

EVERYDAY TACTICAL PRACTICES IN EXTERNAL SPACES THE NEIGHBORHOOD CLUSTER IN KHLONG TOEI SLUM AS A CASE



A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for Master of Arts VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE AND BUILT ENVIRONMENT Department of Architecture Silpakorn University Academic Year 2023 Copyright of Silpakorn University



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EVERYDAY TACTICAL PRACTICES IN EXTERNAL SPACES THE NEIGHBORHOOD CLUSTER IN KHLONG TOEI SLUM AS A CASE STUDY



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Title	Everyday Tactical Practices in External Spaces
	The Neighborhood Cluster in Khlong Toei Slum as a Case Study
By	Mr. Eisuke SHOJI
Field of Study	VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE AND BUILT
	ENVIRONMENT
Advisor	Assistant Professor Dr. Supitcha Tovivich

Faculty of Architecture, Silpakorn University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Master of Arts

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Mr. Eisuke SHOJI : Everyday Tactical Practices in External Spaces The Neighborhood Cluster in Khlong Toei Slum as a Case Study Thesis advisor : Assistant Professor Dr. Supitcha Tovivich

This study examines the critical role of external spaces in slum settlements, aiming to uncover why such diverse activities occur within these areas. The uniqueness of this study lies in its consideration of slums as part of urban vernacular settlements and its qualitative exploration of the social-physical environment coordinated with everyday activities.

In order to qualitatively examine the data, this study uses a combination of long-term participant observation and precise measurement, analyzing the data through the lens of Lefebvre's "production of space" and De Certeau's "strategy" and "tactics". As a case study, a neighborhood cluster consisting of about ten houses with concentrated social relations in Khlong Toei, an 80-year-old slum in Bangkok, is selected.

Applying the results of the study to Lefebvre and Certeau's concepts, "living spaces" are created by "spatial practices" (tactics) in "perceived spaces" (strategies). Perceived space (strategy) refers to how space is conceived through the thinking and planning of urban planners, architects, and policymakers. In this study, these are mainly narrow and curved alley shapes, small paved steps by water pipes, and support housing designed by architects, which are incidentally formed in the environment. "Conceived spaces" (tactics) involve the sensory activities of the body in everyday settings, whether in work, leisure, or private life. In this study, these mainly include the construction of housing frontages, windows, overhanging roofs, and shelves by residents themselves, as well as the use of temporary chairs, desks, parasols, etc. Such spatial activities create "lived space."

Finally, based on these results, this study highlights the potential of urban vernacular architecture. Both vernacular architecture and urban vernacular architecture are forms of indigenous architecture created under strong limitations and shaped by people's interrelationships, rather than being designed by any specific

individual. In other words, this architecture is created by anonymous, ordinary people through spatial practice under various limitations. In the case of urban vernacular architecture, the main limitations are imposed by the social environment, economic conditions, and politics. The urban vernacular is characterized by inexpensive building materials such as iron, blocks, and temporary chairs that can be easily obtained, as well as a communal lifestyle that incorporates external spaces. Urban vernacular settlements represent the "lived space" created by tactical practices that respond to residents's life.



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1 Introduction

1.1 Background

One holiday afternoon, I have heard that Thailand is hot, but it is surprisingly cool in the shade. At least it is better than the air-conditioning in Café Amazon or on the BTS line trains, where it feels as if you are in a fridge. So, how many hours have we been in this place?

This is a place called Khlong Toei Slum, one of the biggest slums in Bangkok. I proceed down a narrow alleyway (*soi*) barely wide enough for a motorbike to pass, and at the end of the alleyway is Ms. N's restaurant, where I order as usual, "*Kuaitiao Nam Tok Bami Pi Set*" (Thai-style noodles with a big bowl of egg noodles!) in my newly learnt Thai. I ordered in Thai, not knowing how it would taste, but following the example of the other customers, I poured sugar, chili, and other seasonings over the Thai-style noodles and sat down in front of Ms. P's house (*naa baan*) just around the corner, being careful not to spill the hot bowl.



Figure 1 Thai noodle store at the end of a narrow alley Turn left and immediately right to a grocery store and Ms. P's residence



Figure 2 *"Kuaitiao Nam Tok Bami Pi Set"* (Thai-style noodles with a big bowl of egg noodles) with pigskin



Figure 3 Grocery store (left) and Ms. P's residence (right)

The house opposite Ms. P's (the alley is about one meter wide, so it's really just across the street) is a grocery store. Mr. G, who lives in the grocery store; Mr. M, who lives in the house next door; Ms. S, who lives on the second floor of the house next to Ms. P's; and others gather there to have lunch (or breakfast) and drink beer or whisky bought at the grocery store. Incidentally, Ms. P seems to be still sleeping in her house. I always buy LEO beer there and eat Thai-style noodles while drinking beer from the bottle.

When I sit there for a while in a daze, I can see various people, things, and spaces moving around in a hurry, such as people's activities and comings and goings, and the accompanying movement of things and changes in the way places are used. Adults enjoying a drink, a young man returning home on a motorbike with a plastic bag full of food, elderly people chatting, children running around the area and being scolded by adults, a dog waiting for food, goods hanging from a grocery store, a window with goods hanging from it, customers buying goods from the grocery store, even though it is still late afternoon. Empty beer and whisky bottles, cheerful music typical of Northeast Thailand, and large speakers blasting it out. I was feeling indescribably comfortable, as if I had blended in with the busy daily life of the place, perhaps because I was getting drunk. The next step was to drink here more often and for longer periods of time.

Another day, when I went there, the residents were working there making shoes. Mr. G and Ms. S from the grocery store took the lead and were working on making shoes in front of Ms. P's house opposite the grocery store. Incidentally, Ms. P had no place to be in the front part of her own residence, where she was, and was sitting on a bench in the grocery store. On another day, Ms. P had her hair dyed by Ms. G, who lived on the second floor of the grocery store in front of her residence. When I thought she was going to do it, she brought a chopping board and a knife and started cutting vegetables while waiting for her hair to get colored, with plastic wrapped around her hair. Another day, when I went there, the residents seemed to have gone home to the northeast, and the place was deserted. The atmosphere was very different. Every time I went there, every time I turned the corner of the Thai noodle shop, I became a little nervous, but excited to see what was happening today.



Figure 4 Another day at the same location, dancing to music from the Northeast area



Figure 5 Another day at the same location, out for a housing construction job

The image of the Khlong Toei Slum is very different from what I imagine when I hear the word 'slum'. Sometimes I come across people who have been drugged out of their minds, there is rubbish littering the waterfront below the houses, and of course, there are probably many problems that are difficult to see. But at the same time, it is a place that is somehow cozy, a place where the space is used freely by the inhabitants, where the rhythm of the inhabitants' bodies and the space blend together, a place that makes you feel that it is a "lived space." This study attempts to explore the source of the coziness or freedom of the space. Furthermore, it is to capture the reality of the living environment without romanticizing it while employing qualitatively research and using theoretical background of Lefebvre and De Certeau.

1.2 Significance of the issue

The global prevalence of slums is on the rise. The UN-Habitat (2003) defines slums through several criteria: access to improved water, access to improved sanitation facilities, sufficient living area (not overcrowded), structural quality and durability of dwellings, and security of tenure. As of 2020, it is estimated that 1.1 billion people reside in slums or slum-like settlements. This number is expected to increase by an additional 2 billion over the next 30 years (UN-Habitat, 2003). In Thailand, slums are referred to as "*chum-chon*." More specifically, densely populated communities known as "*chum-chon ae-at*" consist of settlements with at least 15 dwellings per 1 rai (1,600 sq m). According to the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA, 2021), Bangkok houses 2,016 chum-chon, comprising 1,996,669 people across 583,801 families, with 32% (640 *chum-chon*) classified as *chum-chon ae-at*.

In modern urban terms, slums contribute significantly to the vitality of city life. These areas provide affordable housing, land, and economic opportunities for low-income groups, and they supply crucial labor for the formal sectors of industry, construction, public services, and other service industries. It has become evident that slums are a vital component of many cities, and their exclusion from urban planning, without understanding their complex realities leads sustainable solution. Thus, it is necessary to perceive slums as integral parts of contemporary cities and to explore their realities. Informal settlements represent the most common form of urban development over the past fifty years (Doevy, 2012). Understanding the intricacies and resilience of informal urbanism poses one of the major urban challenges of our era (Doevy, 2012).

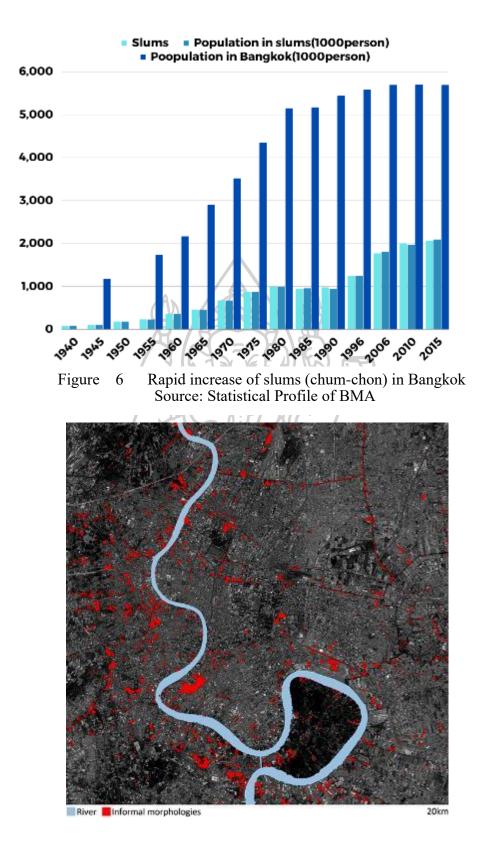


Figure 7 Location of slums (chum-chon) in Bangkok Source: Source: Kamalipour 2016

Despite various studies and improvement measures implemented in Bangkok, slums continue to pose significant challenges. The Khlong Toei slums, the focus of this

study, have been around for nearly 80 years, with improvement efforts spanning almost 30 years. Recently, the situation has grown increasingly complex with the emergence of second- and third-generation residents and international influences. This has likely fostered a unique settlement culture, characterized by ambiguous land ownership, extremely dense low-rise housing, and frequent disasters such as fires and floods. Effective slum improvement strategies should emphasize the unique systems inherent in these areas rather than relying solely on top-down policies. It is crucial to understand how the inhabitants manage their daily lives, address day-to-day needs and risks, and construct their living spaces. Investigating these aspects can provide insights into why slums persist and why residents continue to inhabit these settlements.

Recent architectural studies have sought to understand the dynamics within these neighborhoods. Many of these studies focus on outdoor spaces, including alleys (*soi*) and residential fronts (*naa baan*), as these areas are hubs of activity and adaptation. However, most research has been limited to observations of space or activities over short periods. There is a need for in-depth, long-term studies to fully capture the changes in space and adaptability, and to explore both the tangible and intangible aspects that enable these activities.

1.3 Research Question and objectives

In the context of rapidly evolving slum environments, the central research question of this study is: "Why do we see such diverse activities within these communities, and what factors enable this diversity?" This question further unfolds into two specific inquiries:

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- 1. To identify the everyday activities occurring within these communities.
- 2. To examine the socio-physical environments that facilitate these everyday activities.
- 1.4 Scope of the Study

The scope of this research is primarily concentrated on on-site upgrading

project sites within the Khlong Toei area. This study specifically targets locations known for dense kinship groups, focusing on the interaction between people's behaviors, the material elements (such as architecture and objects) that support these behaviors, and the social elements (including familial ties and friendships). The comprehensive analysis aims to encapsulate how inhabitants' activities are influenced and supported by both their physical and social environments. This focus is designed to provide a detailed understanding of the dynamics at play in slum areas, particularly how social and physical infrastructures support the diverse, complex activities observed within these urban settings.



Figure 8 Diagram of the research objectives Figure 9 Everyday Behavior (red) and Living Environment (blue)

2 Literature Review: Socio-Physical Environment Supporting

Everyday Practices

Historically, slums have predominantly been viewed as areas in need of improvement. However, recent shifts in urban studies have begun to appreciate these settlements as unique examples of urban vernacular environments. This reevaluation has led to a surge in research focusing on the utilization of various, predominantly external, spaces within these communities. Distinct from existing studies, this research differentiates itself by emphasizing the social relationships within these environments and engaging in an in-depth examination of daily behaviors. Utilizing participatory observation methods, detailed in the following chapter, this study aims to provide a nuanced understanding of how socio-physical environments influence and support the everyday practices of slum residents. This approach not only highlights the dynamic use of space but also integrates the complex web of social interactions that underpin daily life in these densely populated areas.

2.1 Slums as Objects to be Improved

Historically, slums have been primarily viewed as targets for urban improvement, with numerous surveys conducted to understand their conditions. However, these areas have seldom seen significant betterment from such interventions.

The term 'slum' originates from the English word 'slumber,' which suggests a connotation of quiet and secluded backstreets, initially describing places hidden from the public eye. Over time, the definition evolved to emphasize poor physical environments along with social and economic deprivation. The term's meaning has varied across different periods, regions, and defining bodies.

Synonyms for 'slum' include 'squatter areas,' 'informal settlements,' and 'low-income communities.' The terms 'squatters' and 'informal settlements' relate to deviations from modern legal frameworks, often involving land occupation without formal ownership, while 'low-income communities' are characterized by the economic status of their inhabitants.

As Sheng et al.(2017) have noted, these areas are often stigmatized by society.

Research traditionally focused on these communities has been predominantly fact-finding, aimed at gathering data to inform improvement initiatives. According to Sheng et al., during the late 1960s, both government and NGOs conducted extensive surveys in Bangkok to assess the scope of informal settlements and their populations. However, the approach of forced clearances and suburban relocations only perpetuated a cycle of re-entry into slums and the creation of new ones, highlighting the complexities and challenges of effectively addressing the issues inherent in these urban spaces.

2.2 Slums as Urban Vernacular Settlements

Building on the insights from the previous section, it becomes apparent that slums are increasingly recognized as settlements with distinct characteristics, akin to vernacular environments.

Bernard Rudofsky is one of the first architects to discover the essential value of vernacular architecture during the heyday of modernism. Rudofsky(1964) used the five key words "vernacular," "anonymous," "spontaneous," "indigenous," and "rural" to describe the vernacular architecture and settlements in the various countries where he conducted his research. Here, Rudofsky writes that uneducated craftsmen have shown a great talent for adapting buildings to their natural surroundings at different times and in different localities.

Rudofsky(1964) aims to break down our narrow conceptions of the art of architecture by introducing us to an unknown world of architecture that has been outside the mainstream of architectural history. In other words, he encouraged us to look beyond the Western values of modernism to the architecture of the periphery. Here, Rudolfsky warned against the devaluation of these buildings, and against viewing them as recreational tourist attractions.

Today, however, such vernacular architecture has become the object of a certain romanticism. The concept of vernacular architecture has become widespread, and people have sought "vernacular" or " authentic" architecture. However, currently, inexpensive building materials are available, and the money economy has spread to every corner of the world, it is rather costly to maintain "authentic" architecture. Vernacular architecture was originally a "living" form of architecture, strongly connected to daily life and the natural environment around it. Today, however, it is

often detached from such contexts and only the form is preserved.

In response to this situation, the concept of "urban vernacular" was proposed. While studies of vernacular architecture have traditionally focused on rural contexts and the use of natural materials, the notion of "urban vernacular architecture" extends these principles into urban settings. In urban areas, there are no location-specific building materials. Steel, blocks, and other materials available at home centers will be the main construction materials. However, those anonymous architectures, which arose in response to the necessities of people's lives despite social, economic, and political influences, could be said to be a kind of vernacular.

This term captures a diverse array of architectural expressions that are deeply rooted in the cultural, social, and historical contexts of urban environments, responding dynamically to the complexities of urbanization while retaining vernacular elements(Tovivich, 2023). Tovivich identifies five analytical perspectives within "Urban Vernacular": cultural analysis, historical preservation, socio-political dynamics, globalization, and architectural semiotics. These perspectives offer a multifaceted approach to understanding the architecture, social relations, culture, economy, and behaviors within urban vernacular settings, viewing slums not merely as negative spaces but as areas rich with potential(Tovivich, 2023).

This viewpoint is supported by research conducted in Indonesia by Funo et al., who studied kampongs—community spaces within Indonesian cities noted for their unique characteristics as living spaces. Kampongs exhibit a high degree of diversity and vary significantly across different districts. Each kampong hosts diverse ethnic groups and income levels, forming a complex tapestry of societal interactions. These spaces are not only autonomous, supporting most aspects of daily life within their confines, but also serve dual roles in production and consumption. The traditional Javanese values of gotong royong (community cooperation) and lukung (mutual assistance) continue to underpin the social fabric of these kampongs, affirming their role as modern 'urban villages' that blend urban life characteristics with reinterpretations of rural patterns(Funo, 1992).

Such perspectives are invaluable for delving into the multi-layered realities of slums. This study adopts the analytical framework of Tovivich and Funo et al. to explore these complex urban phenomena more deeply.

2.3 Diverse Activities in External Spaces

Building upon the perspectives outlined in the previous section on the unique characteristics of slums, a significant focus of architectural studies has been the external spaces within these environments.

