

pin sangkaeo

Temples of CONSUMERISM

Undertaking Thailand's Political Tactics through Bangkok Shopping Malls

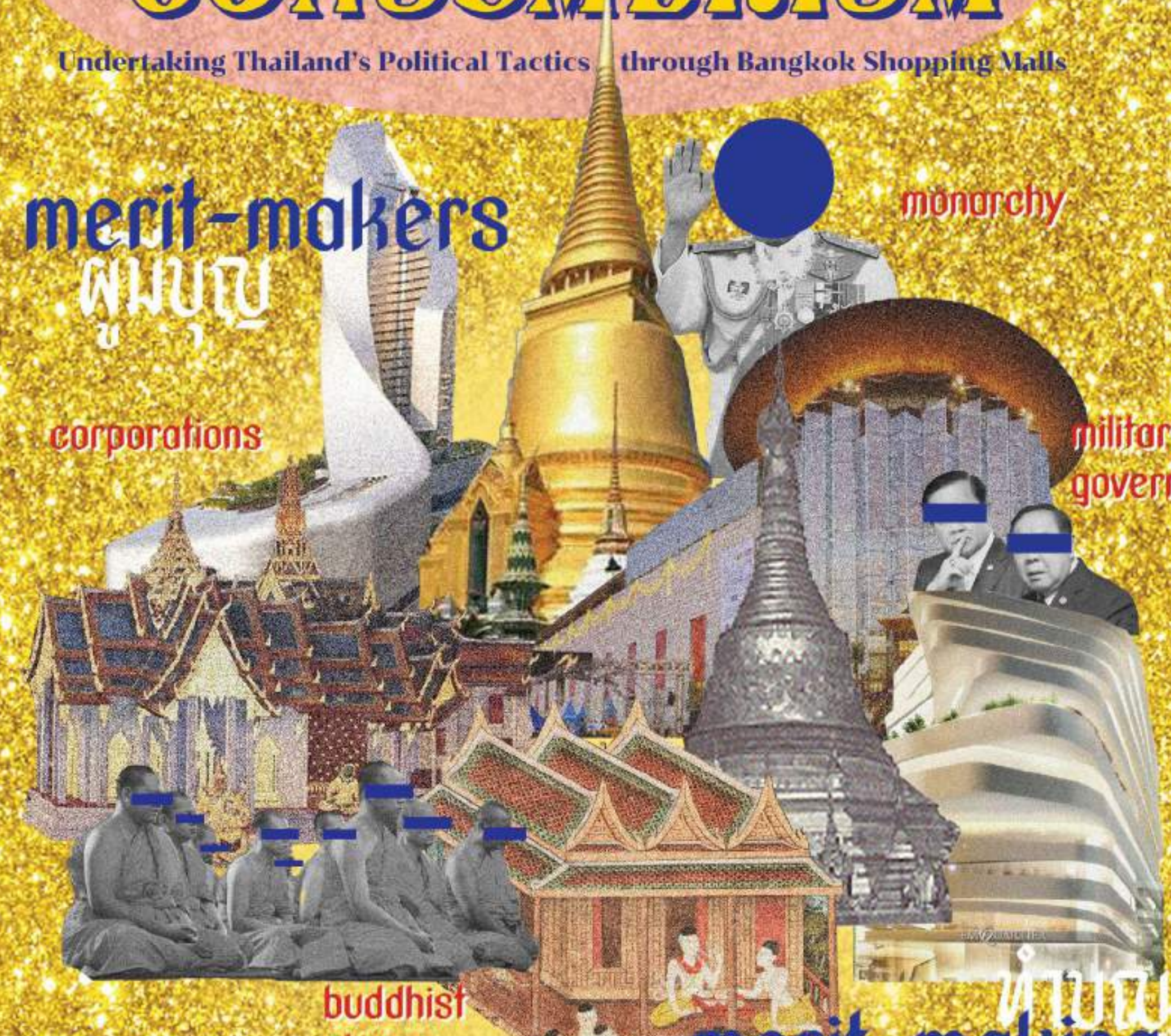
merit-makers

บุญกุศล

monarchy

corporations

military government



buddhist clergy

merit-making

This thesis investigates the role of architecture as a physical tool of maintaining the status quo, used by those who hold political powers in order to superimpose their ideology on the collective citizens and perpetuate the system's political, economically, and culturally.

