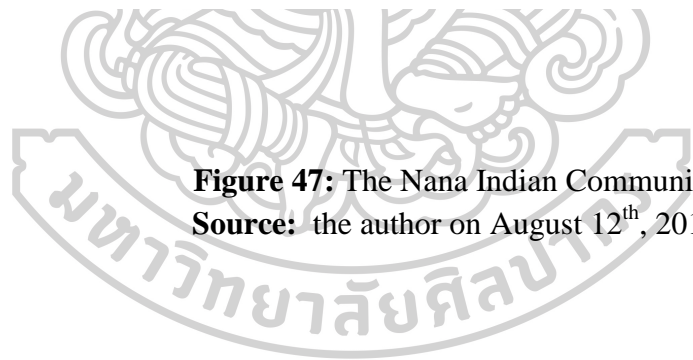


Figure 47: The Nana Indian Community
Source: the author on August 12th, 2016



Indian Tailor

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1.Tajmahai Clothiers Soi 2-4 | 2.Star Fashion |
| 3.Gulati Soi 3 | 4.Hermann Suits + Shoe shop |
| 5.Ricky's Fashion House Soi 3-3/1 | 6.Boss Soi 3 – 3/1 |
| 7.Lucky & Oscar Soi 3/1 – 5 | 8.The Boss Amar's Fashion Soi 4-6 |
| 9.Majestic Tailor Soi 4-6 | 10.Rajawongs Clothier By |
| Jesse&Victor Soi 4-6 | |
| 11.Raja's Fashion Soi 6-8 | 12.Armani Tailor Studio Soi 6 |
| 13.RobertoRaggic Tailor Soi 6-8 | 14.Ravi Sehgal Bespoke Since 1976 Soi |
| 8 | |
| 15.Der Herr Fashion Soi 8 | 16.Jim's Collection Soi 8 |
| 17.Tom's Fashion Soi 8 | 18.Crown Style by Sam Soi 8 |
| 19.Siam Emporium Custom Tailor Soi 8 | |
| 20.L'Louis's Collection Soi 8- 10 | 21.Classique Fashion Soi 8-10 |
| 22.Bangkok Bazaar Tailor Soi 8 - 10 | 23.Rajiv Bespoke Soi 8-10 |
| 24.Marty's New Fashion Soi 8 - 10 | 25.Fashion Avenue |
| 26.Manhattan Custom Tailor Soi 11/1 | |
| 27.Inter-Milan Tailor & Boutique | |
| 28.Designer Collection Soi 11/1 | |
| 29.President international tailor & export. Ltd part. | |
| 30.Narry.com Tailor-ladies / gents Soi 11/1 | |
| 31.Posh Design Soi 4 | 32.Jhasper Fashion Soi 11 |
| 33.Bangkok Fashion Soi 11 | 34.M.S.Fashion & Travel |
| 35.MD's Armani Fashion Co.,Ltd | 36.New Landmark Boutique |
| 37.Ambassor Tailor Soi 11 | 38.Broadway Exclusive Soi 11 |
| 39.Patrick' Co International Bespoke Tailor Soi 11 | |
| 40.New Royal Fashion Soi 11 | |
| 41.Nick's International Boutique House Soi 11 | |
| 42.Peter Armani Soi 11 | 43.New Esquire Tailor Soi 11 |
| 44.Jack's Tailor Soi 7/1 – 9 | 45.New B.Bogie's Soi 7/1 – 9 |
| 46.Nana Fashion Soi 6 – 8 | |
| 47.New Bangkok International Clothiers Ltd. Part. | |
| 48.Boss Avenue Soi 5- 7 | 49.Baron's Fashion Soi 5-7 |
| 50.Paul Bespoke Soi 5-7 | 51.Ever Rich Design + shoe shop Soi 5- |
| 7 | |
| 52.Inders Fashion Soi 11 | |
| 53.Raja's Custom Tailor Soi 11 – 11/1 | 54. R ² Fine Tailoring |