Urban external spaces are variably referred to as 'public spaces,' 'semi-public spaces,' 'open spaces,' and 'communal spaces.' These terms encompass environments that are human-scaled, highly mixed, walkable, and meticulously designed. Such spaces play crucial roles across the spectrum from residential (private) to social (public) realms, and in the intermediary zones between these two. As extensions of living spaces, external areas compensate for the small and constrained residential spaces typically found in slums. According to Minh et al., these spaces are "particularly important when they support residents conducting income-generating activities within their homes. Home-based business (HBB) activities not only draw people and goods from the street to homes but also generate movement along pathways and transform private spaces into semi-private ones" (Thai, Stevens, & Rogers, 2021).

As social spaces, these open areas facilitate socialization, social bonding, social mixing across diverse groups, and social inclusion. They are publicly accessible and often communally owned, fostering a culture and shared values through daily encounters and experiences. Furthermore, as transitional spaces between public and private realms, elements such as doors and windows serve as conduits through which the open space interacts with the home, allowing the house to extend into the street. These areas are recognized as fluid intermediary socio-physical spaces that are essential for accommodating both horizontal and vertical housing adaptations (Dovey & Wood, 2015; Kamalipour, 2017).

Scholarly investigations into these spaces can be categorized based on their focus: studies centered on the space itself, those examining people's behavior within these spaces, and those that bridge both perspectives. A prime example of research focused on spatial morphology is by Jones (2020), who examined the extension and renovation of dwellings. In contrast, Abe et al.(2019) explored the implications of illegal extensions and alterations that deviate from construction norms. Studies like those by Okyere et al. (2017) highlight the diverse everyday practices occurring in open spaces through observational research. Bridging these approaches,

Natakun(2010) investigate how spaces near homes are appropriated by residents, while Thai et al. (2021) analyze the hierarchy of alleys and the activities in front of dwellings. Hernández-García (2012) discusses how open spaces contribute to the formation of people's attachments and identities through appropriation and behavior.

This study aligns with and extends these diverse perspectives, focusing on how residential spaces are utilized and transformed in slum environments.

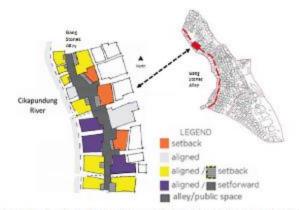


Figure 6. Typical fine-grain plan view in the northern section of Gang Stones Alley showing four of the six main interface form types (two primary and two combination) as encroaching onto the public alleyway space. *Source*: Paul Jones.

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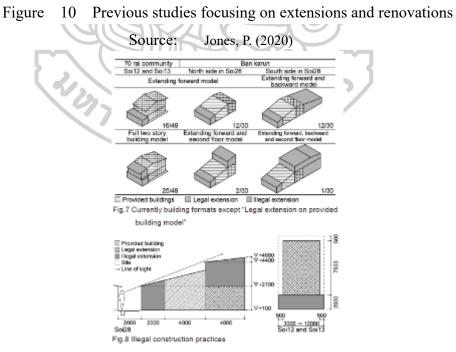
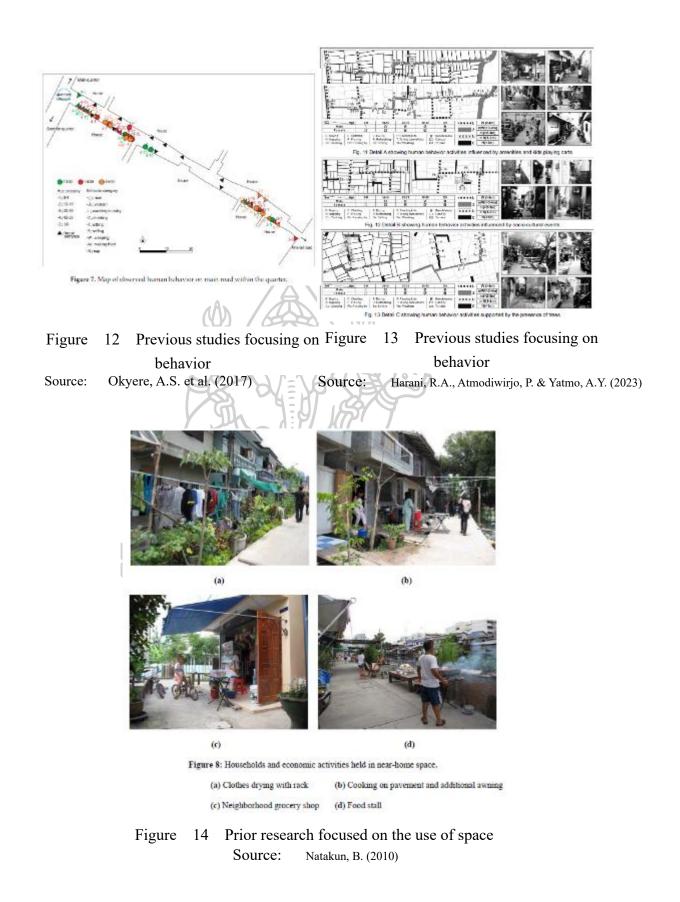
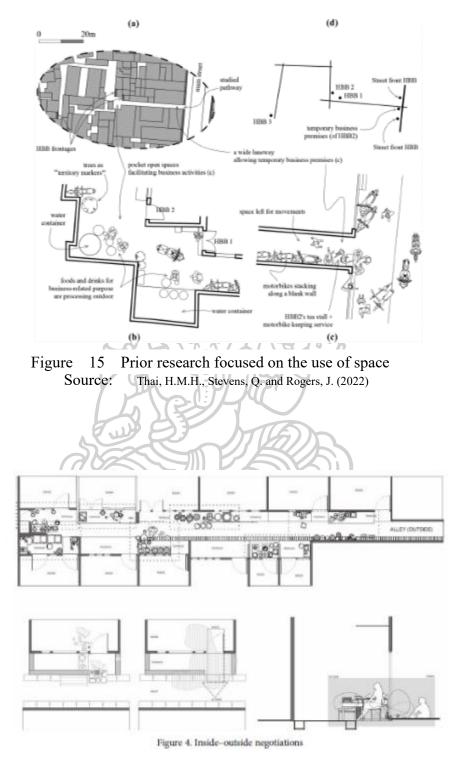
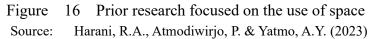


Figure 11 Previous studies focusing on extensions and renovations Source: Abe, T. & Shimizu, I., (2019)







2.4 Socio-physical Environment

While existing studies have extensively explored urban external spaces, few have delved deeply into social relations or elucidated daily activities through prolonged participant observation. This study aims to uncover the dynamism and flexibility of various activities and the socio-physical environments that support them by employing comprehensive observational techniques.

Research on social relations has been pursued from sociological and anthropological perspectives by scholars such as Askew, Akin, and others. As highlighted by Askew (2002), residents rarely enter these communities as isolated individuals; instead, most maintain robust interconnections. Networks of relationships—be they familial, friendly, or work-related—create a cohesive social fabric. These networks are instrumental in facilitating mutual assistance in homebuilding, job searches, borrowing money, childcare support, and home surveillance, thereby enhancing the communal atmosphere. Understanding the activities within the target area, or the residential environments that support them, necessitates a deep appreciation of the social relationships described by Askew, including kinship and friendship, which play a pivotal role.

The participant observation method outlined in Chapter 3, conducted over an extended period, allows for a holistic understanding of daily activities and living environments. This approach avoids the pitfalls of fragmentary analysis often seen in studies limited to short-term observations. Additionally, employing techniques such as fixed-location photography enables a focused examination of changes in space usage, as well as the adaptability and flexibility of the place, space, and architecture. These elements are crucial for a comprehensive interpretation of the subject area.

3 Methodology and Theoretical Background: An Ethnographic

Investigation of 'Space'

In order to clarify the reality and logic of the diverse uses of space, this study combines a qualitative survey based mainly on participant observation with an understanding of space through architectural and other actual measurements. The data obtained were analyzed in combination with Lefebvre's (1974) classification of three types of space and de Certeau's (1988) concepts of 'strategy' and 'tactics'.

3.1 Methodology

In this study, the qualitative research included participant observation, supplemented by field measurements, photography, and interviews to enrich the data obtained. Particular emphasis was placed on participant observation because, despite its disadvantages, it is indispensable for obtaining in-depth information. Each survey was conducted from November 2022 to September 2023.

3.1.1 Participant Observation

This section outlines the procedures employed for participant observation, discusses the strengths and weaknesses of this methodology, and details efforts to mitigate its limitations. Observations were strategically scheduled to cover weekdays and weekends, including mornings, afternoons, and evenings, wherever possible. This broad temporal coverage facilitated a comprehensive understanding of daily life within the community.

During the study period, the observation sessions were conducted between once and three times a week, with each stay lasting from 15 minutes at the shortest to eight hours at the longest. Observations were scheduled to cover weekdays and weekends, mornings, afternoons, and evenings whenever possible. This broad coverage ensured a comprehensive understanding of daily life in the community. During the survey, interactions with residents were facilitated using basic Thai and Google Translate, and occasional photographs were taken to document specific observations. During these observations, our focus centered on three key aspects:

1. Documenting observed behaviors: This included recording social activities, daily

routines, and income-generating activities.

- 2. Identifying participants: Noting who was engaged in the activities.
- 3. Locational context: Determining where these activities took place, with activities linked to maps created through measurements and 3D scanning techniques described subsequently.
- 4. Time: Identify when the action is taking place.

The significance of qualitative research lies in its ability to provide deep insights into how spaces are perceived and utilized by residents. Qualitative data, obtained through direct observation of everyday behavior and feedback from participants, offer nuanced understandings that extend beyond what can be captured through urban morphological assessments, building typological surveys, or spatial syntax mapping (Thai et al., 2021). Additionally, during the survey, we not only observed social activities within this alleyway but also participated in them, enhancing our engagement and understanding.

However, it is crucial to acknowledge the limitations associated with participant observation:

- 1. Observer effect: The presence of observers can influence existing relationships and the living environment. To minimize this impact, repeated visits were conducted over an extended period, allowing for better integration into the neighborhood.
- 2. Research sensitivity: When conducting research in areas under threat of eviction, establishing trust within the local community is paramount. To this end, we engaged in volunteer work with the Duang Pratheep Foundation, an organization deeply rooted in the community, which facilitated a trust-building process.

These measures ensured a balanced approach, combining in-depth observation with community engagement to foster a respectful and insightful research environment.





Figure 17 Examples of the author's participating observations from different days

3.1.2 Measurement, 3D Scanning : Understanding Spatial Dynamics through Micro-scale Architectural Elements

This research approach facilitated a deeper understanding of the physical environment and laid the groundwork for studying residents' activities within the spatial configurations defined by micro-scale architectural elements, such as stairs, corridors, and awnings. By studying both fixed and semi-fixed objects, we gained insights into the adaptability and flexibility of space, crucial for understanding how residents interact with their built environment.

Measurements and 3D scans were primarily conducted in the alleyways and in front of each house. The interior of the dwellings was also measured and scanned to the extent possible within this study. This was critical because the spatial arrangement inside the dwellings significantly influences behaviors in the external spaces, shaping how residents engage with and utilize their immediate surroundings.

For the 3D scanning process, an iPad Pro (3rd generation) equipped with the SiteScape app from FARO Technologies, Inc., was used. This technology enabled precise and detailed capture of the physical settings, providing a robust foundation for analysis. The measured and scanned drawings derived from this process are illustrated in Figure 23.

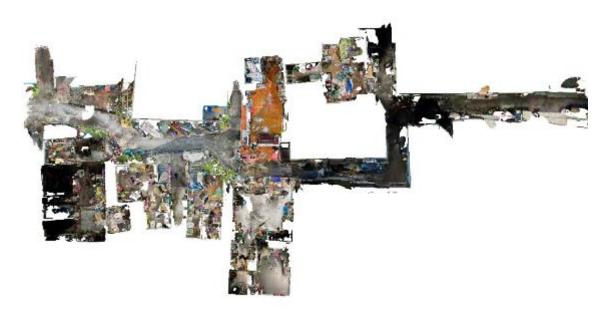
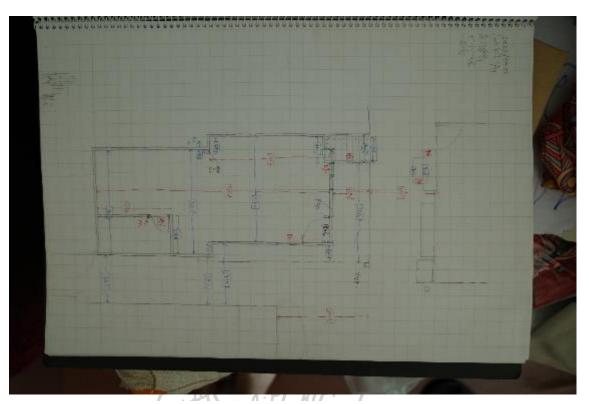
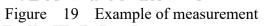


Figure 18 Site plan obtained from 3d scan





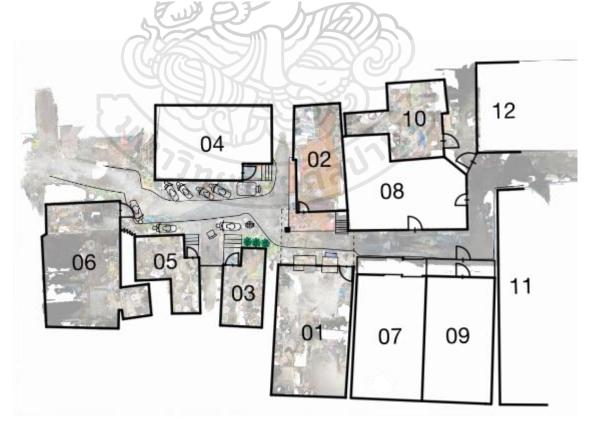


Figure 20 Site plan formed by 3D scanning and measurements

3.1.3 Interviews : Semi-Structured Interviews and Informal Conversations

Interviews conducted in this study utilized a combination of semi-structured formats and informal conversations. The primary focus of these interviews was to explore the residents' use of space and their social relationships within the neighborhood. In addition to these topics, questions were tailored to gather detailed information about each resident's living situation, family structure, and occupation, providing a holistic understanding of their daily lives. Interviews were done through an interpreter from the Duang Prateep Foundation.

3.1.4 Fixed-point Photography : Documenting Spatial Adaptabilities

To systematically document daily activities, space usage, the role of specific areas, and changes over time, fixed-point photographs were employed throughout the study. These photographs were consistently taken from identical positions and angles to ensure comparability and accuracy in tracking temporal changes. The main focus for this photographic documentation was areas with high concentrations of activity. This method allowed for a precise visual record of how spaces were utilized by the community at different times, providing invaluable insights into the dynamic nature of space within the studied environment.

3.2 Theoretical Background; 'Escape without leaving' technique

In The Production of Space, Lefebvre introduced the three concepts of 'representation of space,' 'surface space,' and 'spatial practice,' and argued that space is a social product that combines these three concepts. In The Practice of Everyday Life, De Certeau (1988) presented a method for structurally vulnerable people to 'escape without leaving' in an environment dominated by others—a 'tactic' found in everyday practice. In this study, it is hypothesized that residents engage in 'spatial practices,' i.e., 'tactical' practices in their daily lives, thus re-painting the 'surface of space,' i.e., the 'strategic' space owned by modern law and the Port Authority, into a 'surface space,' a 'lived space,' and a 'space where diverse actions are only possible.'

3.2.1 Lefebvre's Spatial Production

According to Henri Lefebvre(1974), space is not merely a material object but a social product crafted through our everyday 'spatial practices'. Lefebvre conceptualizes spatial production through a dialectical triad: 'representation of space,' 'spaces of representation,' and 'spatial practice.' This framework helps understand the multifaceted nature of space as it is experienced, conceived, and lived.

Saito(2021) elaborates on this by anchoring the start of spatial production in bodily experience, defining the components of Lefebvre's triad as 'perceived space,' 'lived space,' and 'conceived space':

• Perceived Space (representation of space) refers to how space is conceived through

thinking and planning by urban planners, architects, and policymakers. This dimension highlights how professional and technical plans influence the creation of urban spaces.

• Lived Space (spaces of representation) encompasses the space as directly experienced through non-symbolic, non-verbal interactions. It is shaped by the physical actions of its inhabitants—how artists, users, and residents live within and personalize their environments.

· Conceived Space (spatial practice) involves the sensory activities of the body in

everyday settings, whether in work, leisure, or private life. It is the practical realization of space as people interact with it through their daily activities.

Lefebvre's theory weaves together structure and action, investigating the dynamics of everyday life and the potential for resistance within structured spaces. This study draws on Lefebvre's ideas, illustrating that space is dynamic and continuously reshaped by both institutional policies and the everyday practices of its residents. The interaction between these forces highlights the transformative power of lived experiences in shaping urban environments.

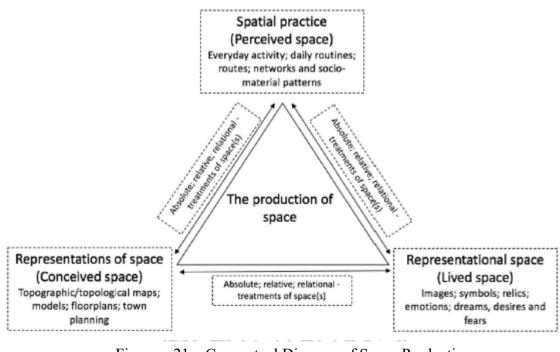


Figure 21 Conceptual Diagram of Space Production Source: Holmes, T., Fernandes, J. & Palo, T. (2020)

3.2.2 'Tactics' that Slip Through 'Strategy'.