Do Good Receive good,
Do Evil Receive Evil

Temples of Consumerism:
Undertaking Thailand's Political Tactics through Bangkok Shopping Malls
Pin Sangkaeo

Research Advisor:
Professor Lawrence Chua

Thesis Prep Advisor:
Professor Lawrence Davis

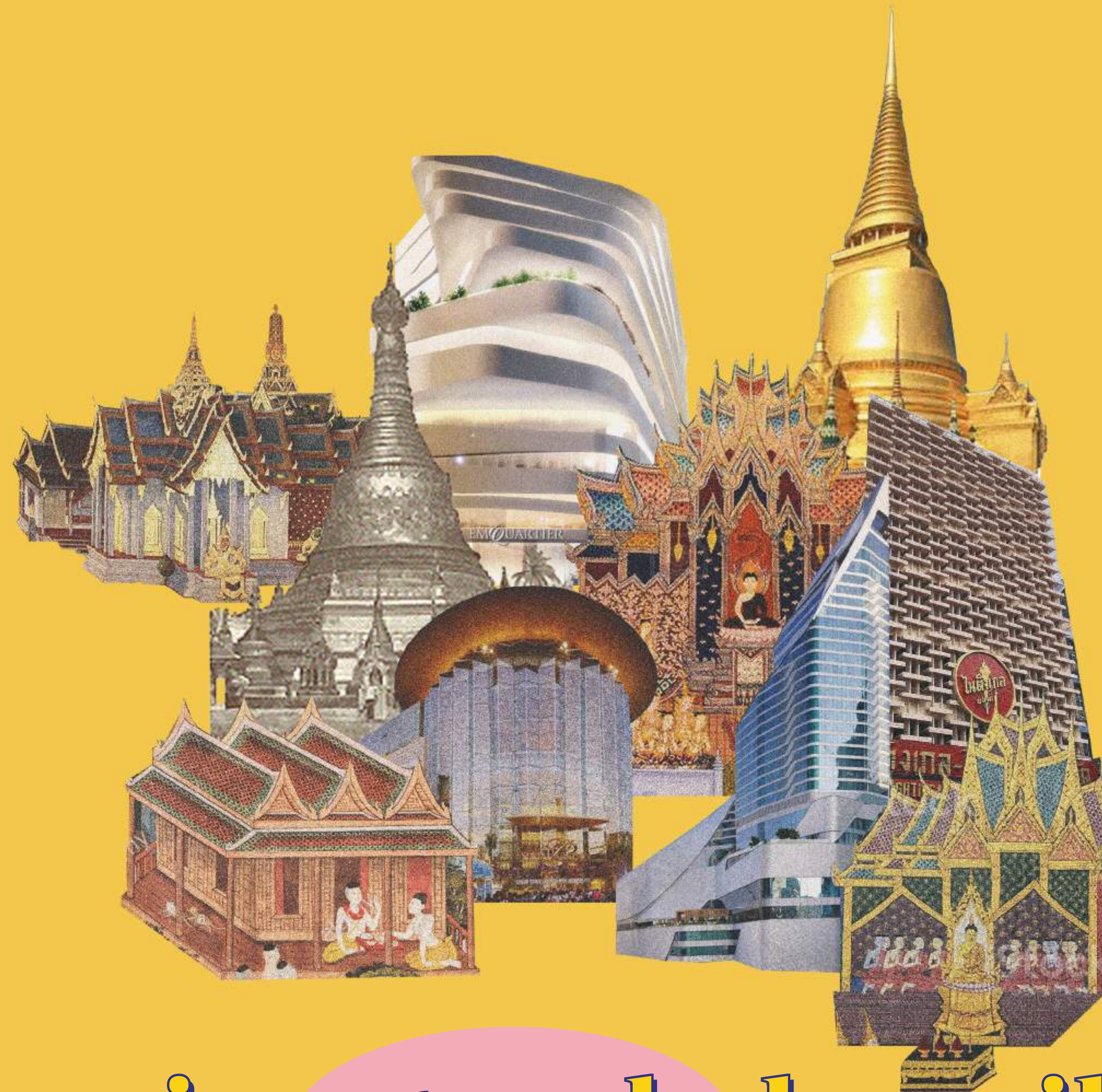
Thesis Advisor:
Professor Marcos Parga

Additional Advisors:
Professor Yutaka Sho
Professor Molly Hunker
Professor Britt Eversole

Assisted by:
Benson Joseph
Gaem Saensopa
Rena Okamoto
Pancharee Sangkaeo

contents

thesis statement	4
Historical Context	5
Rebranding Tactics	
Merit-Making	7
Bangkok Shopping Malls	
Siam-Ratchaprasong Shopping District	
Shopping Mall Design	
Dystopia Narrative	11
Bibliography	27



do good receive good, do evil receive evil.