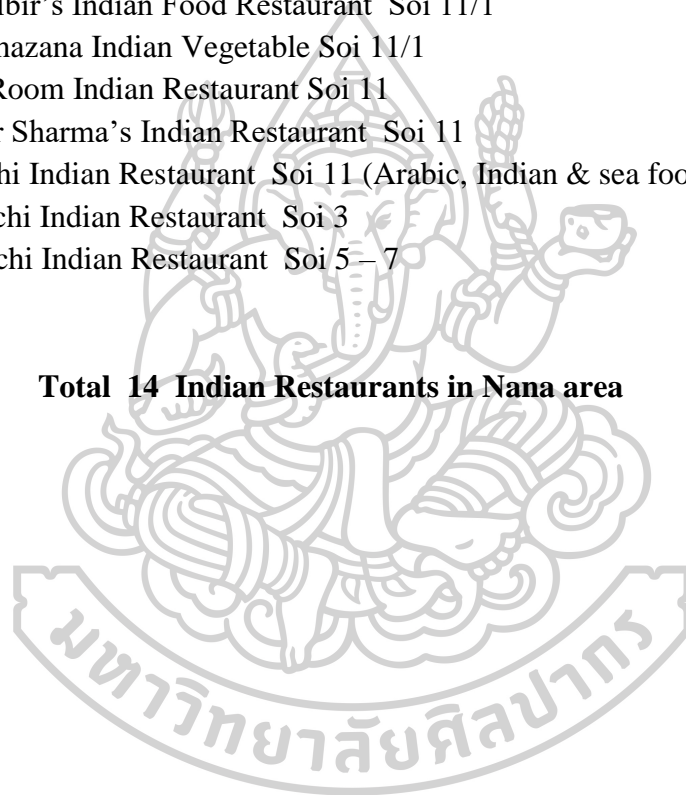
Total 54 Tailor shops in Nana area



Indian Restaurant

- I. Akbar Restaurant – Indian Pakistan Malaysian Food Soi 3
- II. Indian Food - Bawarchi Indian Food Soi 4
- III. India Today Restaurant Soi 8 (Twisted Tandoor by India today)
- IV. Aryaa's Indian Restaurant Soi 6 - 8
- V. Indian Food Soi 5
- VI. Indian Restaurant and Take Away Soi 5-7 or New Bukhara's Indian restaurant
- VII. Dosa King, Punjabi & South Indian Restaurant Soi 11/1
- VIII. Mrs Balbir's Indian Food Restaurant Soi 11/1
- IX. KhanaKhazana Indian Vegetable Soi 11/1
- X. Moghul Room Indian Restaurant Soi 11
- XI. Shalimar Sharma's Indian Restaurant Soi 11
- XII. Bawarchi Indian Restaurant Soi 11 (Arabic, Indian & sea food)
- XIII. Bawarchi Indian Restaurant Soi 3
- XIV. Bawarchi Indian Restaurant Soi 5 – 7

Total 14 Indian Restaurants in Nana area



REFERENCES

- "Land for International people law". (1924). The sixth reign.
- "Hiring as a policeman". (1901). *The fifth reign. In and out of Bangkok Policeman Records Division (March 20)*. Bangkok.
- "Nationality changing law". (1911). The sixth reign.
- Aplin. (2002). *Heritage identification, conservation, and management*: UK: Oxford University Press.
- Ashworth and Page. (2011). Urban tourism research: recent progress and current paradoxes. *Tourism Management*, 32, 1- 15.
- Ashworth, G. a. P., S.J. . (2011). Urban tourism research: recent progress and current paradoxes. *Tourism Management*, 32, 1- 15.
- Askew. (2002). *Bangkok: Place, Practice and Representation*. London: Routledge.
- Askew and Logan. (1994). *Cultural Identity and Urban Change in Southeast Asia: Interpretative Essays*. Australia: Deakin University Press.
- Baker and Phongpaichit. (2005). *A History of Thailand*. Australia: Cambridge University Press.
- Baudrillard. (1985). *Postmodern culture*. London and Sydney: Pluto Press.
- Baudrillard. (1988). *The System of Objects*. . Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Beek. (2016). *Thailand Tourism the early days*. Bangkok: Dusit Thani Public company limited.
- Bohwongprasert. (2009). *Hot and spicy, in Bangkok Zigzag*. Bangkok: Post Publishing Public Company.
- Bumrungrad Hospital. (2017). *Bumrungrad Hospital*. Retrieved from <http://www.bumrungrad.com>
- Butler. (1980). The concept of a tourist area cycle of evolution: Implication for management of resources. *Canadian Geographer*, 24(1), 5-12.
- Carter. (1997). *A Sense of Place*. UK: The Tourism and Environment Initiative.
- Chulalongkorn King Rama V. (1964). *Travelling distance by road, boat around Malay Peninsula in 1890 (Vol. 2 vols)*. Bangkok: Kurusapa Business Organization.
- Clancy. (2002). The Globalization of Sex Tourism and Cuba: A Commodity Chains Approach. . *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 36(4), 63-88.
- Coedès. (1948). *Les états hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*. Paris: E. de Boccard.
- Coedès. (1968). *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia*. S. Brown Cowing, Trans. Honolulu: East-West Centre Press.
- Coedès. (1977). *Textes d'auteurs grecs et latins relatifs a l'Extrême-Orient* New York: Hildesheim.
- Cohen. (1998). Authenticity and commoditization in tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 15(3), 371–386.
- Cohen. (2008). Medical Tourism in Thailand. *AU – GSB e-Journal*, 1(1), 24-37.
- Cohen and Neal. (2012). A Middle Eastern Muslim Tourist Enclave in Bangkok. *Tourism Geographies, An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment*, 14(4), 570-598.
- Cole and Sambhi. (1978). *The Sikhs Their Religious Beliefs and Practices*. USA: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