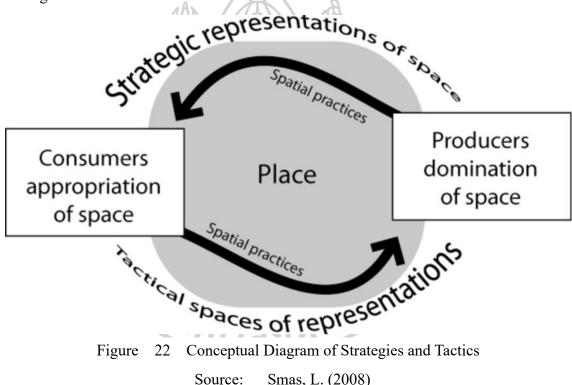
While Henri Lefebvre focused on the conceptualization of space itself, Michel De Certeau(1988) concentrated on the practices within it. De Certeau employed the concepts of 'strategy' and 'tactics' to elucidate the active roles of consumers, who, contrary to being passive recipients of products crafted by technocratic producers, actively 'use' and transform these products to serve their own purposes. He analyzed how individuals in modern disciplinary societies, despite seemingly constrained choices, navigate and improvise within their limited options to enrich their daily lives.

For De Certeau, 'strategy' is executed within domains of structured power, akin to the type of surveillance power described in Michel Foucault's Discipline and Punish. Strategy can be seen as the calculated manipulation of power relations that becomes possible when certain entities—such as corporations, armies, or institutions—operate independently of their environmental contexts. This strategic division of space facilitates sweeping surveillance, transforming living, dynamic environments into manageable and dominated spaces.

Conversely, 'tactics' represent the methods individuals employ to reclaim and

personalize the space controlled by strategic powers. Tactics are the everyday maneuvers that occur within the confines of structured spaces. These can be subtle and dispersed, resembling guerrilla warfare, capitalizing on opportunities that emerge unexpectedly. Everyday actions—from walking and talking to shopping and cooking—fall within the realm of tactical maneuvers.

By applying de Certeau's analysis, we gain insights into how residents engage in 'spatial practices' that effectively 'repaint' their environments during the radical stage of everyday life. These practices are not just acts of resistance but are also creative assertions of individuality within the spaces shaped by overarching strategies.



3.2.3 Production of 'Lived Space' Through 'Everyday Practice'.

In the modern world, social space orchestrates social relations that are materialized into commodities, money, and capital, thereby producing an abstracted, homogeneous space. This space is often described as a 'space of domination.' Concurrently, social space also engenders a 'space of territoriality' that fractures this homogenized environment, fostering diverse differences and embodying living spaces. For instance, consider Toby, a London skateboarder who practices along an office field road stretching towards Liverpool Street. The use value of this space as a place for skateboarding, emerging from his personal experience, continually clashes with its market exchange value as an office block. Though he may eventually be displaced, Toby actively transforms this "no" space, laden with restrictions, into a "yes" space through his living body, challenging the norms by questioning, "Is there anything wrong with this place?" (Borden, 1998; Jon, 42).

In this context, the office block, a 'representation of space' and a 'strategic' space characterized by market exchange values, intersects with the 'spatial practice' of skateboarding. This interaction partially crafts a 'lived space', a dynamic 'representation of space'. According to Michel De Certeau, this interplay forms a 'web of anti-discipline', revealing that the relationship between these terms is not merely antagonistic. Observing the process through which space is created by this oppositional relationship, it becomes clear that they continuously influence each other. Moreover, this binary opposition is further complicated through 'spatial practice' as a mode of everyday practice. Here, 'spatial practices' intervene from a different stratum than the binary, reflecting and sometimes creating conflicts between the 'representation of space' and the 'space of representation'.

In this study, we focus on the residents' 'spatial practices' or 'tactics' and analyze how they produce 'space' by interacting with 'representations of space', 'strategic' space', 'lived space', and 'spaces of representation'. It is crucial to recognize, however, that these concepts and their dynamics are deeply dependent on the local and historical context. This study employs these concepts as tools to decipher everyday practices and residential environments more effectively.

*่าวุ*ทยาลัยศิลป

4 "Chum-chon" Khlong Toei

This study seeks to answer the question, "What makes diverse 'spatial practices' possible?" by considering the neighborhood as a 'web of anti-discipline.' This web is woven within a disciplined society through a variety of policies and resident-participatory development, and it views the street as a vital space where residents live and work. The inquiry is approached from two perspectives: the settlement viewed as a neighborhood, and neighborhood clusters that emerge from the configuration of alleyways and the fabric of social relations.

The case study specifically focuses on one community within an alleyway in the Bangkok Khlong Toei slum. It examines how the physical layout of the slum and the intricate social interactions within it enable a range of activities and uses of space that challenge traditional urban discipline. By doing so, the study aims to uncover the underlying factors that contribute to the vibrant and dynamic spatial practices observed in this unique urban setting.

4.1 Formative History: Historical Importance of Khlong Toei Slum

The Khlong Toei slum is not only a site of historical significance but also a dynamic area shaped by diverse policies and proactive spatial formation by its residents. Initially, the rapid increase in Bangkok's slum populations was driven by industrialization-induced population growth. In Khlong Toei, specific geographical features combined with the development of Khlong Toei Port led to the creation of a substantial slum complex on land owned by the Port Authority.

Due to its extensive size, Khlong Toei has been a focal point for pioneering slum policies. It has witnessed the implementation of various initiatives, including core housing projects and on-site improvement projects—what might be termed 'spatial representations'. Concurrently, it has been a ground for resident-led initiatives, or 'spatial practices', such as site-and-service projects and improvements orchestrated by residents' committees.

Additionally, the changing role of Khlong Toei Port, along with its geographical attributes, positions this area for future clearance. This impending change underscores the urgency of conducting thorough investigations into the current living conditions and urban dynamics of the area to inform policy and planning before

significant transformations unfold.

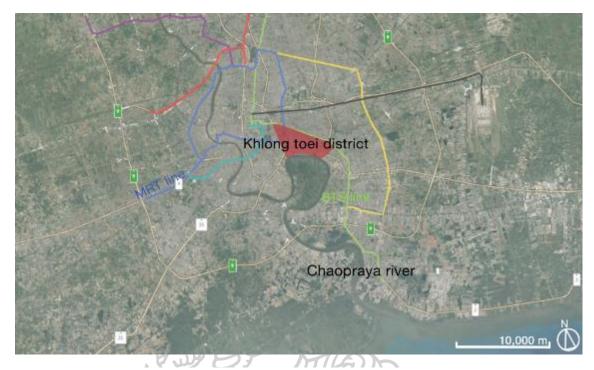


Figure 23 Location in Khlong Toei district on Bangkok map Source: Google earth

4.1.1 Early Bangkok: Evolution To a Trading City

According to Sheng(2017), during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the population of Bangkok was relatively small, with minimal rural-urban migration. The labor demand during this period was predominantly met by Chinese immigrants, which facilitated the gradual development of Bangkok into a trading city centered around Chinatown.

Abe et al. (2024) provides a detailed overview of the residential environment in Khlong Toei prior to the development of the port. Historically, Khlong Toei was characterized as a flat, low-lying marshy area. Figure 24 illustrates that the region was predominantly covered with paddy fields. Although there were roads and railways, waterways served as the primary mode of transportation, reflecting the area's geographical and infrastructural conditions before it underwent significant urban transformations.

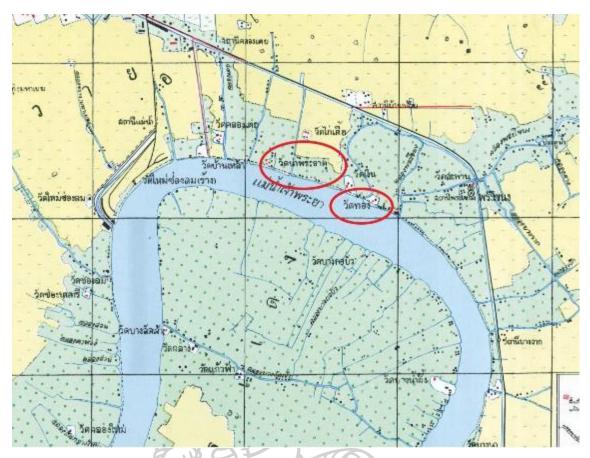


Figure 24 Khlong Toei before the construction of the Port Authority Source: หน่วยวิจัยแผนที่และเอกสารประวัติศาสตร์สถาปัตยกรรม

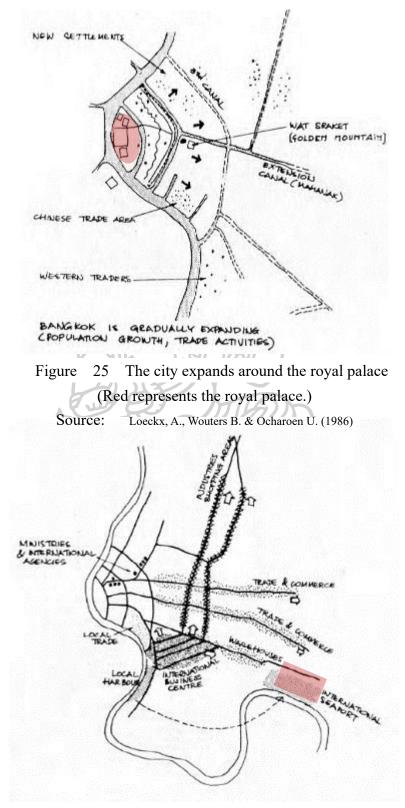
4.1.2 Slum Formation: Expansion of the Trading City

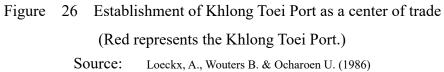
The As Bangkok evolved and expanded around Chinatown, its growth was largely unplanned, driven primarily by profit-seeking landowners and developers. According to Sheng (2017), the city's expansion led to the formation and spread of slums, as rural-urban migrants and the city-born poor constructed their homes on land rented from private landowners. This marked the beginning of widespread slum development in Bangkok.

Contrary to the typical image of 'mega slums' seen in other parts of the world, Askew notes that the settlement patterns of Bangkok's slums are distinct. Due to the complex system of landholdings and features of the urban landscape, such as canals running through what was once paddy land, these settlements do not resemble the 'mega slums' of Bangkok, but rather are scattered across various parts of the city. Inhabitants often used open land for their settlements, adhering to the northeastern tradition of 'chap chong'. Despite common perceptions of them as squatters, many actually reside on these lands based on verbal agreements or informal contracts, rather than formal legal or written contracts(Sheng, 2017). This system, based on personal and kin-based contacts, prevailed until government departments and state-owned enterprises began to realize the commercial value of their land holdings. Over time, what was once governed by customary law became classified as illegal under modern law, and residents were labeled as squatters due to the absence of modern ownership documentation.

In the specific case of Khlong Toei, previously a marshland, its transformation was intimately tied to the expansion of trade. As documented by Abe and drawing on works by Suehiro and others, the topography played a significant role in the development of Khlong Toei Harbor. Since 1855, following trade treaties with Western countries, free trade flourished. The original trade hub, Bangkok Port at Phra Nakhon, was unsuitable for large ships due to its meandering, southward-curving path from Khlong Toei to Phra Nakhon. Thus, Khlong Toei was chosen for the new port due to its strategic location along the Chao Phraya River and its suitability as a water-land interface.

The residential areas in Khlong Toei Slum spread over a large area, with smaller slums characteristic of Bangkok developing along canals and railway tracks. The formation of this slum was directly influenced by the construction of the international port, which attracted migrants for construction work. However, the absence of affordable housing led these newcomers to illegally occupy land owned by the port authority, further complicating the area's development.





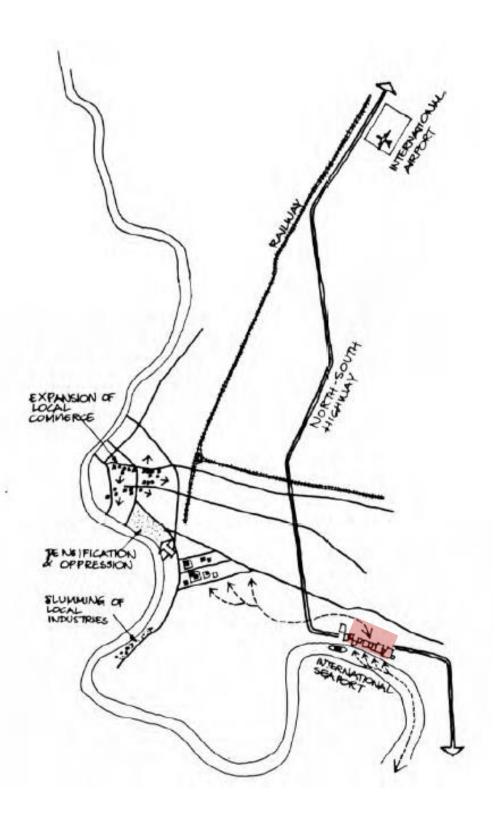


Figure 27 Establishment of Khlong Toei Port as a center of trade (Red represents the Khlong Toei port) Source: Loeckx, A., Wouters B. & Ocharoen U. (1986)

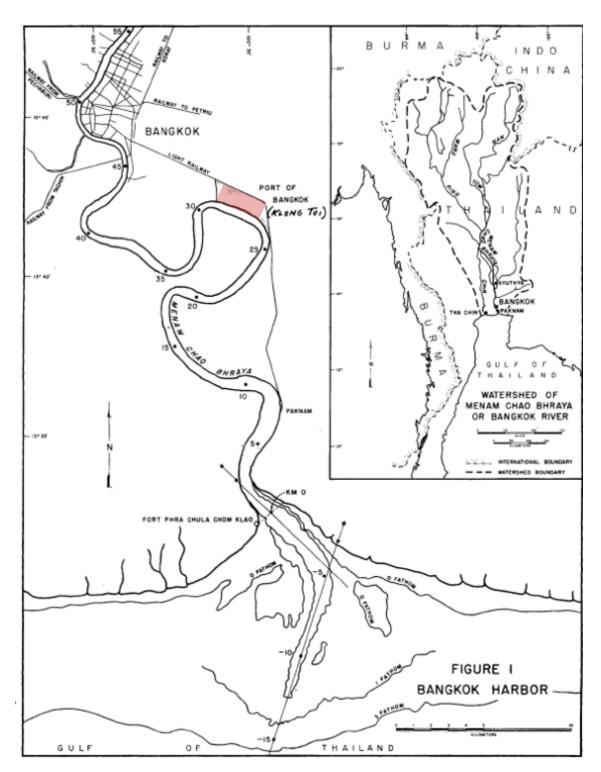
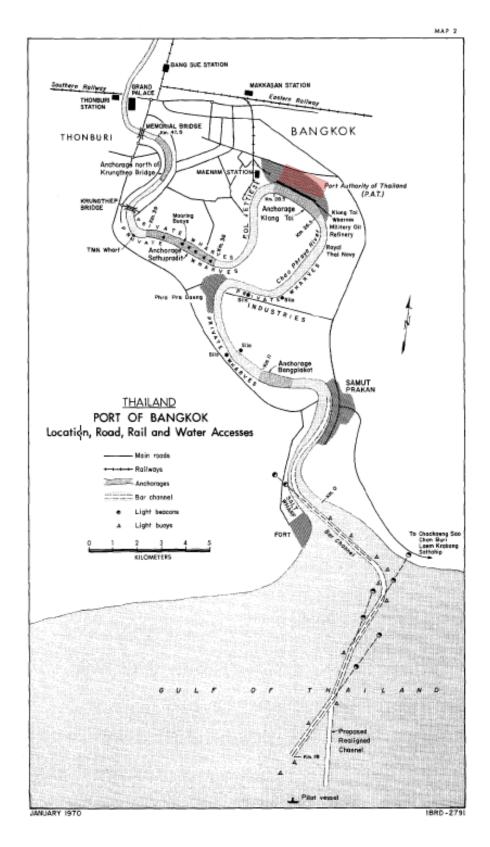


Figure 28 Establishment of Khlong Toei Port as a center of trade (Red represents the Khlong Toei port) Source: World bank. (1950)





4.1.3 Slum Expansion and Development: From Trading City to Industrial City

Slums in many cities, including Bangkok, have experienced explosive growth primarily due to overcrowding in urban areas. This overcrowding stems from both natural increases in the urban population and more significantly from social increases, such as the influx of people into cities. Two primary causes of this population influx have been identified: 'push factors' and 'pull factors'. The 'push factor' relates to rural residents being compelled to move to cities due to unsustainable agricultural practices in rural areas, where shrinking arable land and decreased demand for labor due to mechanization and the use of chemical inputs have made traditional farming unviable. The 'pull factor' involves the attraction of urban areas due to modernization, which has increased urban incomes and created diverse employment opportunities,

Hata (2003) provides a detailed account of Bangkok's urbanization, triggered by the city's transformation from a trade-based to an industrial-based economy post-1950. This shift created a stark disparity between Bangkok and the provinces, resulting in a significant population influx from the provinces to Bangkok. The allure of industrialization, particularly during the First Thai Socio-Economic Development Plan (1961-1966) under the Sarit regime, drew rural workers to the city. The economic boom between the Sixth and Seventh Five-Year Plans further accelerated this migration. Conversely, the 'push-out factor' included the decline in rural incomes due to mono-cropping and the unaffordability of modern agricultural machinery. The penetration of a commodity economy, which drove agricultural development, also increased consumption expenditure in rural areas. However, the influx of people into Bangkok led to a critical shortage of affordable housing and limited employment opportunities, forcing many to live informally on public land, near railway lines, and in temples.