thesis statement

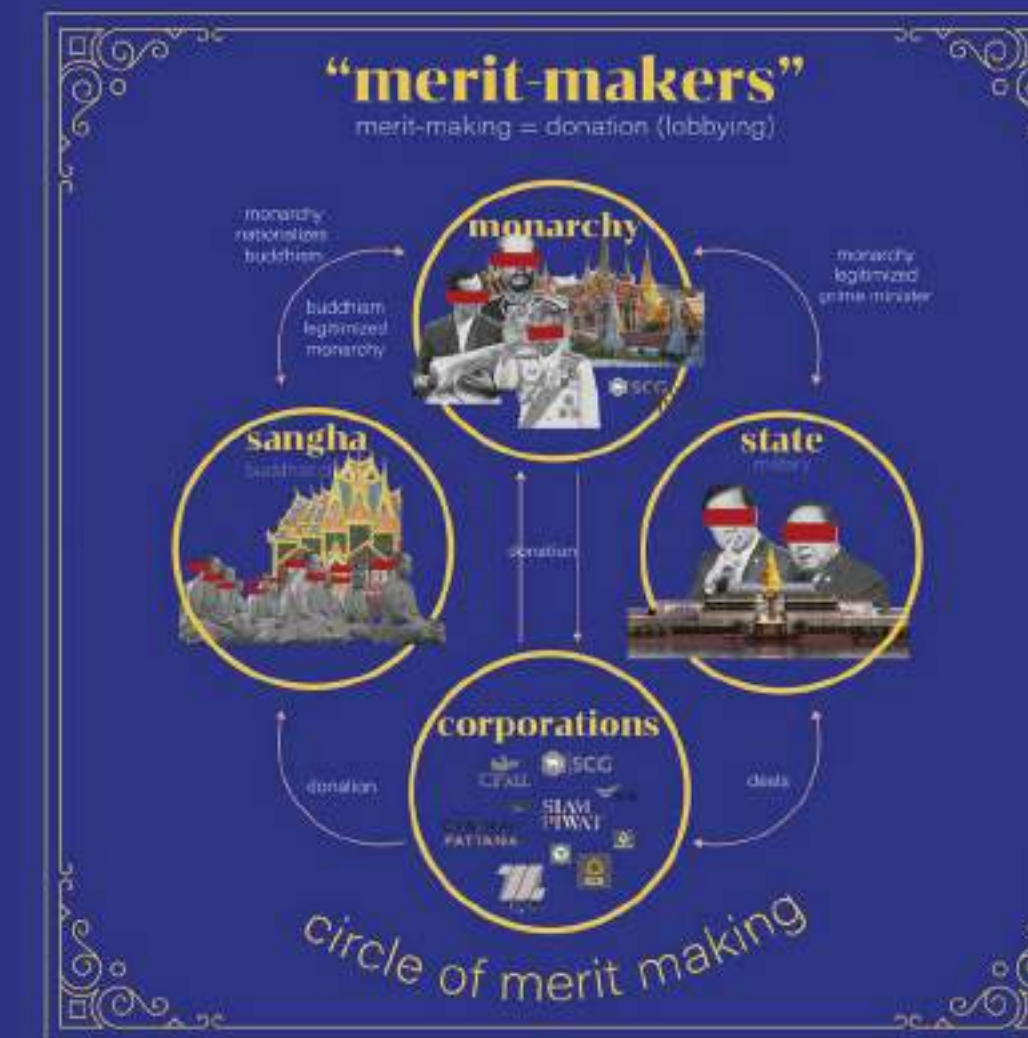
Temples of Consumerism: Undertaking Thailand’s Political Tactics through Bangkok Shopping Malls investigates the role of architecture as a physical tool in maintaining the status quo, used by those who hold political powers in order to superimpose their hierarchical ideologies on the citizens and perpetuate the governing systems.

This thesis is a speculative dystopian narrative that subverts the same architectural tools that the “merit-makers” use on the Thai population, both through “merit-making” and “shopping,” in order to uncover and surface their political, financial, and cultural relationships that are manifested in the popular Siam-Ratchaprasong shopping district in downtown Bangkok where the malls have replaced the temples’ roles as community centers, and unlike temples, malls seem to be secular and non-political.

The circle of the “merit-makers” refers to the political network that facilitates the relationships between Thai government branches, including, the monarchy, the military government, the Buddhist clergy, and the private local and foreign investors. “Merit-making” refers to offering a donation with the intention of receiving the benefit of better karma in return. The systems of merit-makers have sustained themselves through this never-ending circle of merit-making.

Bangkok’s luxurious shopping malls are places that incite the consumerist desires of upper-middle class Bangkok. While these malls are considered public spaces, they sell an “immersive experience” which does not only include shopping. By placing various programs and facilities under one roof, this proximity has established an inescapable behavioral link between human needs, public life, and commercial activities, giving the private investors complete control with the orchestrated environment. Since the world of shopping malls depends on the imagination of it being a dream-like environment and must be protected and secured against any alien element breaking this illusion.

The Thai state has used both religion and consumerism as tools to govern its people and to emphasize the hierarchical class structure. Both temples and malls have regulated social behavior and orchestrated sequences that keep you addicted to the environment, and these are the locations where the merit makers exercise their power.



In order to negotiate between the power of the people, where currently protests are being faced with police brutality, who is being mandated by the monarchy, and the power of the government system, this thesis is a dystopian narrative that subverts the same architectural tools that the “merit-makers” on the Thai population, both through “merit-making” and shopping, in order to uncover and surface their political, financial, and cultural relationships that are manifested in the popular Siam-Ratchaprasong shopping district in downtown Bangkok.