- Connell. (2005). Medical Tourism. The Newest of Niches. *Tourism Recreation Research*, 31(1), 99-102.
- Connell. (2006). Medical Tourism: Sea, sun, sand and ... surgery. *Tourism Management*, 27, 1093- 1100.
- Cook and Yale and Marqua. (2002). *Tourism: the business of travel* (2 ed.). New Jersey: Pearson Education.
- Cooper and Fletcher and Gilbert and Wanhill. (1998). *Tourism: principle and practice* Edited by Shepherd, R. (2 ed.). England: Pearson Education Limited.
- Debord. (1983). *The Society of the Spectacle*. Detroit: Black and Red.
- Department of South Asian- Middle East and African Affairs. (2017). Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kingdom of Thailand. Retrieved from <http://sameaf.mfa.go.th/th/business-center/detail.php?ID=2914>
- Department of Tourism Thailand. (2017). International Tourist Arrivals to Thailand 2012 -2016. Retrieved from <http://newdot2.samartmultimedia.com/home/details/11/221/23044>
- Dirsuweit and Schattauer. (2004). Fortresses of desire: Melrose Arch and the emergence of urban tourist spectacle. *GeoJournal*, 60, 239-247.
- Edensor. (2000). Staging Tourism: Tourists as Performers. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 27(2), 322-344.
- Edey. (2002). Bumrungrad Hospital: Five star Healthcare in Thailand. *Thailand Opportunities*, 1(7), 76-78.
- Evans and Evans. (2009). *Bangkok & Beyond: Adventures in Thailand*. USA: Hunter Publishing, Inc.
- Goossens. (2000). Tourism information and pleasure motivation. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 27(2), 301-321.
- Gotham. (2002). Marketing Mardi Gras: Commodification, Spectacle and the Political Economy of Tourism in New Orleans. *Urban Studies*, 39(10), 1735 – 1756.
- Graham and Ashworth and Tunbridge. (2000). *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy*. London: Arnold.
- Gray. (2000). The political economy of tourism in North Africa: comparative perspective. *Thunderbird International Business Review*, 42(4), 393 – 408.
- Grewal. (1990). *The Sikhs of the Punjab 1990*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University press.
- Gu. (2004). Macau gaming: copying the Las Vegas style or creating a Macau model?. *Asian Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, 9(1), 89-96.
- Hugo Boss. (2017). Hugo Boss. Retrieved from <http://www.hugoboss.com/asia/home>
- Hussain. (1982). *The Silent Minority: Indians in Thailand*. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press.
- ICOMOS. (1999). The ICOMOS Charter for the interpretation and presentation of cultural heritage sites.
- ICOMOS. (2008). The ICOMOS Charter for the interpretation and presentation of cultural heritage sites. International council on monuments and sites.
- Jafari. (1981). Toward a framework for tourism education: problems and prospects. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 8 (1), 13-34.
- Jafari and Scott. (2014). Muslim world and its tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 44, 1-19.
- Jim. (2014, August 25, 2014) *History of tailor shop/Interviewer: P. Munpao*.