The government's response included the establishment of a Housing Division in the Public Welfare Department of the Ministry of Home Affairs in 1940, followed by the Welfare Housing Office in 1951. Efforts to address slum issues continued with the construction of apartments for slum dwellers in the Din Daeng area in 1963, influenced by Western experts, and the ambitious plan of the Third Plan (1972-76) to eliminate Bangkok's slum problems within a decade. However, plans to relocate residents to public housing in the suburbs often failed, as many returned to the city center due to the proximity of their jobs and the high cost of transportation. In Khlong Toei, the port's expansion attracted secondary functions such as housing, trade, markets, and infrastructure. Initially, the port authority tacitly approved the construction of settlements due to the need for labor. However, as the port expanded, modern property rights issues led to increased evictions starting in 1957. The resistance against evictions intensified in 1960, favoring port expansion, and has continued as part of Bangkok's urban policy.

The National Housing Authority (NHA), established in 1973, conducted a survey of Khlong Toei in 1974, with the main policy being the relocation of residents to public housing. Despite the construction of housing units, frequent subletting and reselling occurred due to the affordability of rents kept between 400-800 THB.

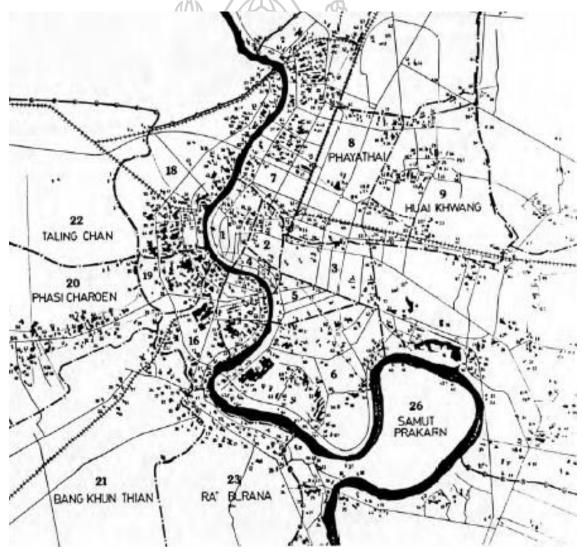


Figure 30 Expansion of slums (chum-chon) due to industrialization Source: Loeckx, A., Wouters B. & Ocharoen U. (1986)



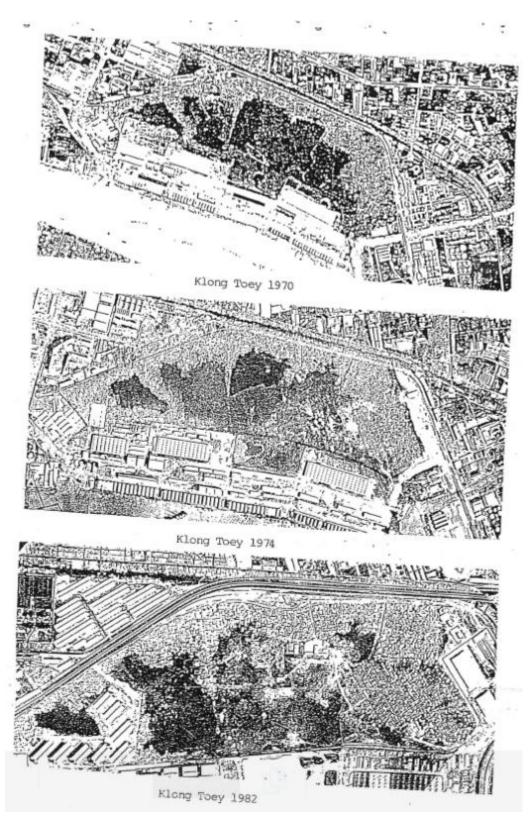


Figure 32 Formation of Settlements in Khlong Toei Source: Boonyabancha, S. at el. (1987)

4.1.4 From Slum to "Chum-chon": Thai-style Participatory Development

Thailand's slum policy has evolved towards more participatory approaches. Hata (2003) notes that since 1978, the National Housing Authority (NHA) has focused on on-site slum improvement, including infrastructure development like roads, water, and electricity. It also embraced site-and-service projects influenced by the "Freedom to Build" and "Self-Help" concepts. However, these public housing construction projects became financially unsustainable. The on-site habitat improvement projects often faced challenges in obtaining landowner consent, while site-and-service projects were costly and typically located far from existing communities, making them impractical solutions.

Against this backdrop, a land-sharing project emerged as a viable alternative for slum reconstruction. This approach involves:

- 1. Clearing land in the existing area, part of which is used by the landowner for commercial purposes, while the remainder is allocated to slum dwellers for residential use.
- 2. Densification of the population through slum reconstruction.
- 3. Encouraging resident participation in decision-making.
- 4. Implementing cost recovery measures.

Matsuzono (2011) adds that participatory community development, advocated by NGOs and campaigners since the late 1970s, began to gain traction in the 1980s. The term "slum" was officially replaced by the Thai word "*chum-chon*" (officially *chum-chon ae-at*). The MBA's Department of Community Development redefined a slum from the 1980s onward as a 'densely populated community' (*chum-chon ae-at*),

characterized as a district with more than 15 households per rai $(1,600 \text{ m}^2)$ living in a

dense, unsanitary, and impoverished environment. Community categories include by Endo(2014):

- 1. Public housing communities (Keha Chum-chon)
- 2. Distributed communities (Chum-chon banjadsan)
- 3. Suburban communities (Chum-chun Chanmuan)
- 4. Urban communities (Chum-chon Muang)
- 5. Densely populated communities (*Chum-chon ae-at*)

In the 1990s, the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration's Community Development Department further institutionalized this participatory approach by establishing the *Kanakamakarn Chum-chon* (Residents' Committee) and the Community Organization Development Institute (CODI), launching projects like *Baan Mangkon*.

In Khlong Toei, as evictions intensified, community-led resistance movements emerged. Boonyabancha et al. (1987) reports that during the 1968 evictions, about 200 households resisted, and in the 1969 evictions, around 800 households petitioned the King. Negotiations with the Port Authority allowed residents to relocate to a neighboring area. In 1982, when the Port Authority planned to evict approximately 1,300 households for container warehouse construction, resident resistance led to a landmark land-sharing agreement in 1983. This compromise allowed the Port Authority and the residents to divide the land, with the residents taking ownership of 2248.8 rai out of 407.8 rai. Development methods varied by area, with rezoning and site and service projects initiated in Zones 1 and 2, and only rezoning in Zone 3. In areas designated for relocation, some residences were built as apartment blocks while others were developed under the Burnmancon project. Infrastructure such as on-site footpaths, electricity, and water supply was also installed in the Lock 456 area, the focus of this study.



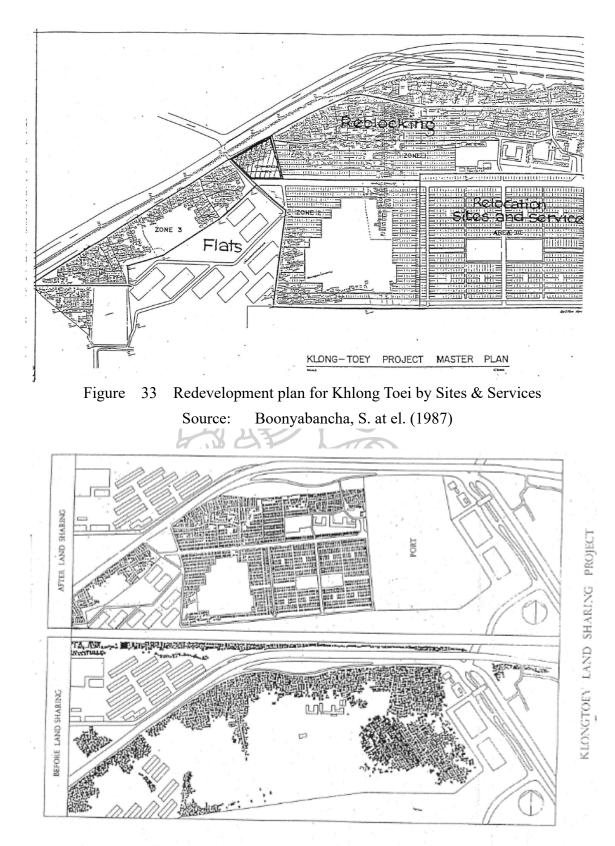


Figure 34 Redevelopment plan for Khlong Toei by Sites & Services that is basis for the current spatial configuration. Source: Boonyabancha, S. at el. (1987)

4.1.5 Bangkok Khlong Toei Today

Today, Bangkok houses approximately 2,070 slums (*chum-chon*), with a total population of 2,090,529 people, according to the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA). More specifically, there are 662 densely populated communities (*chum-chon ae-at*) that are home to 685,240 individuals. Notably, between 20% and 30% of Bangkok's population resides in these slums, indicating that about one in every five people in Bangkok lives in a *chum-chon*.

In the Khlong Toei district alone, there are 39 *chum-chon* communities comprising 84,784 residents across 21,784 families (BMA, 2021). The area has undergone significant spatial transformations over the years, driven not only by government initiatives but also by active participation from non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the local *chum-chon*. Among the progressive developments spearheaded by these community-led efforts are the establishment of a clinic in 2001, which was a move to expand the local healthcare infrastructure, and the construction of a sports field in 2022, which was developed in response to community requests. w

These enhancements reflect the ongoing commitment to improving living conditions and providing essential services within Khlong Toei, demonstrating the pivotal role of community and NGO involvement in the sustainable development of urban slum areas.



Figure 35 Chum-chon's current location in the Khlong Toei area The colored ones are chumchon, especially the gray ones that have been the subject of past surveys

Source: Abe, T. at el.(2024)

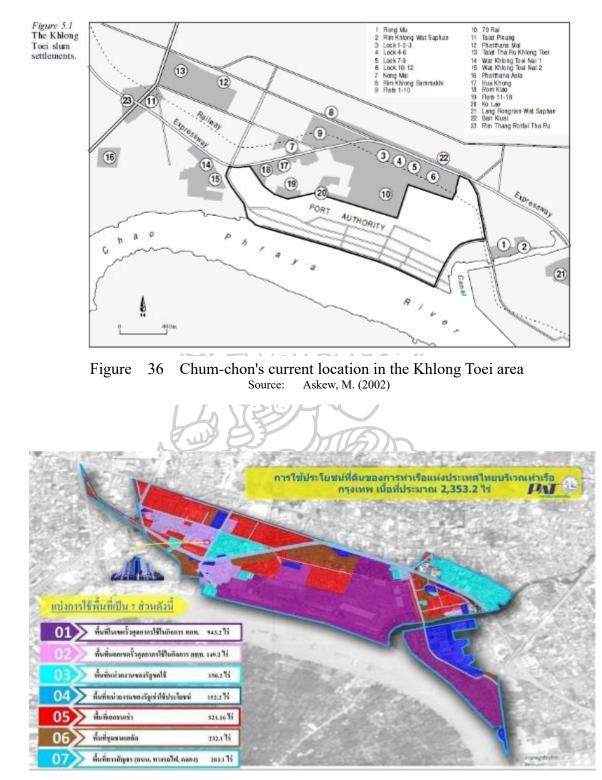


Figure 37 Current land use map around Khlong Toei Slum Source: https://mgronline.com/business/photo-gallery/9670000035643

4.1.6 Khlong Toei Slum Clearance

In In 2004, the Port Authority announced a redevelopment plan for Khlong Toei. However, due to an unstable political situation at the time, the project was delayed. The redevelopment initiative was revived in 2019, prompted by the decline in the role of Khlong Toei Port following the opening of Laem Chabang Port in Chonburi Prefecture in 1991, and the subsequent rise in commercial land value around Khlong Toei Port. The Port Authority aims to transform the area into a hub for commercial and other large-scale facilities. The project faced further delays due to the coronavirus pandemic. According to Abe, the Port Authority did not extend the lease after the 20-year lease period, despite previous three-year extensions under the Site and Services program.

The redevelopment project, initiated with a fact-finding survey by Mahidol University and planned in collaboration with an architectural design firm, is scheduled in four phases from 2023 to 2038. The budget is set at 9,856,666,000 THB, covering 515 rai across 26 areas, affecting around 12,545 households and approximately 60,000 residents. The plan includes the following three measures for relocating households:

- High-Rise Residential Development in District 1: This area will feature high-rise residential buildings, each 25 stories high, comprising 6,144 units. Each unit will include a bedroom, toilet, bathroom, hall, kitchen, and terrace, covering 33 square meters. Facilities such as businesses, police stations, government offices, public amenities, parking lots, commercial facilities, schools, health centers, parks, and green areas are also planned. These properties will be rent-free but cannot be sold or transferred.
- 2. Low-Rise Residential Area Development: Located on the outskirts, this 214 rai area will consist of 2,140 plots, each measuring 19.5 sq. It will also include a market, school, and park. Residents relocated here will receive land title deeds, but the properties cannot be sold or transferred, and residents are responsible for building their own homes.
- 3. Compensation for Relocation: Various issues accompany the compensation process, including concerns about its adequacy and fairness.

Despite these plans, several challenges persist. Firstly, many slum dwellers work in the city center as informal workers in street stalls or as motorbike taxis.

Relocating to public housing could significantly impact their livelihoods. Secondly, there is concern about the potential loss of traditional, horizontally structured, mutually supportive community networks as residents move into high-rise condominiums. The social spaces vital for community interaction, such as alleys and spaces in front of houses, risk being lost. Lastly, the issue of tenure rights is problematic. The right to move to a high-rise apartment or an alternative site is limited to current residents with established residency rights in Khlong Toei. Those on rented land, houses, or the increasing number of foreign migrant workers are not eligible for housing or financial compensation post-eviction.



Figure 38 Redevelopment plan of Khlong Toei Slum Source: https://thaipropertymentor.com/archives/24174

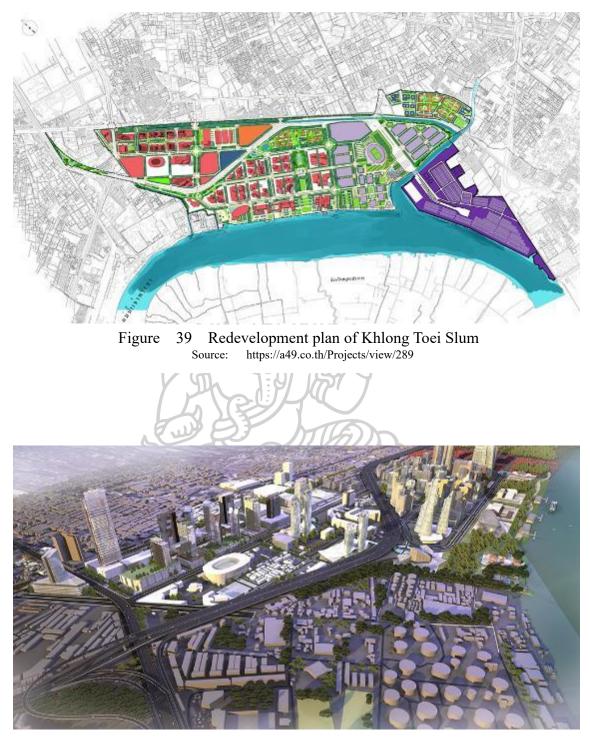


Figure 40 Redevelopment plan of Khlong Toei Slum Source: https://a49.co.th/Projects/view/289



Figure 41 Redevelopment plan of Khlong Toei Slum Source: https://a49.co.th/Projects/view/289



Figure42Redevelopment plan of Khlong Toei SlumSource:https://mgronline.com/business/photo-gallery/9670000035643



Figure 43 Redevelopment plan of Khlong Toei Slum Source: https://a49.co.th/Projects/view/289

4.2 Neighborhood Cluster in Khlong Toei Slum

Within the dense urban fabric of the Khlong Toei slum, the Lock 456 area's particular alleyway has been selected as a case study to illustrate the density of social relations that characterize this community. The focal point of this study, HOUSE-01, has historical significance as its original owner first settled there, subsequently purchasing several plots of land. This owner, a pivotal figure in the alley's development, attracted relatives and friends to settle nearby, effectively creating a closely-knit neighborhood cluster. Over time, this initial settlement fostered the growth of about ten other generational dwellings, transforming the alley into a vibrant community hub where family ties and long-standing friendships have played a crucial role in its social and spatial organization.

4.2.1 Chum-chon Lock 456

This study focuses on the Lock 456 community, a distinct section within the larger Khlong Toei slum. Over the years, this community has undergone various developments, such as the concrete paving of alleyways, and the installation of water and utility infrastructure. These changes reflect gradual, autonomous transformations in both the spatial order and social dynamics through activities like house construction, extensions, renovations, and the subleasing of houses and rooms.

The selection of the Lock 456 community for this study is based on several factors: It is one of Bangkok's longstanding slums where the spatial organization created by residents has been preserved without government-led rezoning or significant relocations. Additionally, the urgency to examine the current residential conditions is heightened by impending relocation plans.

Chum-chon Lock 456 is strategically situated, with Lock456 Alley running through its center, from east to west. This alley connects the northern part of the community to At Narong Road and the southern part to the 70 Rai community, serving as one of the few thoroughfares facilitating continuous access in and out of the area. The alley witnesses active traffic, accommodating both cars and motorbikes day and night. Moreover, several goods trains pass daily along the railway track that runs parallel to the upper part of the road, linking Lock456 Alley with narrow alleys about 1.5 meters wide. These alleys, irregular in shape and often bending or dead-ending, are frequented not only by pedestrians but also by motorbikes.