This dystopia subverts the orchestrated mobility systems in shopping malls, by proposing a never-ending loop of moving walkway that travels through 10 existing malls in Siam-Ratchaprasong, connecting every escalator in each mall to one path. This closed loop is regulated by the merit score systems, where the devotees’ (shoppers) spiritual status is being measured by the accumulation of money and time they spend in this loop. By overlaying the narrative of the never-ending cycle of shopping upon the narrative of the cycle of merit-making, this satirical dystopia reflects the merit-makers’ hierarchical ideologies through the architectural design of the malls.



historical context



temples of consumerism_historical context

<https://youtu.be/uMfwjfxS9WY>
historical context video

religious branding tactics nation, religion, king

The rebranding tactics enforce a fixed, centralized vision of a state culture from the top down, which employs the ancient ways that stemmed from animistic beliefs

The tactics heavily involves undertaking numerous religious beliefs and rituals that asserted the monarchy's position at the top of the kingdom's hierarchy, and to inject the idea of an indivisible trinity of the Thai society which includes nation, religion, and king throughout everyday life as part of the nationalist movement



Coronation of King Rama 9
1950

King Rama 9's 60th Anniversary
2006

Cremation of King Rama 9
2017

Coronation of King Rama 10
2019

The Cold War was fundamental to the political power of the Thai monarchy and the Thai military. During that time, the Thai monarchy rebranded itself to survive the outside insurgency of the communist threat.

cold war



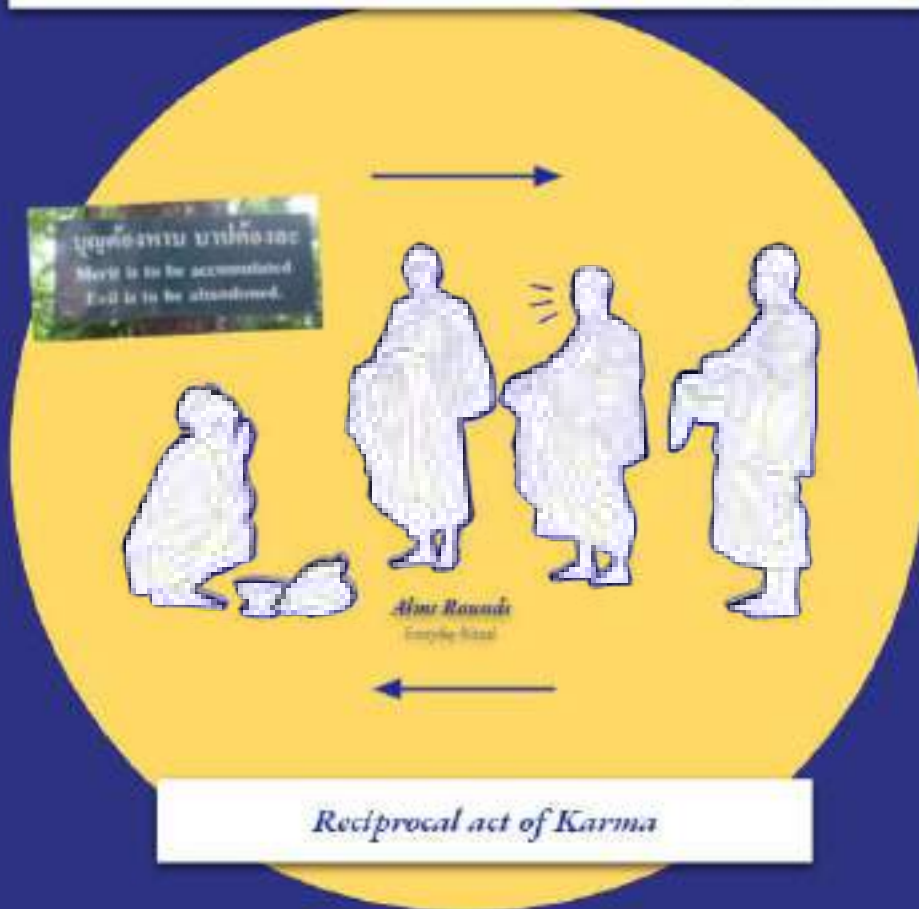
This has kept its population loyal to the nation, the religion, and the king in their behavior, and eventually creates a collective identity of being Thai .

The idea of merit-making was also adopted from the Thai Buddhist thought to support the new nationalist ideology. Merit making, has commonly been practiced among Thai Buddhists and is embedded in everyday life.

Merit making means to offer a donation with the intention of receiving the benefit of better karma in return. It is the most basic way of making merit for Thai Buddhist devotees is to offer food into the alms' bowls of the monks who come by the local neighborhood every morning, and then you would receive a short chant from them.