- Kaewdang. (2014). *Developing the interpretation of the ancient settlements, the Portuguese, the Dutch and the Japanese at Ayutthaya*. (Doctor of Philosophy Architectural Heritage Management and Tourism), Silpakorn University.
- Kamwang. (2014). *The Sikh way of adapting to Thai society*. (Master degree of Arts), Mahidol University.
- Kamwang. (2015). Sikh Merchants in the Isan Region of Thailand. *Journal of Mekong Societies.*, 11(2), 113-118.
- King. (2003-2004). Notes on a Dilemma: Sukhumvit. *Journal of the Faculty of Architecture Silpakorn University*, 20, 115-129.
- King. (2011). *Reading Bangkok*. Singapore: National University of Singapore.
- King. (2017). An accidental Bangkok theme park. *Tourism Geographies*. doi:10.1080/14616688.2017.1320583
- King and Varavarn. (2017). *Hidden Heritage (2): Sukhumvit 71 In: Heritage and Identity in Contemporary Thailand*. Singapore: NUS Press.
- King and Dovey. (2013). Interstitial metamorphoses: informal urbanism and the tourist gaze. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 31, 1- 18.
- King and Varavarn. (2017). *Hidden Heritage (2): Sukhumvit 71 In: Heritage and Identity in Contemporary Thailand*. Singapore: NUS Press.
- King Rama IX's Royal duties in terms of Sikh religious patronage. (1987). *King Rama IX's Royal duties in terms of Sikh religious patronage*. Bangkok: Religion Press.
- Kirdsiri. (2010). *Lanna towards the World Heritage*. Bangkok: Usakane Print.
- Laws. (1995). *Tourist destination management: issues, analysis and policies*. New York: Routledge.
- Leheny. (1995). A political economy of ASIAN sex tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 22(2), 367 – 384.
- Liu. (2005). Tourism and the value of culture in regions. *The Annals of Regional Science*, 39, 1-9.
- Matthieson and Wall. (1982). *Tourism: Economic, Social and Environmental Impacts*. London: Longman.
- McArthur, S. a. H., C.M. . (1996). *Heritage Management in New Zealand and Australia: The human dimension*. . Oxford: Oxford Uni Press.
- McKercher and Hilary. (2002). *Cultural Tourism the Partnership between Tourism and Cultural Heritage Management*. USA: The Haworth Hospitality Press.
- Mcleod. (1997). *Sikhism*. Australia: Penguin Books.
- Medina. (2003). Commoditizing Culture Tourism and Maya Identity. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 30(2), 353 – 368.
- Nakavachara. (1993). *Indian communities in Bangkok: Pahurat and Ban-Kaek*. In: *Indian communities in Southeast Asia*. Edited by Sandhu, K.S and Mani, A. Singapore: Times Academic Press.
- Narksuwan. (2013). *Thai Sikhs: Model of conservation and succeeding to identity for peaceful existence in Thai society*. (Doctor of Philosophy Cultural Science), Mahasarakham University.
- Noree and Hanefeld and Smith. (2016). Medical tourism in Thailand: a cross – sectional study. *Bull World Health Organ*, 94, 30-36.
- Parsiyyar. (2009). Medical tourism: the commodification of health care in Latin America. *Law and Business Review of the Americas*, 15(2), 379-404.
- Phungwong. (2011). *The interpretation of Europeans settlements (such as Portugal,*

- Dutch and French) on Chao Phraya River during Ayutthaya er.* (Doctor of Philosophy Architectural Heritage Management and Tourism:), Silpakorn University.
- Pielichaty. (2015). Festival space: gender, liminality and the carnivalesque. *International Journal of Event and Festival Management*, 6(3), 235-250.
- Pietikainen and Kelly – Holmes. (2011). The local political economy of languages in a Sami tourism destination: Authenticity and mobility in the labelling of souvenirs. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 15(3), 323 – 346.
- Pimolsatier. (2009). *225 Years Krunggratanakosin*. Bangkok: Amarin printing and Publishing.
- Pitayathorn. (2014). *The identity of Nana-Asoke district*. (Master of Urban and Environmental Planning), Silpakorn University.
- Poolthupya. (2008). *Indians in Thailand*. Singapore: Institute of southeast Asian studies.
- Porananond. (2014). Tourism and the transformation of ritual practice with sand pagodas in Chiang Mai, Northern Thailand. *Tourism Review*, 70(3), 165 – 178.
- Pornphol and Naveevong and Chittayasothorn. (2015). A Cloud- Based Management Information System for Medical and Wellness Tourism. *International Journal of Innovation, Management and Technology*, 6(6), 378-382.
- Pretes. (1995). Postmodern Tourism the Santa Claus Industry. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 22(1), 1-15.
- Prossor. (1998). *Tourism in Encyclopedia of Ethics* (4 ed.). Chicago, IL: Houghton Mifflin.
- Reid. (1988). *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce* (Vol. Vol 1: The lands below the Winds.). USA: Yale University.
- Reynolds. (2006). *Seditious Histories: Contesting Thai and Southeast Asian Pasts*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Rimmawi and Ibrahim. (1992). Culture and Tourism in Saudi Arabia. *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 12(2), 93 -98.
- Rojek. (1993). *Ways of Escape; Modern Transformations in Leisure and Travel*. London: Macmillan.
- Rojek and Urry. (1997). *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory*. London: Routledge.
- Royal Gazette of Thailand. (1931). Cloth tax rate in 5 percent.
- Sahee. (1991). *Gurdwara Siri Guru Singh Sabha Role in Thailand (1932 –1982)*. (Master's Thesis. Department of Art), Thammasat University.
- Sahee. (2003). *The network of Indian textile merchants in Thai society from 1857 to 1947*. (Doctors of Philosophy in History), Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok.
- Sandhu and Mani. (1993). *Indian communities in Southeast Asia*. Singapore: Times Academic Press.
- Sidhu. (1993). *Sikhs in Thailand*. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University.
- Sikh religion of Srikrusignsapa. (1999). *Sikh religion of Srikrusignsapa* (E. M. Religion Department Ed. 4 ed.).
- Singh. (1952). *The Sikhs*. India: Harper Collin Publisher.
- Singh Jame. (2014, August 25, 2014.) *History of tailor shop/Interviewer: P. Munpao*.
- Singh Peter. (2014, August 25, 2014) *History of tailor shop/Interviewer: P. Munpao*.
- Singh Tom. (2014, August 25, 2014) *History of tailor shop/Interviewer: P. Munpao*.
- Smithies. (2005). *The Muslim of Thailand*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.