Geographically, the community is bounded on the east by the Port Authority fence, and on the west, it directly connects to the Lock123 community, integrating Lock456 into the broader network of Khlong Toei's neighborhoods. These physical and social connections underscore the community's pivotal role in the local urban fabric and highlight the complexities involved in any future urban planning or relocation efforts.



Figure 44 Entrance to Lock 456 area from At. Narong Rd.



Figure 45 Location of Lock 456 area

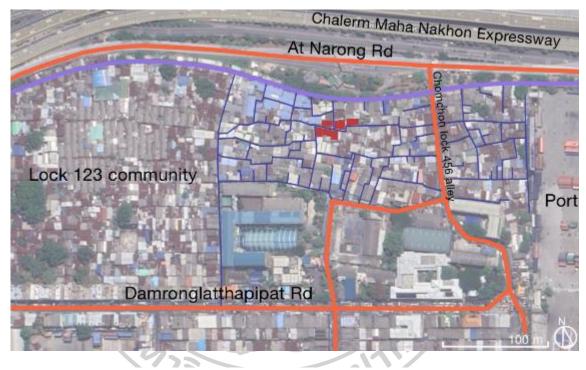


Figure 46 Lock 456 area and surroundings

Legend

- Roads that cars can enter
- Alleys that cars can't enter



Figure 47 Entrance to the Port Authority from At. Narong Rd.



Figure 48 Highway lined along At Narong. Rd.



Figure 49 70 rai community on the other side of the intersection

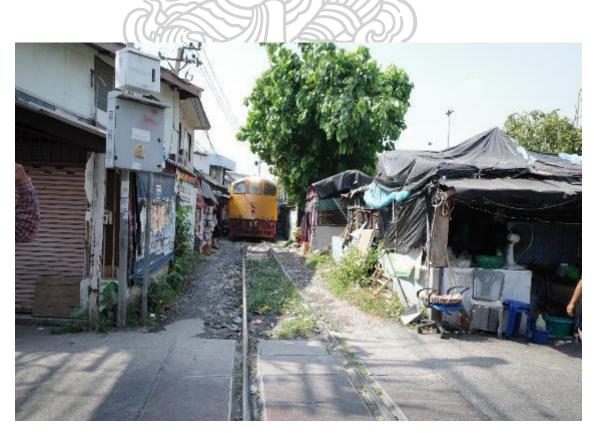


Figure 50 At the entrance to the Lock 456 area, the train is coming



Figure 51 From chum-chon lock456 alley Take the road on the right side of the building to reach the subject site

4.2.2 Formation History of The Neighborhood Cluster

The history of this particular alleyway in Lock 456 community begins with the uncle of the owner of HOUSE-01, who originally came from *Sakheo* province in Northeast Thailand. He was the first family member to settle in this area, laying the foundation for subsequent family migration. Drawn by his uncle's involvement in local work, the future owner of HOUSE-01 and his wife relocated here to assist him. Over time, this initial move acted as a catalyst, attracting more family members to the area, including the owner's brother and sister.

As the family grew, subsequent generations also established their own households within the community, contributing to the dense familial network observed today. Figure 3 illustrates the family tree and maps out the residences of these related households, providing a visual representation of their interconnected lives within the community.

Moreover, HOUSE-02 belongs to a close friend of the owner of HOUSE-01,

highlighting another layer of social bonds that strengthen the community fabric. Originally residing elsewhere in Khlong Toei, this friend moved into the neighborhood after HOUSE-01 purchased a house for her, further cementing the close-knit nature of this community.

4.2.3 Social relationships

Furthermore, the study uses social relationships (relatives and friends) as selection criteria to identify external spaces where daily activities are actively observed. Specifically, areas were selected where several dwellings with social relationships were clustered in closer proximity (e.g. next to each other, opposite each other, one house on top of the other). Such areas can be found elsewhere, but the subject site was chosen as a case study because of the large number of dwellings clustered in relatively close proximity.

In this study, social relationships, specifically those among relatives and friends, serve as critical selection criteria for identifying areas where daily activities are most vibrant and observable. The methodology specifically targets zones within the community where dwellings that house socially interconnected individuals are clustered in close proximity. This proximity includes arrangements such as adjacent houses, dwellings directly across from each other, or vertically aligned residences (one house on top of another).

Such patterns of residence clustering based on social ties can be observed throughout various parts of the community. However, the chosen site for this case study was selected due to the exceptionally high density of dwellings within a small area, all occupied by individuals linked by blood or close friendships. This dense clustering not only amplifies the interactions typical of daily life but also provides a unique lens through which the dynamic use of shared spaces can be studied. The familial connections among the residents, which maps the blood relations and their corresponding residences, offering a clear visual representation of the social fabric that underpins this community.

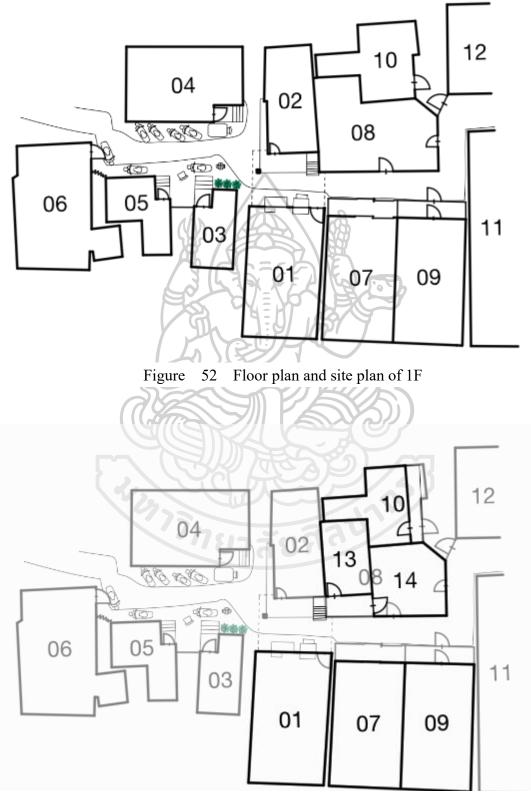


Figure 53 Floor plan and site plan of 2F

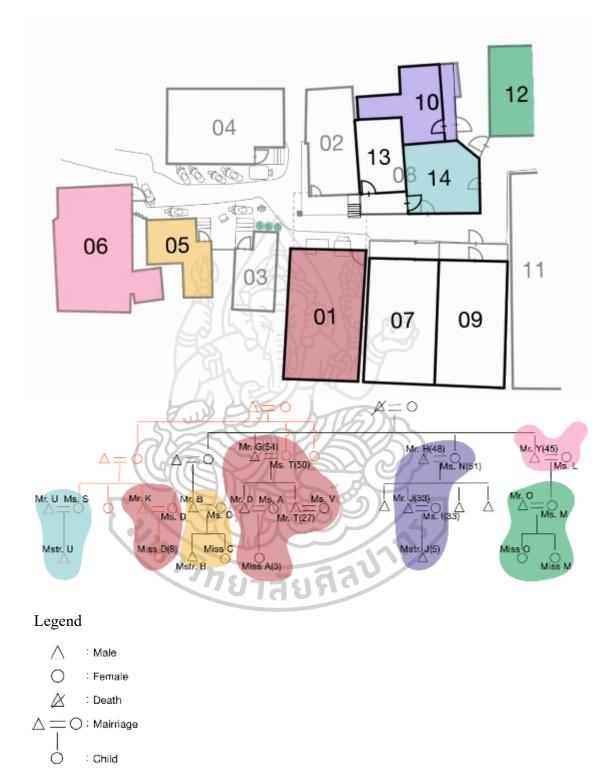


Figure 54 Friendly households and their residents Colours corresponding to the top and bottom figures



Figure 55 Family tree (top) and residence of each family (bottom) Colours corresponding to the top and bottom figures

4.2.4 Alley and Individual Dwellings

Alley

The alley is actively used as an outdoor space throughout the day and night, weekdays and weekends, but it is more actively used in the evenings when schools and work are closed and on Saturdays and Sundays. During the daytime on weekdays, the main members are Mr T, who runs a grocery store and looks after his shop in HOUSE-01; Mr A, who has recently had a child and is raising the Miss A, also in HOUSE-01; Mr P, who is elderly and not working in HOUSE-02; and Mr N, who runs a thai noodle shop on weekends in HOUSE-10 and works making shoes from home in the evenings on weekdays. The main members of the group are. Mr Y in HOUSE-06 is often working on repairs in a visible position. On weekday evenings and holidays, their sons and their children sometimes join them. In addition to the activities described in Chapter 5, a variety of other uses of the alley space were observed, including haircutting and children's play. In subsequent sections, the focus will shift to the individual dwellings and explore how their activities are related to outdoor activities, focusing on their living arrangements and their involvement in economic activities such as shop management.

• HOUSE-01

HOUSE-01 is a two-story dwelling where the ground floor comprises a living room, bedroom, water room, and kitchen. The side facing the front of the house functions as a grocery store displaying various products. The owner, aged 54, and his 50-year-old wife reside in a bedroom on the ground floor, while the second floor accommodates three additional bedrooms. The house is home to ten people spanning three generations, including the owner's son, his two sons and their families, and the owner's wife's niece and her family. The sons are aged 33 and 28, with children aged 8 and 2.

In front of the house, amenities such as running water, benches, and washing machines facilitate a variety of activities, including relaxing and eating. Laundry is often hung out to dry next to HOUSE-02. Cooking is performed both inside the house and outside in front of HOUSE-02 and 03, often in the company of neighbors. Notably, residents of HOUSE-02 engage in personal activities like napping and childcare outside their rooms, as well as communal activities like eating and drinking.

The grocery store at the front of HOUSE-01 operates nearly daily from early morning until late at night, predominantly managed by the owner's wife. On holidays and weekday evenings, the shop is occasionally staffed by her niece, who resides in HOUSE-01. The shop offers an array of items, including snacks, soft drinks, cigarettes, and alcoholic beverages, all displayed prominently at the front of the house, on indoor shelves, and in the fridge. The front door is sometimes left open, allowing customers to enter and make purchases.

Additionally, the owner runs a shoe repair business located in front of HOUSE-01 and 02, in collaboration with his wife's niece's husband, who lives in HOUSE-01, and his wife's niece from HOUSE-14. The owner also collaborates on a craftsman business with a relative from HOUSE-10, 14, and a friend from HOUSE-03.

• HOUSE-02

This ground-floor dwelling, located in front of HOUSE-01, is occupied by a

70-year-old friend of the owner of HOUSE-01, who originally acquired the property. The resident frequently leaves the door open, creating a welcoming space for cooking, sharing meals, relaxing, shining shoes, and engaging in various activities with neighbors. It's common for the occupant to prepare multiple meals throughout the day. Previously a morning beer drinker, recent health issues have led him to forego alcohol, focusing instead on enjoying his meals.

Importantly, the space outside this dwelling also serves as a communal clothes-drying area utilized by residents of HOUSE-01 and HOUSE-12. Currently unemployed, the resident spends most of the day at home and is an active customer at the local grocery shop. Additionally, she provides financial support to neighbors in HOUSE-06 and 14, and frequently purchases food from other neighbors.

• HOUSE-03

This couple resides in the same supported housing as HOUSE-04 and 05. The husband frequently uses the space in front of HOUSE-01,02 for daily activities such as cooking, eating, and relaxing. Meanwhile, the wife moves between the indoors and outdoors, where she smokes cigarettes and tends to the plants. Occasionally, the owner of HOUSE-01 can be seen drying food outside their front door, sometimes sampling it. The husband works as a motorbike taxi driver, specializing in food delivery, and occasionally assists HOUSE-01 with artisanal tasks. A motorbike is typically parked in front of their home, where they sometimes also build a fire for cooking.

• HOUSE-04

Similar to HOUSE-03, this supported housing unit is adjacent to HOUSE-02. It is occupied by two residents, while their son and his wife live nearby. The space in front of the house serves as a motorbike parking area, rented out to a neighbor for 100 THB per motorbike per month. Although the residents primarily stay indoors, they occasionally host a diner outside their home, sharing meals with their neighbors. They also periodically set up a food stand with a rotating menu of dishes right in front of their house. During these times, they keep their door open and interact with passing locals. Their interactions and business hours vary, occurring both during the day and at night.

• HOUSE-05

A nephew, his wife, and their two children, all in their 30s, occupy HOUSE-01. They occasionally engage in conversations in front of the house but typically do not participate in communal meals, often keeping their doors closed. The children are frequently seen interacting with peers from HOUSE-01. On occasion, the family has taken their chairs outside to converse with residents from HOUSE-06 and 10. Both adults are employed during the day, and their children attend school. The family has been observed opening a snack bar in front of their shop only once.

• HOSUE-06

In this dwelling, a 45-year-old man lives with his wife. He is the brother of the owner of HOUSE-01, and together with his wife, they built their home. Throughout the day, the wife is commonly seen sharing meals with neighbors in front of HOUSE-02.

Previously, the wife operated a green papaya salad shop directly in front of their home. However, financial constraints and her daughter's new restaurant venture led to the closure of her original shop. Despite these challenges, she occasionally reopens her shop on the neighborhood's main street, setting up a desk and chairs for her customers. She also continues to sell from a regular setup in front of their house.

Additionally, the couple shares a drying area located between HOUSE-04 and HOUSE-06 with their neighbors. When this space proves insufficient, they hang laundry next to HOUSE-02. The husband contributes to the household income by running a repair business, often seen working on various projects in front of their dwelling.

• HOUSE-10

The two-story building of HOUSE-10 is home to the sister of the owner of HOUSE-01 and her family. Residing on the ground floor are the sister, who is 51 years old, and her 48-year-old husband. The second floor is occupied by their 33-year-old son and his family, including a five-year-old grandson who also lives on

the ground floor. The property was acquired and constructed by the owner of HOUSE-01 for 80,000 THB, and she continues to pay a monthly rent of 1,700 THB.

The family is engaged in shoemaking, supporting each other through a cooperative relationship that involves the sharing of tools and resources. Initially, the sister operated a Thai noodle shop in front of their house on weekends, from morning until around 3pm. This shop was a local favorite, drawing many neighbors to enjoy ramen right outside their homes and near HOUSE-02. Due to increasing popularity, the shop was eventually relocated to the main street, where it began to attract a larger customer base and thrive further. Previously, the owner had also set up his shop in front of HOUSE-06 and along the nearby railway line.

In addition to the shoemaking business, the owner runs a bicycle taxi service and occasionally assists the artisans at HOUSE-01, contributing further to the community's economy.

• HOUSE-12

Four individuals live here-HOUSE-06's daughter, her husband, and their two daughters. They frequently shop at the local grocery but rarely share meals together. The wife has successfully launched her own shop, with many orders coming via a food delivery service, not just from local residents.

• HOUSE-14

Denausaum s house, the The residents of this house, the niece of HOUSE-01's wife and her husband, frequently utilize the space in front of HOUSE-01 and 02 for communal dining. The husband is a food delivery man, while his wife works as a shoemaker and craftsman in HOUSE-02.

• Other

HOUSE-07, 08, 09, 11, and 13 are located nearby and engage less frequently in communal dining but are active in local grocery shopping. HOUSE-08 particularly contributes to the community by performing household chores for HOUSE-02 and other neighbors. HOUSE-13 is a rental property currently under renovation by the owner of HOUSE-01.

4.2.5 Neighborhood Cluster

This paper reveals that social relationships, rooted in daily activities, manifest in external spaces. The presence of many relatives in the area may limit the diversity of its users. Additionally, the alleys in the subject area are designed to bend around the houses of these relatives and close friends. Sitting in front of HOUSE-02 provides a view not only of its front but also of the activities occurring in front of HOUSE-01, HOUSE-03, and HOUSE-04. Moreover, a three-year-old child from HOUSE-01 can be observed walking alone from HOUSE-01 to HOUSE-05, always within the sight of parents and relatives. The area is primarily where most children play, suggesting its safety and accessibility.

One factor enhancing this scenario is the natural design of the alleys, which forces motorbikes—the primary mode of transport in Southeast Asia, including this region—to slow down. This design not only ensures safer passages but also encourages community activities. Thus, it can be argued that social relations, intertwined with the architectural bends of the alleys, both enhance the privacy of the community and foster free activity within it.



5 Creating 'Lived spaces' Through Everyday Practices

This chapter explores how the existence of intermediate areas, alongside the physical living environment and the management of space, facilitates a variety of 'spatial practices' and 'tactical' practices. This analysis is based on data obtained from participant observation and measured surveys. Specifically, intermediate areas are adaptable spaces that can be molded according to the immediate needs of the inhabitants. This concept aligns with De Certeau 's discussion on the emergence of everyday practices. The physical environment and the management of these spaces play crucial roles in fostering intermediate areas and supporting diverse practices.

5.1 Everyday Practice and Its Place

The descriptions drawn from observations, photographs, and measured floor plans have illuminated a variety of 'spatial practices'. Specifically, in front of the houses at HOUSE-01 and HOUSE-02, where activities are concentrated, neighborhood activities such as cooking and eating together, shoe-making, and operating grocery stores were prominent. In contrast, the spaces in front of HOUSE-03, HOUSE-04, and HOUSE-05 were utilized for more temporary purposes, such as parking motorbikes, cooking with fire, barbering, and casual chatting with chairs.