The more merit one makes, the higher chance that one can be in the upper heavenly realm which dictates your karma and your next reincarnated life.

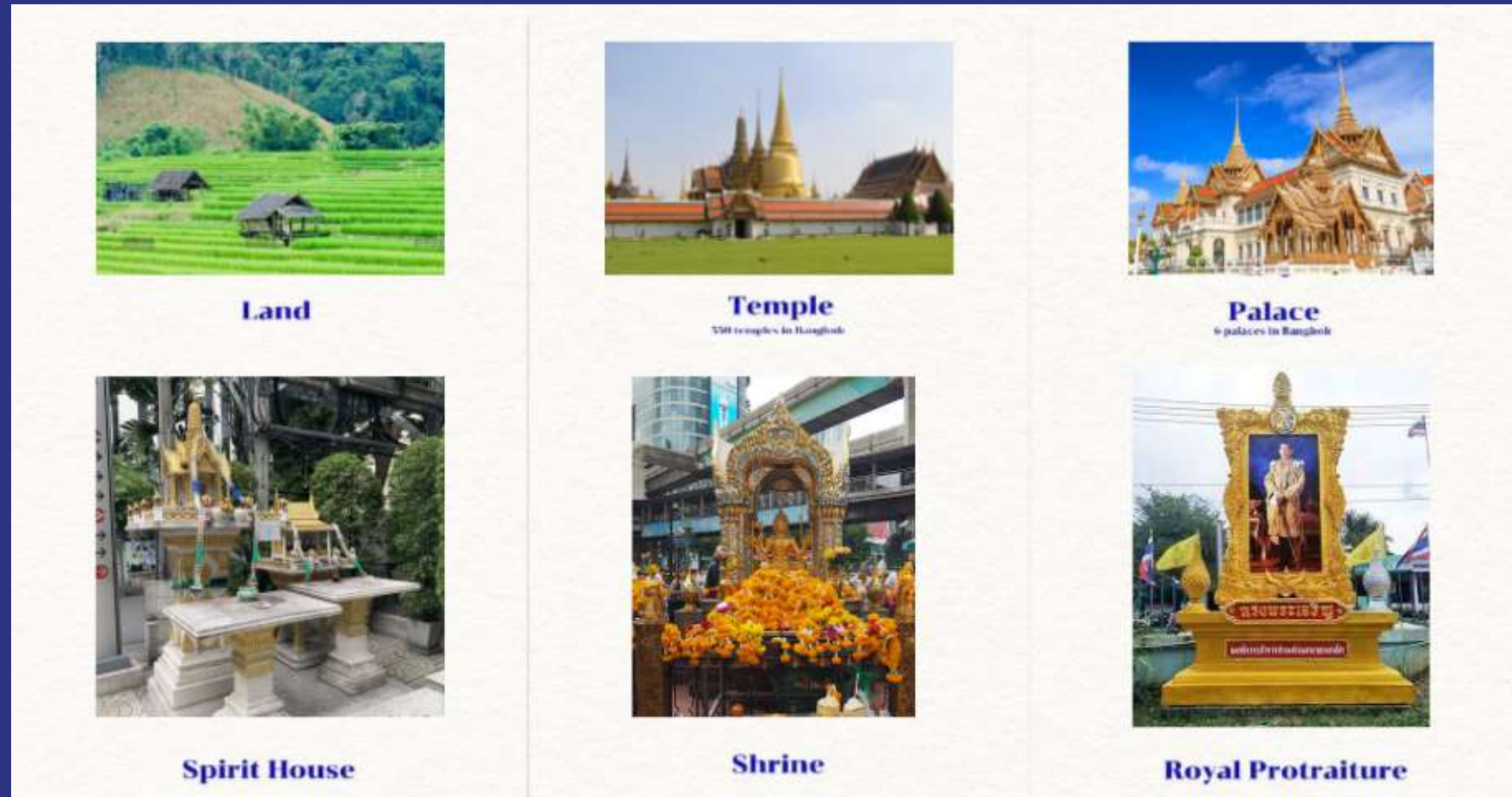
Merit-Making // *น้บุญ*



While merit-making is social, it is also an economic act, as it is a mutual concession in which both sides gain benefits from each other. As part of the rebranding, merit-making and the idea of receiving better karma was adopted as a tool to offer people a sense of security, protection, and abundance. And with the economic boom and the introduction to modern way of life since 1950s, merit-making started to involve more heavily on financial transactions. For example, the king, as an anti-communist figure since 1950s, took an active interest in rural development projects, that established him as a caring ruler who works hard for his people.

This idea of donating money has been translated into the practice of lobbying by the merit-makers. Merit becomes a currency. The more money put into merit-making, the more merit Thai Buddhists can obtain. This widens the gap between the rich and the poor since the wealthy will have more resources to maximize their merit-making.

merit-making



While the merit-makers perform merit-making with large amount of money, The Thai middle class citizens take place in this new form of merit-making through visiting and shopping at the malls which have completely replaced the temple's roles as the main public spaces of this crowded city.