- Somdetgromprayadamrongrajanuphap. (1962). *Krung Ratanakosin History: King Rama II*. Bangkok: The Teachers' Council of Thailand.
- Song and Witt. (2006). Forecasting international tourist flow to Macau. *Tourism Management* 27, 214 – 224.
- Srithammasak. (2010). *Conservation of Kudijeen community for cultural tourism*. (Doctor of Philosophy Architectural Heritage Management and Tourism), Silpakorn University.
- Staiff and Bushell. (2003). Heritage interpretation and cross – cultural translation in an age of global travel: some issues. *Journal of Park & Leisure Management*.
- Staiff and Bushell. (2004). Strategically Planning Heritage Interpretation for Visitor: Issues and Processes at Minnamurra Rainforest Center. *Proceedings of the National Research Conference, Brisbane*.
- Sukhum. (2004). *From Yomarat to Sukhumvit: Events in 4 Reigns* (4 ed.). Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press.
- Sundstrom and Lundberg and Giannkis. (2011). Tourist Shopping motivation: go with the flow or follow the plan. *International Journal of Quality and Service Sciences*, 3(2), 211 – 224.
- Thongpan and Thongdaeng. (2010). *Here Indians are: Tamil Nadu*. Thailand: Muang Boran.
- Tilden. (1997). *Interpreting Our Heritage* (3 ed.). USA: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Urry. (1990). *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*. London: Sage.
- Urry. (1995). *Consuming Places*. London: Routledge.
- Urry. (2002). *The Tourist Gaze* (2 ed.). London: Sage.
- Uzzell. (1989). *Heritage Interpretation : Vol 1: The Natural and Built Environment*. London: Belhaven Press.
- Vaid. (1993). *Indians in Thailand*. New York: Global Organization of People of Indian Origin.
- Varavarn. (2007). *Landscapes of Consumption and Hidden Heritage of Sukhumvit Road*. (Doctor of Philosophy Architectural Heritage Management and Tourism), Silpakorn University.
- Victor. (2014, August 25, 2014) *History of tailor shop/Interviewer: P. Munpao*.
- Wang and Bramwell. (2012). Heritage protection and tourism development priorities in Hangzhou, China: A political economy and governance perspective. *Tourism Management*, 2012, 988- 998.
- Williams. (1958). *Culture & Society 1780 -1950*. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc.
- Williams. (1976). *Keywords: a vocabulary of culture*. London: Fontana.
- Williams. (1998). *Tourism Geography*. London: Routledge.
- Williams. (2006). Tourism and hospitality marketing: fantasy, feeling and fun. *Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 18(6), 482-495.
- Wolters. (1999). *History, Culture, and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Wong and McKercher and Li. (2014). East Meets West Tourist Interest in Hybrid Culture at Postcolonial Destination. *Journal of Travel Research*, 2014, 1-8.



VITA

NAME Prisana Munpao

DATE OF BIRTH 21 June 1969

PLACE OF BIRTH Bangkok

INSTITUTIONS ATTENDED

1991	Bachelor degree of Economics Thammasat University, Thailand
2000	Master degree of Business Administration Assumption University, Thailand
2010	Master degree of Business Administration (Major: Supply Chain Management) University of Dallas, Texas, USA.

HOME ADDRESS 21/1 soi 34 Sukhumvit Road, Klongtoey, Klongton Bangkok 10110
E-mail: prisana_mun@hotmail.com

PUBLICATION 2001- present - Lecturer, Customer service Division, Faculty of
Management Science, Suan Dusit University