The activities observed in the subject alleys have been categorized into cooking, eating, running a grocery store, managing a Thai noodle shop, working, and other activities. These are discussed in detail, accompanied by specific descriptions and photographs to provide a comprehensive view of the everyday practices in these spaces.

5.1.1 Cooking

The preparation and consumption of meals in the neighborhood play a pivotal role in forging social bonds. These activities foster a variety of informal interactions and relationships. Members involved in communal meals frequently purchase foodstuffs, though the responsibility for buying ingredients rotates daily—sometimes it's the owner of HOUSE-01, other days the owner of HOUSE-02, and so on. Cooking often involves multiple residents and occurs both in front of and inside HOUSE-01, HOUSE-02, and HOUSE-03. The meals prepared are frequently

shared with neighbors and occasionally with passers-by, enhancing community engagement.

Example: Grandma's Special Mala Soup

At around 15:00, Mr. P from HOUSE-02 and I set out from our neighborhood on motorbikes to visit the flat market, as shown in Figure \Rightarrow . Each of us contributed 20 THB for the ride, totaling 40 THB. Upon arrival, we found that no shops were open yet, prompting me to purchase some vegetables and pork for making mala soup from a local vendor who had yet to set up shop.

We spent some time chatting with a grandmother who resides at the market, soaking in the local ambiance. After our brief interaction, we rode our motorbikes back to Mr. P's apartment. Back home, Mr. P expertly took out a wooden chopping board, knife, and bowl, and began to skillfully prepare the mala and pork. Once chopped, he placed the ingredients into a pot and simmered them over a gas stove located in the kitchen adjacent to the toilet inside his dwelling.

After the soup was ready, he transferred it to a large deep dish and set it out at the front of his house. Mr. M, who happened to be nearby, and Mr. T, who was at the reception of the grocery shop, were invited to partake. They eagerly joined in, beginning their meal together.

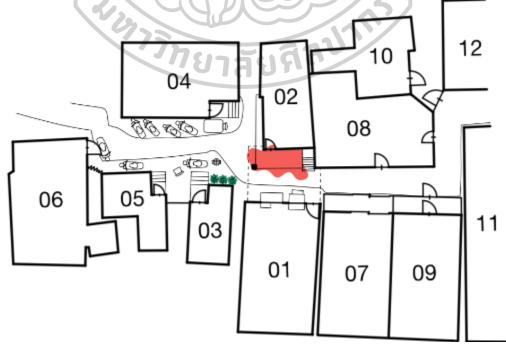


Figure 56 Locations where activity was observed



(a) Ms. P, who came to the Flat Market at 2 p.m., arrived at the motorcycle stop at the entrance to the Lock 456 district, riding astride a motorcycle in less than 10 minutes



(b) Purchased vegetables and meat (and snacks bought for the author)

(c) Adjust the taste of the soup made yesterday



(d) Ms. P. cutting vegetables and meat



(e) Leftover fried meat and mango from yesterday



(f) Frying fish inside the residence

(g) Fried fish



Figure 57 Cooking Mala soup by Ms. P

• Example: USA Fried Rice

Residents from HOUSE-02 visited the Khlong Toei market to purchase meat, while a neighbor contributed vegetables. Back at home, they brought out a knife, chopping board, and bowl from inside the house to prepare the ingredients. Once chopped, the resident began frying them on a gas stove set up in front of his house. Upon completing the dish, he served the stir-fry to neighbors passing through the alley, offering them plates of what he calls "USA fried rice," though the origin of its name remains a mystery.

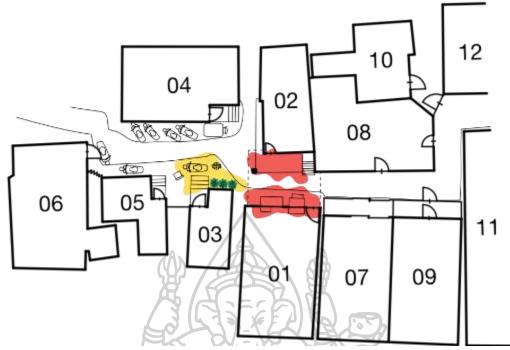


Figure 58 Locations where activity was observed Red represents Building-oriented type, yellow represents Environment-oriented type

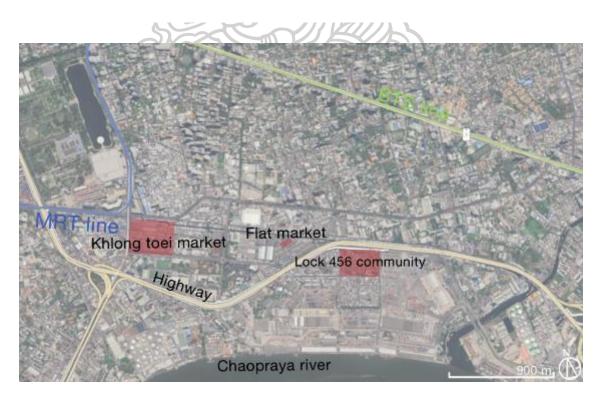
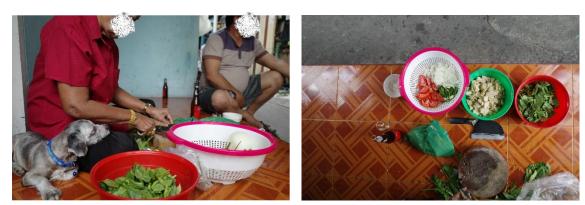


Figure 59 Location of major markets supporting the activities



(a) Ms. P cutting vegetables



(c) Mr. G preparing to build a fire



Cut vegetables

(b)

(d) Fire installed in front of HOUSE-03



(e) Mr. M boldly frying ingredients



(f) Mr. M distributing the fried rice to neighbors



(k) Finished Fried Rice, USA Fried Rice according to Mr. M



(h) Ms. P catches Miss A



(i) Miss A has no choice but to move away

(j) Ms. P cleaning up

Figure 60 Fried rice cooked by Ms. P, Mr. G, Mr. M

Example: Grilled Pork

The residents of HOUSE-01 gathered the necessary supplies for a barbecue, including charcoal and a scrap of tire tube stored under a bench at the front of their house, and set them up in front of HOUSE-02. The resident of HOUSE-01 then started a fire, and began grilling pork. The cooking area, slightly elevated from the street, ensured they were not disturbed by passing motorbikes, allowing for an undisturbed meal preparation.



Figure 61 Locations where activity was observed



(a) Mr. M cuts up a fish while drinking whiskey



(b) Mr. G helps Mr. M while smoking a cigarette



(c) Mr. M cuts up a fish while drinking whiskey



(d) Ms. T. fries the mashed fish



(e) Mr. G tastes and adds oil



(f) Ms. P. comes out of her room with a nice smell



(g) Fried the mashed fishFigure 62 Deep-fried fish paste cooked by Mr. M, Ms. T, and Mr. G

5.1.2 Meals

In HOUSE-02, benches are commonly used for communal dining, extending the living space into the outdoors. Regular meals frequently involve using the entire dwelling to accommodate everyone comfortably. The residents predominantly engage in these activities with relatives and friends from the neighborhood, fostering a strong sense of community.

• Example: Drinking Party

Residents often transform their daily routine into a festive gathering from lunchtime well into the evening. During daylight hours, they enjoy meals from local Thai noodle shops or homemade dishes. As night falls, the food offerings shift to individually prepared dishes or soups shared by neighbors. On one occasion, residents purchased alcohol from the grocery store across the street to enhance the festivities. Additionally, the owner of HOUSE-01 contributed to the party atmosphere by bringing out a large speaker, playing vibrant music from Northeast Thailand. This setup often encourages dining and dancing well into the night, as depicted in Figure 6.



Figure 63 Locations where activity was observed









(e)





(h)



(j)







(m)

(n)





5.1.3 Grocery store

The grocery store at HOUSE-01 serves not only as a source of income but also plays a crucial role in the community by providing easy access to alcohol, cigarettes, and snacks, as detailed in Section 5.2. The presence of goods, whether displayed outside or within the dwelling, effectively transforms the space into a communal hub. Open windows and accessible interiors of these stores encourage customers to enter and engage in conversations with the shopkeepers, often resulting in extended visits.

This blending of commercial and personal space is especially notable as residents utilize parts of their dwelling for income-generating activities. By drawing people and goods from the street into the house, these areas evolve from purely private spaces into semi-private ones, enhancing social interaction and community cohesion.

• Customer 1:

A ladyboy from the neighborhood, known for her distinctive style of short sleeves, shorts, and notably long legs, frequently visits the grocery store. Her routine involves purchasing a single cigarette, sitting on the icebox at the front of the dwelling, and lighting it with a lighter that is attached to the product shelf by a string. She enjoys her cigarette before departing.

• Customer 2:

้ทยาลัยสิลปาก JSF-02 Mr. G from HOUSE-02, along with Mr. M and others, are often seen enjoying meals at the front of the dwelling. Mr. G has a preference for Tiger whisky, which he takes directly from the grocery store shelves. He is known for encouraging others around him to share a drink with him. Meanwhile, others opt for beer, which they drink through a straw directly from the bottle.

• Customer 3:

Children from the neighborhood also frequent the grocery store, sometimes alone or with their siblings. Upon arrival, they typically open the cooler box at the front of the dwelling and help themselves to the products inside. Strawberry syrup juice (*nam deen*) and melon syrup juice (*nam kiaw*) are among their favorites. It's also common for them to request a cola with ice, which is served in a plastic bag.

5.1.4 Organizing shop

Thai noodle shops hold a significant place in the daily lives of neighborhood residents. Serving as a popular breakfast spot, these shops are set up in front of houses, drawing more than half of the neighborhood's residents. It is common to see residents from HOUSE-01 enjoying their noodles in front of HOUSE-02, while residents of HOUSE-02 often gather to eat in front of HOUSE-01. This interchange enhances the communal atmosphere and encourages social interactions among neighbors. Temporary stores can also be seen on the front of HOUSE-04,06.



Figure 65 Locations where activity was observed



(a) Motorcycle to Khlong Toei market at 4 am



Grocery store in the market

(b)



(c) Pork purchased at Khlong Toei market



(d) Pork purchased at Khlong Toei market



Pork purchased at Khlong Toei market (e)



(f) Pork purchased at Khlong Toei market



Vegetables purchased at Khlong Toei market (g)



Noodles purchased at Khlong Toei market (h)



(i) Noodles purchased at Khlong Toei market



(j) Noodles purchased at Khlong Toei market



- (k) Chopsticks purchased at Khlong Toei market
- (1) Condiments placed at the entrance



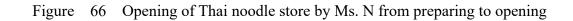
(m) Ms. N cutting meat

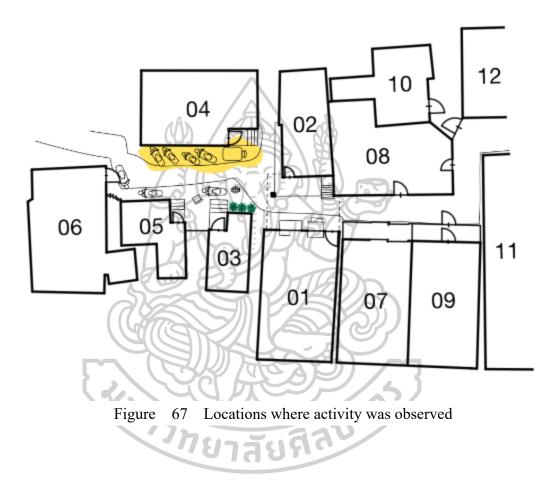


(n) Ms. N mashing vegetables, etc.



(o) Cut vegetables, etc.



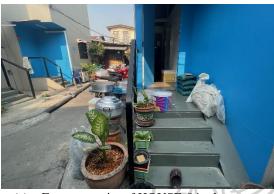




(a) eTable and fire installed in front of HOUSE-04



(b) Table and fire installed in front of HOUSE-04, Next to it is used as a parking lot



(c) Entrance stairs of HOUSE-04, plants, etc. in place



(d) Menu posted at the entrance



(e) Steamed fish paste



(g) Steamed fish paste



(f) Steamed fish paste



(h) Another day, a parasol and table set up



(i) A parasol and table set up

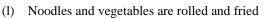


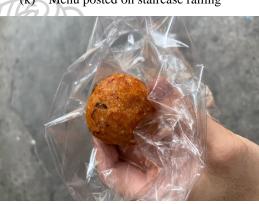
(j) Ms. Y sitting on a chair waiting for a customer



(k) Menu posted on staircase railing







(m) Noodles and vegetables are rolled and fried



(n) Another day, Mr. X building a fire



(o) Steamed colorful dumplings

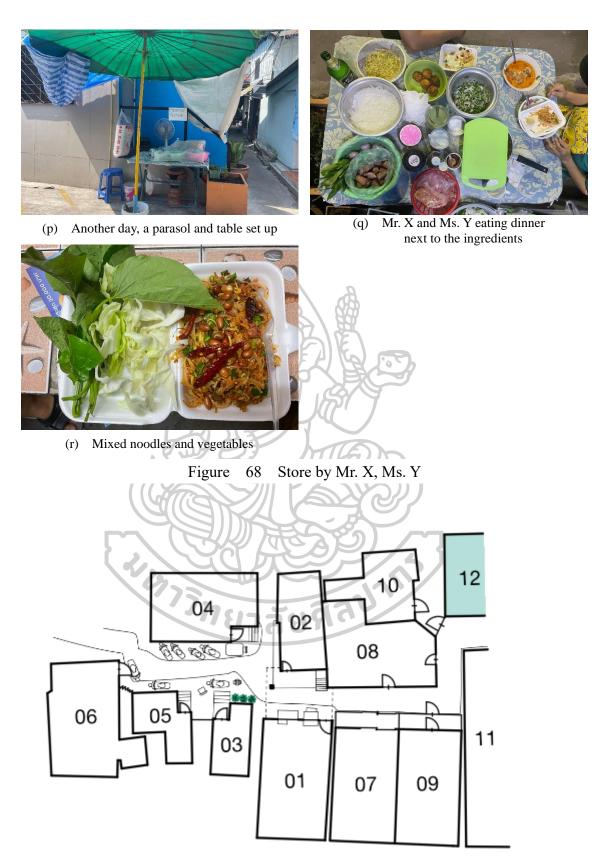


Figure 69 Locations where activity was observed





(a) Guidance for drivers on the GRAB app



(c) Seafood Gapao with fried egg

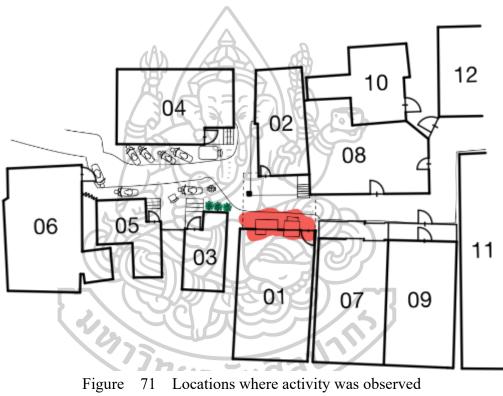
Figure 70 Opening of Gapao Restaurant by Ms. M

5.1.5 Work

The frontages of dwellings within the neighborhood serve as vital spaces for occupational activities, with shoemaking being the predominant occupation. As illustrated in Figure 8 left, shoemaking at the front of the houses not only significantly contributes to household income but also fosters strong working relationships among residents. This is evident as residents of HOUSE-03, 10, and 14 actively assist with the craftsmanship activities at HOUSE-01, underscoring the communal effort in income generation.

These neighborhood relations effectively function as a type of production cooperative. Relatives of HOUSE-01, who reside nearby, collaborate closely in these endeavors, further demonstrating the collective approach to work. While shoemaking is the primary activity, these frontage spaces are versatile and may also accommodate other types of domestic work, broadening the scope of economic activities that sustain the community.

(b) Guidance for drivers on the GRAB app





(a) Interior of HOUSE-01, with windows and doors leading to alley, and goods racks



(b) Interior of HOUSE-01, with windows and doors leading to alley, and goods racks



Interior of HOUSE-01, with refrigerator and (c) goods (alcohol, detergent, etc.)



(d) Goods shelves (snacks, etc.) and cash register (and cat)



Mr. G making shoes (molding soles) (e)



Shoe sole grinding machine (f)



(g) Shoe sole grinding machine



(h) Mr. G, Mr. H and Ms. S work on the construction of the residence and Ms. N looks after it Figure 72 Grocery store and work by Mr. G and other neighbors to make shoes and build a residence

5.1.6 Others

• Talking

The husband frequently takes chairs outside to engage in conversations with neighbors at HOUSE-01. They gather on the front steps, with neighbors contributing their own chairs, creating a casual meeting spot.

· Playing by Children

The areas in front of HOUSE-01 and HOUSE-02 are popular gathering spots for children, who use these spaces to play games, indicating these locations are well-utilized by residents for community activities.

• Shop

Residents periodically transform the front of their house into a makeshift shop, offering a variety of meals with an ever-changing menu. The door often remains open during business hours, fostering interaction with local residents. The entrance stairs double as a preparation and monitoring area for the shop.

• Haircut

A spontaneous barbershop setup occurs when residents of HOUSE-01 arrange chairs for haircuts performed by a sister-in-law living in the same house, humorously declaring the barber shop "open for the day."

• Rental Motorbike Stop:

The front of the house also serves as a motorbike parking area, with a neighbor renting the space for 100 THB per month per motorbike.

Planter Installation

Numerous planters are installed at a slightly raised area in front of the dwelling, adding greenery to the space. Ownership of these micro highlands remains ambiguous, suggesting communal use by the residents.