The malls became the new temples that are secular, but subtly assert the corporations on top of the hierarchy.

The religious merit-making was seamlessly adopted by the new capitalist economy to legitimize business acts, redressing capitalism to be a moral one. And since religious traditions have always been involved in everyday life- this tactic is not explicit, and therefore is effective.

For everyone, no matter how much merit you make, it helps ease their path of the current life. It is a philosophical concept that governs and dictates certain attitudes of Thai Buddhist population.

Merit making can also be performed at these branding tactics that are physicalized in the built environment of the urban fabric, and became part of the population's everyday lives until today.

These include the construction of Buddhist temples, palaces, spirit houses, shrines, as well as the shrine adaptations as large-scale frames that hold the images of the king and members of the royal family. Visiting the temples, or offering food to the shrines are considered as simple merit-making acts that can be performed often.

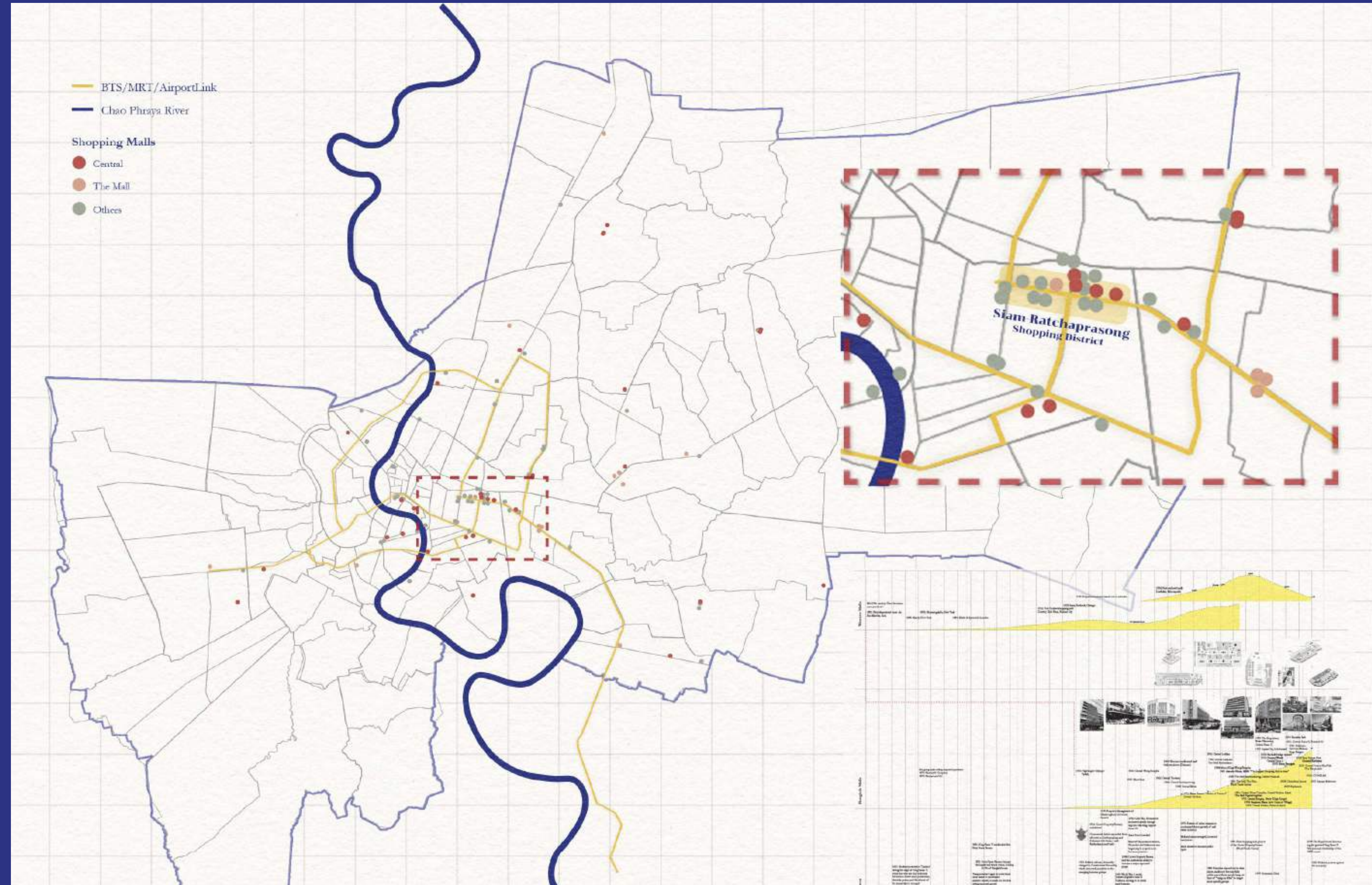
These built environments and artifacts interact with the Thai population daily while inserting the same hierarchical ideologies that assert nation, religion, and king on the top.