· Bike Parking at a Slightly Elevated Area

This area not only serves as a parking spot for motorbikes but also doubles as a utility space where laundry is dried using motorcycle strings on sunny days.

5.1.7 Flow of daily activity

Front of HOUSE-01,02: Weekdays

The grocery store opens a little after 6:00 a.m. Between 7:00 and 8:00 a.m., Mr. K, Mr. D, and others who are young and work outside the community ride their bikes to work; Mr. G, Ms. S, and others who work as craftsmen in the community also leave home. After that, Ms. T mainly sits as the cashier of the grocery store, taking care of Miss A and accounting for the grocery store. After 10:00 a.m., Ms. P of HOUSE-02 gets up. She prepares lunch with Ms. T, Ms. A, Mr. M, the next-door neighbor, and others, and they eat together at the front of HOUSE-02. After that, they spend most of the time inside the house in the hot afternoon sun, and after 4:00 p.m., Mr. G and Ms. S come back from work, and after 5:00 p.m., Ms. T and others return to the house. After 6:00 p.m., Mr. G, Ms. T, and Ms. P prepare dinner and share a meal in front of HOUSE-01 and search for Northeastern music on YouTube. Around 9:00 or 10:00 p.m., they return to their respective homes, and the day is over.

Front of HOUSE-01,02: Holidays

Grocery stores open early in the morning as on weekdays, but Mr. S, Mr. D, and others who usually go out to work stay in their rooms until about 10:00 to 11:00. When they get up, they order Thai noodles at the Thai noodle shop in HOUSE-10 and eat them at the front of HOUSE-02. Mr. G and Mr. M, who do not eat Thai noodles very often, prepare meals together and eat them in front of HOUSE-01 and HOUSE-02 as they do on weekdays. Residents often drink alcohol in the morning. Many return to their rooms in the hot afternoon hours. At around 4:00 or 5:00 p.m., they jointly prepare dinner and eat in the same place over drinks, and at around 9:00 or 10:00 p.m., they return to their houses to finish the day.

Front of HOUSE-03,04, and 05: Weekdays

During the weekday, the area is often deserted as residents go to work or school. In front of HOUSE-04, a store with desks and chairs is set up, and in front of HOUSE-05, people can be seen chatting with neighbors with chairs set up. Meals are usually taken in each residence, except for Mr. M in HOUSE-03. Occasionally, people can be seen shopping at the grocery store in HOUSE-01 or sitting and chatting in front of HOUSE-02.

Front of HOUSE-03,04, and 05: Holidays

There is no work or school, and residents come outside between 9:00 and 11:00. Meals are often eaten inside each housing frontage, but sometimes they are shared with neighbors in the housing frontage of HOUSE-02. Children often play inside the housing frontage of HOUSE-05 or in the front space of HOUSE-04, where stores are sometimes open after noon. On sunny days, laundry is hung out to dry in front of HOUSE-02, 03, 04, and 05. House-01, which has many residents, and House-12, which has a poor exposure to the sun, sometimes bring their clothes to dry in this area. In the evening, people come out to the housing frontages; in front of HOUSE-03, Ms. Z waters the planters or sits on the porch smoking a cigarette. In front of HOUSE-03, Ms. Z waters the planters or sits on the porch and smokes a cigarette; in front of HOUSE-03, the residents of HOUSE-01 and HOUSE-02 use a charcoal stove to make a fire; in front of HOUSE-05, chairs and other furniture are set up to chat with neighbors, and sometimes people get their hair cut there; around 8:00 to 9:00 p.m., such furniture is cleared away, and the residents return inside, At around 8:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m., such furniture is cleared away and the residents return to their houses.

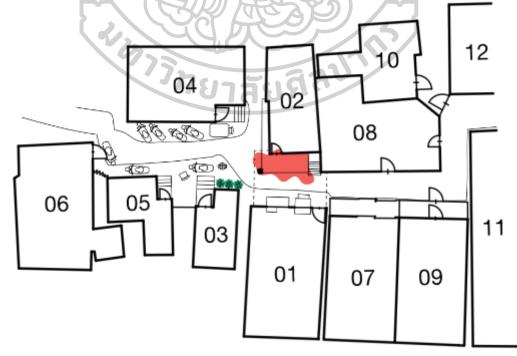


Figure 73 Locations where activity was observed



- (a) No objects are placed when not in use
- (b) Ms. K coloring Ms. P's hair



- (c) Cooking a meal while coloring her hair

(d) Prepare meals in preparation for the



(e) Ms. P cooking and Ms. V working



(f) Mr. K and Ms. S making shoes



They go away to get their tools (g)



Mr. G and Ms. S making shoes (h) and Mr. M sitting





(i) Ms. S making shoes, Mr. G and Mr. M drinking whiskey, and Mstr. J looking on



(j) Mr. M, Mr. D, Ms. P enjoying the meal



(k) Ms. T. nursing a crying Miss A

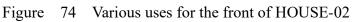
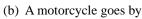




Figure 75 Locations where activity was observed



(a) No one is available





(c) Open a grocery store



(d) Mr. G and neighbors having drinks



(e) Mr. G and neighbors having drinks



(f) Miss C comes to buy snacks



(g) Mr. D, Mr. T, and Mr. U enjoy food and drinks



(h) Miss A has a special seat and a glass of water



(i) Watching the backs of Mr. G and Ms. S making shoes



(j) Miss A wearing someone's sandals



(k) Mr. G preparing the fire



(1) Mr. G preparing the fire



(m) Mr. G enjoying a drink alone



(n) Mr. M looks into HOUSE-01



(o) Ms. D brushes Miss D's hair

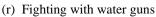


(p) Mr. G and Mstr. J are dancing





(q) Mr. G. and Mr. M. having a drink and eat





(s) Cats also enjoy music



(t) One's day ends

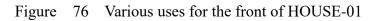




Figure 77 Locations where activity was observed Red represents Building-oriented type, yellow represents Environment-oriented type



(a) Mr. G is sitting on the bench in HOUSE-01 and Ms. P is just coming out of the room



Ms. T, Ms. P, grocery store customers chatting, (c) Ms. G and Mr. M in the back building a fire



Mr. G, Ms. T, and Ms. P chatting, (b) Ms. Z relaxing in a chair in the back



(d) Mr. G, Mr. K, Ms. S making shoes, Ms. P sitting in front of HOUSE-01 as her house is occupied



Neighbors gather and talk, Ms. P. prepares (e) food, Mr. T. builds fire



Neighbors gather and talk, Miss C comes (f) running to the grocery store for snacks



Mstr. J dances in the alley and neighbors (g) join in the rhythm



Mstr. J dances in the alley and customers (h) come to the grocery store



(i) Neighbors gather to enjoy food and chat



(j) Ms. T prepares the meal, Mr. G talks to the neighbors, Ms. P sits



(k) Ms. T prepares the meal, Mr. G talks to the neighbors, Ms. P sits



(1) A man who came to sell lottery tickets and Ms. T who gives rice to Miss A



(m) Neighbors preparing for the ordination ceremony at 4 a.m. and Mr. G drinking whiskey





(o) Neighbors preparing for the ordination ceremony at 4 a.m.

(n) Neighbors preparing for the ordination ceremony at 4 a.m.



(p) Weekdays when no one is around to work on the construction of the residence

Figure 78 Various uses of HOUSE-01 and HOUSE-02 fronts

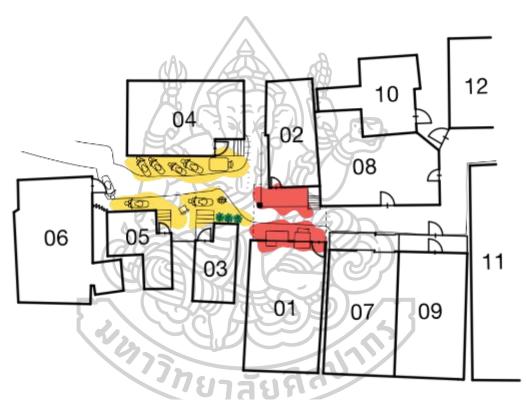


Figure 79 Locations where activity was observed Red represents Building-oriented type, yellow represents Environment-oriented type



(a) No objects are placed when not in use



(b) Eating in front of HOUSE-01 and HOUSE-02



(c) Dancing passerby



(d) Dancing passerby and Mr. G



(e) The front of HOUSE-01 and 02 is shaded even during the day



(g) Mr. X and Ms. Y are having dinner and talking with Ms. Z



(f) Ms. D cuts the hair of Ms. Ms. A



(h) Preparing for Mr. B's ordination ceremony at 4am.

Figure 80 Various frontal uses of HOUSE-01, HOUSE-02, HOUSE-03, HOUSE-04, HOUSE-05

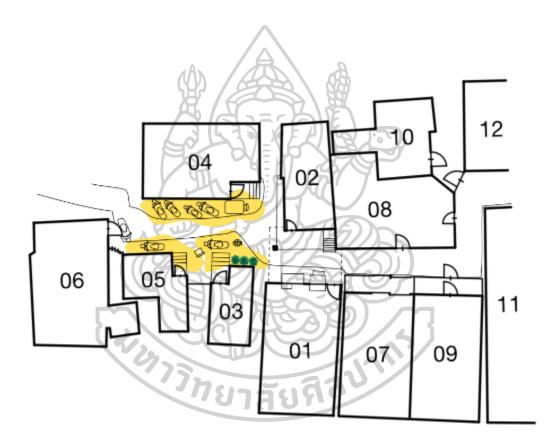


Figure 81 Locations where activity was observed



(a) Ms. P looks to the west



(c) Ms. T. puts something on the fire



(b) Miss C splashing in the alley



(d) Mr. T is on fire watch



(e) Mstr. J stripped of his clothes by Mr. T



(g) Children playing



(f) Mstr. J stripped of his clothes by Mr. T



(h) Mstr. J is frustrated and Mstr. B has his pants ripped off as well



(q) Miss A caught by Ms. P



(r) Miss A playing in front of HOUSE-05



(s) Ms. P. cleaning



(t) Vegetable stalls pass by



(u) Mr. G and Mr. M working together to build a fire



(v) Mr. M grilling meat



(w) Mr. G grilling meat



(x) Ms. C selling snacks and neighbors helping to set up parasols



(y) Ms. D cutting Ms. A's hair and children playing around her



(aa) Laundry is hung out to dry on nice days



(z) Ms. D cutting Ms. A's hair and children playing around her



(bb) On hot days, water is sprinkled in the alley to cool off



(cc) Rainy day



(dd) Night



(ee) One fine day, a passerby walks by

(ff) After the rain



(gg) Ms. L opening a store in front of HOUSE-06 (hh) Ms. L opening a store in front of HOUSE-06



(ii) Fire
(jj) Mr. Y working next to the HOUSE-06
Figure 82 Various frontal uses of HOUSE-03, HOUSE-04, HOUSE-05

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5.2 Architecture and Microtopography Supporting the Activities

The intermediate areas, as discussed in the previous section, warrant closer examination with regard to the physical environment that supports and facilitates various activities. These areas are differentiated into two types based on the observed actions and the manner in which they are occupied.

· Building-Occupied Intermediate Areas: These spaces are partially occupied by the

physical structures of the buildings themselves. They serve as transitional zones where the private space of the buildings somewhat extends into the public domain.

• Environment-Oriented Intermediate Areas: These are shaped by the surrounding environmental elements and are less defined by the architectural structures. They are characterized by more flexible and adaptive uses that respond to the immediate surroundings and community needs.

It is through this loose occupation that intermediate areas become pivotal spaces, establishing the groundwork for the various practices previously described. The fluid nature of these areas allows for a dynamic range of activities, from social interactions to individual uses, effectively supporting the community's daily practices and interactions.

5.2.1 Two types of intermediate areas

The intermediate areas, essential to neighborhood activities, are prominently observed in two distinct segments: in front of the dwellings of HOUSE-01 and HOUSE-02, and in front of HOUSE-03, HOUSE-04, and HOUSE-05. These spaces are classified based on their architectural features and how they integrate into the daily lives of the residents.

• Building-Oriented Intermediate Areas(HOUSE-01 and HOUSE-02):

These areas were constructed by the residents themselves and are characterized by their openness to external spaces and alleyways, which facilitates communal interaction. Despite their openness, they maintain a high level of privacy due to architectural elements like tiles, steps, and roofs that demarcate the boundary of private space. Neighbors flexibly interpret and utilize these spaces based on their needs, making these areas versatile and dynamic components of everyday life.

• Environment-Oriented Intermediate Areas (HOUSE-03, HOUSE-04, and HOUSE-05):

Located at a major bend in the alley, these frontages were architecturally designed to create an irregularly shaped open space that enhances the aesthetic and functional aspects of the neighborhood. The space in front of these dwellings is slightly elevated due to a water pipe at the end of the alley, adding a unique micro topographical feature that inhibits the passage of motorbikes, thus fostering a safer and more secluded area for community activities. This setup allows residents to adapt and use the space according to their immediate needs, supporting a variety of actions and social interactions.

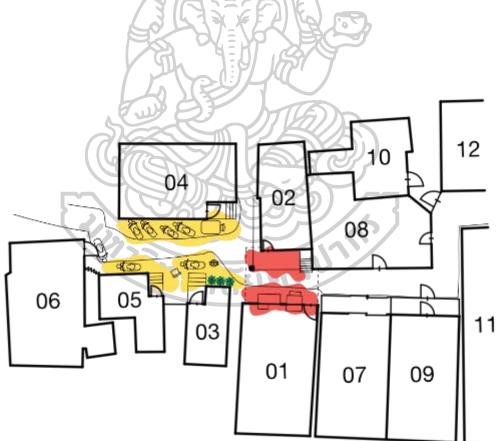


Figure 83 Building-Oriented Intermediate Areas(red) and Environment-Oriented Intermediate Areas(yellow)

5.2.2 Building-Occupied Intermediate Areas

Door (HOUSE-01):

The interior of HOUSE-01 is utilized for displaying grocery store items, making it accessible for customers to view and select goods directly. This setup not only facilitates ease of access for residents who frequently use the front space of HOUSE-02 but also serves to blur the lines between public and private spaces, creating a more integrated community environment.

Shelf Overhanging an Alley:

Operating from morning until night, the grocery store extends its display by overhanging shelves into the alley. This not only maximizes the exposure of the goods but also turns the area into a dynamic space where transactions between customers and storekeepers occur. This arrangement can be seen as a strategic effort to privatize the outside space while simultaneously inviting community interaction, thereby enhancing the public character of the neighborhood.

Window:

Apart from the shelf where goods are displayed, there is another window that remains generally open. This window facilitates the exchange of goods between the interior of the residence and the alley. Nearby, a bench placed in front of this window provides a space for sitting, further encouraging interactions between residents inside the house and those in the alley. This setup continues the theme of blurring the lines between public and private spaces, fostering an open and communicative atmosphere within the community.

Installation of Benches:

A bench measuring 350 x 1,050 mm and 450 mm in height is strategically placed in front of the house. This bench is not only used for various daily activities such as cooking at night and other work but also facilitates communication with residents of HOUSE-02, facing the front space of their house. The placement of this bench is a deliberate effort to privatize the external space while encouraging social interactions.

Installation of a Cooler Box:

Adjacent to the display shelf, a cooler stocked with drinks from the grocery store serves as a casual seating area for residents and customers alike. This functional addition to the storefront extends the usable space and enhances the comfort and sociability of the shopping experience.

Goods in the Grocery Store:

The grocery store tailors its merchandise to the specific needs of the community. It offers conveniences such as individual cigarettes sold separately, drinks available with ice, and a constant supply of beer, responding flexibly to the daily requirements of the residents.

Installation of Tiles on the Front of the Dwelling:

The space in front of the house is raised by 100-150 mm and finished with tiles, providing a clean and elevated surface that covers the water pipe running at the north end of the alley. This tiling not only improves the aesthetic and practical aspects of the space but also contributes to privatizing the external area of the residence, subtly delineating it from the public alley.

Extension of the Roof:

At HOUSE-01, the front facing the alley is covered with galvanized iron, extending over to the front of HOUSE-02. This roofing provides shade and allows residents to comfortably use the outdoor space during hot days, enhancing their ability to engage in outdoor activities privately across both homes.

Door (HOUSE-02):

The door of HOUSE-02 is typically left open while occupants sit outside, integrating indoor and outdoor spaces. Residents frequently sit in the door openings, maintaining a connection with the interior activities, such as watching TV, while still being able to engage with the external environment. This openness also allows for casual observation and interaction with passersby.