The absence of the interest in top-down planning has been the main reason of the unruly urban expansion of Bangkok, which has allowed the city to be heavily centralized as well. This has also caused problems of urban heat island phenomenon and low level of urban mobility, which then limit the existence of any types of public space other than air-conditioned shopping malls.

Due to his history of Bangkok's absence of control in urban planning, shopping malls are mostly located in the center of the city where financial activities are condensed and where the BTS/MRT lines reach. While malls that are either The Mall and Robinson that are targeted to the lower class are then sparred out. Shopping malls have become the central community space for the community, while there's a lack of other types of public spaces. The malls located in the center of the city has little connection with the local community surrounding them, while malls other the outer area have more connection since they're surrounded by housing estates. For example, Siam Paragon and Icon Siam are located close to slums, while its main audience are the middle and upper class who live further away.



bangkok shopping malls



The emergence of shopping malls in Bangkok has transformed the city since 1990s and shopping mall have become the new centers of the city.

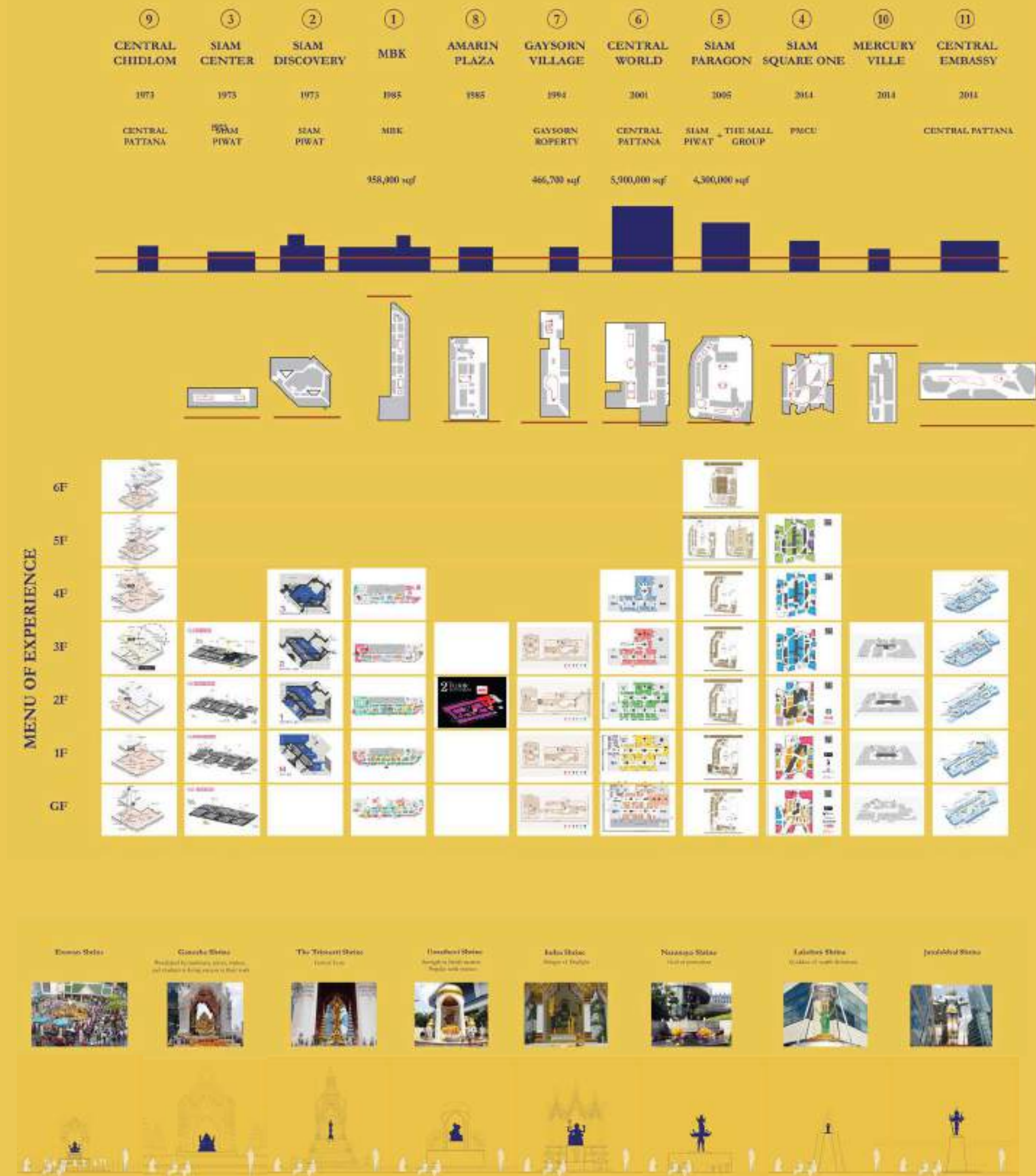
And after the construction of skytrain and metro lines, these malls populate along these train stations, which also reflect the heavily centralized city and its disorder urban sprawl.