Installation of Naa Baan:

In HOUSE-02, a designated sitting area known as "*naa baan*" measures 1,050 x 3,000 mm and is elevated by 100 mm. This space allows for both shoe-on and shoe-off seating, facilitating versatile use for social interactions. Facing the bench of HOUSE-01, it serves as a focal point for communication between residents of both houses. The same tiles used inside the dwelling extend to this area, visually integrating it with the interior of HOUSE-02. Although it is directly visible from the alley due to the alley's configuration, creating a naturally open space, it remains

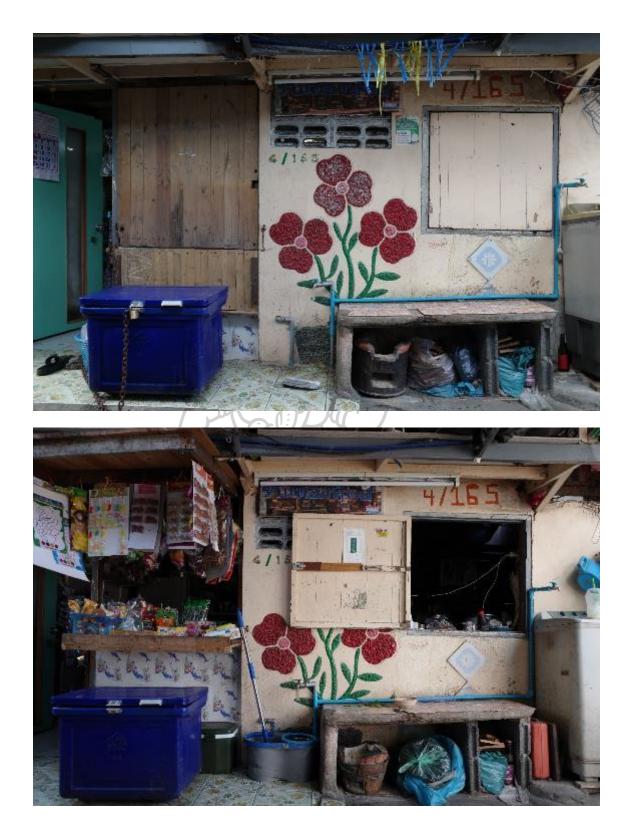


Figure 84 Front of HOUSE-01

primarily a communal area used by residents, neighbors, and guests, especially those from HOUSE-01. The space is kept clean and uncluttered, with regular maintenance by residents to preserve its welcoming nature. Moreover, its open aspect is enhanced as it faces both the south and west sides of the alleyway, making it a vibrant hub for social interaction within the community.



Figure 85 Roof added between HOUSE-01 and HOUSE-02



Figure 86 Frontage of HOUSE-02

5.2.3 Environment-Oriented Intermediate Areas

Architect-Designed Dwellings:

HOUSE-03, 04, and 05 are architecturally designed residences that are strategically set back from the alley by approximately 1,000 mm to 1,500 mm. This deliberate setback, combined with the natural curves of the alley, forms irregularly shaped open spaces in front of these houses, which are utilized in various dynamic ways by the residents.

Entrance Staircase:

The entrance staircases of these houses, while not particularly large, provide a convenient seating area. They can accommodate an adult or several children, serving as informal gathering spots or play areas for the neighborhood youth.

Slightly Elevated Area:

These areas are elevated by about 50-100 mm above the alley level, enhancing their usability. The elevation not only makes them ideal for placing motorbikes safely off

the street but also for setting up temporary shops. Residents often place chairs in these elevated spaces, using them for both leisure and commercial activities. These uses are typically temporary and can be adapted as needed.

Chairs and Desks (Temporary):

Temporary furniture such as chairs and desks is occasionally placed in these spaces. These items are used for a variety of purposes, from casual chats among neighbors to serving customers when a shop is opened temporarily. The flexibility of these installations allows residents to easily adapt the space to their immediate needs, fostering a lively and functional communal area.

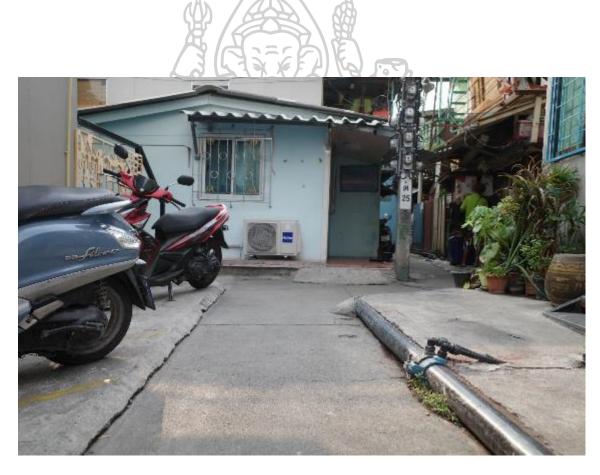


Figure 87 Micro elevation due to water pipes, etc.



Figure 88 Dwelling designed by an architect with staircase in front



Figure 89 Activities with temporary chairs placed on micro elevations



Figure 90 Various objects and facilities that support the activities

5.3 Facilities Supporting Daily Activities

The availability of places to buy food, goods and other items needed for cooking, eating or running a grocery shop in the vicinity may have a significant impact on behavior. The following sections examine each of these factors.

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Markets in the Rock Area:

Active primarily in the mornings and evenings, this area features markets along Chum-chon Lock 4-5-6 alley, where cooked side dishes and rice are predominantly sold. Due to heavy traffic and narrow roads, many vendors opt for takeaway-only setups in front of residential dwellings, adapting to the spatial constraints of the area.

70 Rai Market:

This market is also bustling in the mornings and evenings. It offers a wider variety of goods compared to the Rock area, including vegetables and fruits in addition to cooked dishes. Vendors frequently set up their stalls in front of dwellings along the main road or

near prominent landmarks like 7-Eleven or local foundations, with some allowing

customers to eat inside, extending the space of dwellings into semi-public eating areas.

Regular Markets in Flats:

Held every Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday, this market takes place in the open spaces in front of the flat area. It specializes in side dishes intended for takeaway, supported by temporary stalls that cater to the quick and convenient food needs of the community.

Khlong Toei Market:

Essential for the sustenance of cooking and Thai noodle shops, Khlong Toei market operates 24 hours, crucial for vendors that need early morning supplies. Its proximity, coupled with its wide selection and freshness, makes it an invaluable resource for local businesses, offering advantages that large supermarkets cannot match. Moreover, the presence of a major supermarket like Lutas, although a 10-minute motorbike ride away, supports the viability of local grocery stores by providing bulk goods that are essential for both cooking and retail operations.

Motorcycle Accessibility:

Motorcycles represent a vital mode of transportation for accessing these markets. Conveniently located motorbike taxi stops enhance the accessibility of these areas. It's important that the grocery store accommodates motorbike access, allowing for quick stops and purchases directly from the alley, further supported by motorbike parking areas like the one at HOUSE-04. This setup ensures that the alleyways are not only navigable but also integral to the commercial and daily living strategies of the residents.

5.4 Social Relations Supporting Everyday Activities

The everyday practices within the neighborhood, as observed, are significantly supported by robust social relationships among the residents. These relationships not only facilitate various community activities but also enhance the communal atmosphere through interconnected support systems.

Blood Relatives:

As Askew (2002) noted, households in the neighborhood are rarely isolated; they are interconnected through networks of familial relationships. These blood relatives form

the backbone of social structure, supporting one another in construction projects, job searches, financial assistance, childcare, and house supervision. For instance, residents of HOUSE-01 are notably active in communal spaces in front of various residences, utilizing these areas not just for personal use but also for community engagement.

Friendship:

Friendships within the neighborhood manifest through shared spaces, communal meals, and mutual financial support, reflecting a deep integration of daily lives. For example, although HOUSE-02 and HOUSE-03 are not related by blood, their residents participate extensively in social activities, enhancing the community's openness and cohesion.

Land Ownership:

Ownership of multiple plots by HOUSE-01, including HOUSE-02, facilitates active engagement and use of these spaces by various community members. This ownership encourages residents to invest in the community physically and socially, enhancing the communal use of shared frontages.

Neighborhood Relations:

Routine interactions at communal places like the grocery store foster daily communication among residents, contributing to a vibrant social life even among those who do not share deep friendships or familial ties.

Generational Diversity:

The presence of multiple generations within the neighborhood fosters a culture of mutual assistance, where different age groups support one another in daily tasks. For example, younger family members may assist older residents with shopping or managing their businesses, illustrating an integrated support system.

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Income Disparity:

Economic differences within the community lead to dynamic social interactions, including lending and borrowing practices that reflect the varying financial capacities of the households. HOUSE-A, for instance, uses its relative financial advantage to develop properties and support less affluent neighbors, strengthening community bonds through economic interactions.

5.5 Social Functions Support Everyday Activities

The daily interactions and activities in the neighborhood are significantly supported by various social functions, each playing a unique role in fostering community cohesion and facilitating essential services.

Grocery Store:

The grocery store serves as a vital hub for local life, attracting regular customers who engage in both immediate and repeat purchases. More than just a commercial space, the grocery store acts as a key venue for fostering interpersonal relationships, enhancing the social fabric of the community. The frequent visits and casual interactions that occur here not only facilitate economic transactions but also strengthen bonds among residents, establishing the store as a central element in community cohesion.

Thai Noodle Shop:

As previously discussed, the presence of a Thai noodle shop significantly enhances the communal atmosphere by promoting eating and drinking activities in front of HOUSE-01 and HOUSE-02. This establishment not only serves as a culinary hotspot but also acts as a social gathering place, contributing to the lively street life of the neighborhood.

The Place of Drinking (Sang Sang):

The area in front of HOUSE-02, locally referred to as 'sang sang,' is recognized as a pivotal social space within the community. This spot is renowned for hosting communal drinking parties and meals, becoming a catalyst for related activities such as purchasing alcohol from the nearby grocery store. Such gatherings are instrumental in reinforcing the communal bonds and enhancing the neighborhood's social vitality.

Parking:

The front of HOUSE-04 is strategically utilized for motorbike parking, a necessity given the importance of motorbikes as the primary mode of transportation in the area. Almost every household owns at least one motorbike, making parking space a critical component of daily life. This area not only serves a practical function but also facilitates the flow of people and goods, supporting the various social and

economic activities across the neighborhood.

5.6 Formation Process of Intermediate Areas

Intermediate areas play a crucial role in neighborhood activities, yet they often remain unoccupied or are used flexibly. This section explores the formation of these spaces and examines why they are characterized by loose occupation.

Formation of Intermediate Areas:

1. Original Land Shape:

The physical layout of the land initially dictates how spaces can be utilized. The natural contours and boundaries of the area often determine the potential for development and use, setting the stage for how social interactions and activities unfold.

2. Social Environment:

The social dynamics within the neighborhood significantly influence how spaces are used. Relationships among residents, communal needs, and social norms all contribute to defining how intermediate areas are utilized, whether for social gatherings, economic activities, or personal use.

3. Development into Semi-Private and Semi-Public Spaces:

The specific characteristics of intermediate spaces in front of each dwelling evolve based on a combination of physical layout and social usage patterns.

4. HOUSE-01,02 (Building-Occupied Intermediate Areas):

These spaces are among the most active in the neighborhood, supporting both individual and communal activities. Despite their external location and inherent publicity, features such as steps, furniture, and the color of tiles integrate these areas into the dwelling. Efforts to extend the interior outward—making the outside feel like part of the inside—are evident through the presence of benches and roofs, which enhance the coziness and perceived privacy of these areas.

5. HOUSE-03,04,05 (Environment-Occupied Intermediate Areas):

The slightly elevated areas along the alleyways serve as platforms for semi-permanent installations like furniture and objects, including monthly bicycle parking for

motorcycles. These elevations are often perceived by residents as boundaries of their property, subtly demarcating private space within public areas. In wider parts of the alley or at turns where space permits, temporary shops and seating are established for neighborhood use, though these setups tend to be transient and primarily for local residents.

6. Loose Occupation:

The concept of 'loose occupation' refers to the flexible, sometimes temporary use of these intermediate spaces. They are not permanently occupied due to their role in accommodating a variety of activities, from daily social interactions to occasional commercial ventures. The flexibility in their use helps maintain a balance between accessibility for public activities and the extension of private living space.

Details below.

1. Original Land Shape:

A - Narrow Alley: The compact nature of the alley restricts and defines the potential for space utilization, influencing how residents adapt their living and communal areas.B - Curved Alleys Surrounding HOUSE-01, 02, 03, 04, 05: These curves naturally create pockets of space that facilitate privacy and communal gathering points.

C - Installation of Water Pipes Along Alleys: This infrastructure necessity dictates physical boundaries and affects how properties can extend into communal areas.

2. Formation of the Social Environment:

D - HOUSE-01 owns more than one piece of land: Ownership of multiple plots allows for greater control and customization of land use, impacting the spatial dynamics of the neighborhood.

E - Call a blood relative or a close friend to the neighborhood due to D: Enhances social cohesion and ensures community support systems are in place, influencing residency patterns.

F - A, B, E make neighborhoods private (forming neighborhood clusters): These factors contribute to the privatization of communal spaces, turning public areas into semi-private clusters centered around familial and friendly ties.

3. Formation of HOUSE-01 and 02:

G - HOUSE-01 is a craftsman who can construct dwellings: Skills in craftsmanship

allow for the self-building of homes and modifications to existing structures.

H - The resident of HOUSE-02 lived alone: Individual living situations impact the design and usage of space, influencing how communal areas are structured.

I - Space (*naa baan*) in front of HOUSE-02 is formed due to E, G, H, and J: This area becomes a focal point for interaction due to its strategic formation.

J - HOUSE-01 opens a grocery store: Commercial activities contribute to the dynamism of the space, enhancing its public utility.

K - Installation of product shelves and cooler boxes due to G and J: Supports commercial activities and influences the physical layout of the space.

L - Installation of benches, roofs, windows, etc., due to G: Enhances comfort and utility, making the space more inviting for communal use.

M - The front space of HOUSE-01 is formed because of K and L: Becomes a central hub for neighborhood interaction, especially for meals and social gatherings.

N - F, I, J, M, etc., induce active use of external space mainly for meals, etc.: These elements collectively encourage the utilization of outdoor spaces for communal activities.

4. Formation of HOUSE-03, 04, 05:

O - The house was designed by an architect and has some buffer from the alley boundary: This design choice provides a natural separation that enhances privacy and aesthetic appeal.

P - Slightly higher lands are formed in front of the dwelling because of A, B, C, and O: Elevations create natural barriers and define the space usage.

Q - F, J, and P induce occupancy by objects and temporary use of chairs and stores along each terrain: These features facilitate the flexible use of space, accommodating both permanent and temporary setups.

6 Conclusion

6.1 Summary

This study delves into the critical role of external spaces in slum settlements, aiming to uncover why such varied activities occur within these areas. By employing a blend of long-term participant observation and precise measurements, and analyzing the data through the lens of Lefebvre's 'production of space' and De Certeau's 'strategies', the research sought to understand both the activities and the supporting social and physical environments. This chapter summarizes the results obtained in this thesis, based on the theories of De Certeau and Lefebvre. In other words, this chapter describe how lived space is created by spatial practice (tactics) in perceived space (strategy). Finally, this chapter will discuss how these results contribute to the concept of urban vernacular architecture.

Perceived Space (representation of space), Strategy, refers to how space is conceived through thinking and planning by urban planners, architects, and policymakers. This dimension highlights how professional and technical plans influence the creation of urban spaces. In this study, these are mainly environment-oriented types (Frontages of HOUSE-03, 04, and 05). Specifically, they are Narrow, and curved alley shape, or small paved steps by water pipe, and support housing designed by architects, which happen to be formed in the environment.

Conceived Space (spatial practice), Tactics, involves the sensory activities of the body in everyday settings, whether in work, leisure, or private life. It is the practical realization of space as people interact with it through their daily activities. In this study, the main focus is on the formation of the building-oriented type (Frontage of HOUSE01, and 02). Specifically, the activities in the environment-oriented type include the construction of housing frontage, windows, overhanging roof, and shelves by themselves, and the use of temporary chairs, desks, parasols, etc.

Such spatial activity creates Lived Space (spaces of representation). It encompasses the space as directly experienced through non-symbolic, non-verbal interactions. It is shaped by the physical actions of its inhabitants—how artists, users, and residents live within and personalize their environments.

Finally, based on these results, this study describes the similarities and differences between Vernacular and Urban vernacular architecture. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Rudofsky describes Vernacular architecture from five perspectives: "vernacular," "anonymous," "spontaneous," "indigenous," and "rural. According to this perspective, both vernacular architecture and urban vernacular architecture are

indigenous architecture created by strong limitations and people's interrelationships, and were not designed by anyone in particular, They are spontaneous, anonymous architectures that are not designed by anyone in particular. In other words, it is an architecture created by anonymous, ordinary people through spatial practice under various limitations. In the case of "rural" architecture, the main restrictions are created by the natural environment, etc., and vernacular architecture is created by architecture made of natural materials and living in accordance with the natural environment. In the case of "urban" architecture, the main restrictions are imposed by the social environment, economic conditions, and politics, and the urban vernacular is characterized by inexpensive building materials such as iron, blocks, and temporary chairs that can be obtained anywhere, and a communal lifestyle that accommodates small living spaces. In modern times, however, vernacular architecture is often the "dead space", preserved in a context that is disconnected from people's practices and lives. In this context, urban vernacular is a space that is created by Tactical practice, the "lived space" and responsive to people's lives.

6.2 Limitation

This study faces several limitations:

- 1. Qualitative Depth: Despite efforts to capture the target site's dynamics comprehensively, certain aspects, such as nuanced social interactions and private conversations, may not have been fully understood, partly due to language barriers.
- 2. Generalizability: The phenomena documented are specific to the studied neighborhood and may not necessarily be applicable to other informal settlements with different social, economic, and cultural contexts.
- 3. Varied Social Connectivity: Although dense social relationships were prevalent, not all residents formed strong social ties. Younger generations, in particular, showed a tendency towards more privatized lifestyle practices within their dwellings.
- 4. Poverty romanticism: This study should be cautious of perspectives that view slums as ideal places to live. The fact remains that there are still many restrictions and the area is still a problematic settlements should be solve.

Moving forward, it is recommended that further studies explore a broader range of informal settlements to understand diverse social dynamics and housing needs better. Engaging with a wider demographic and incorporating multilingual research teams may also provide deeper insights into the complex social fabrics of these communities.



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