Modernity in Bangkok started in the reign of Rama V in 1860s, where it lies with the Second Industrial Revolution, where mass production, electric power, and the advent of the assembly line emerged. After World War II, Thailand was one of the ASEAN-3 countries (Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand) that was widely popular and the barriers to late industrialization had been overcome. Governments encouraged firms to take advantage of low unit labor costs and engage in labor-intensive export-oriented production.

Shopping malls were then built as a sign of socioeconomic development. For example, the term “Khao Harrng” which is a term used to describe when arcade stores move into shopping malls, indicating that they are becoming more luxurious - the notion of becoming modernized. As Bangkok grew and became more city-like, social space shrinks with the impact of urbanization. The spaces along the canals were disrupted by the filled-in road ways (change from klong to tanon). Other kinds of public spaces such as boxing stadiums or gambling spaces replaced lan wat or the outdoor area of temples which used to be space for social interaction.

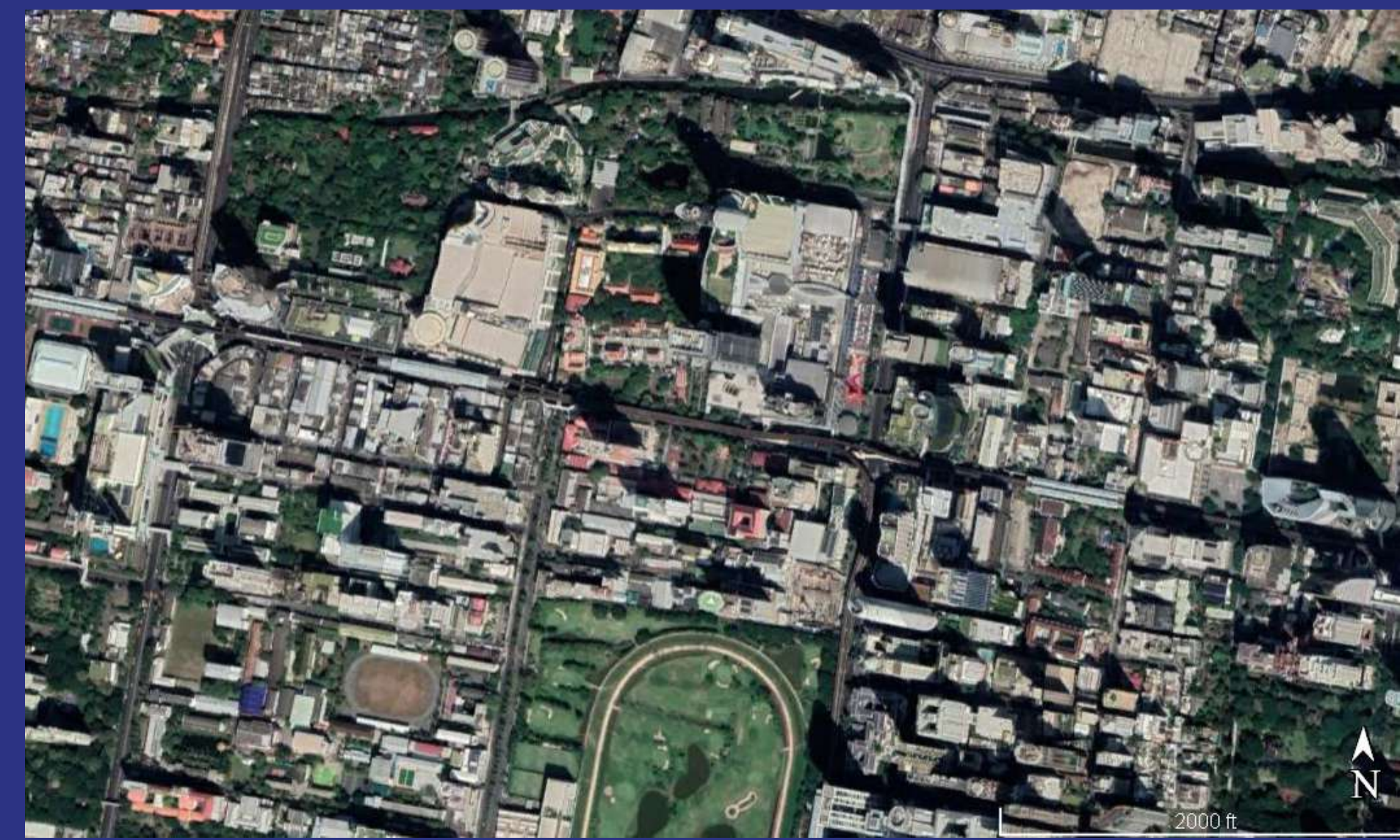
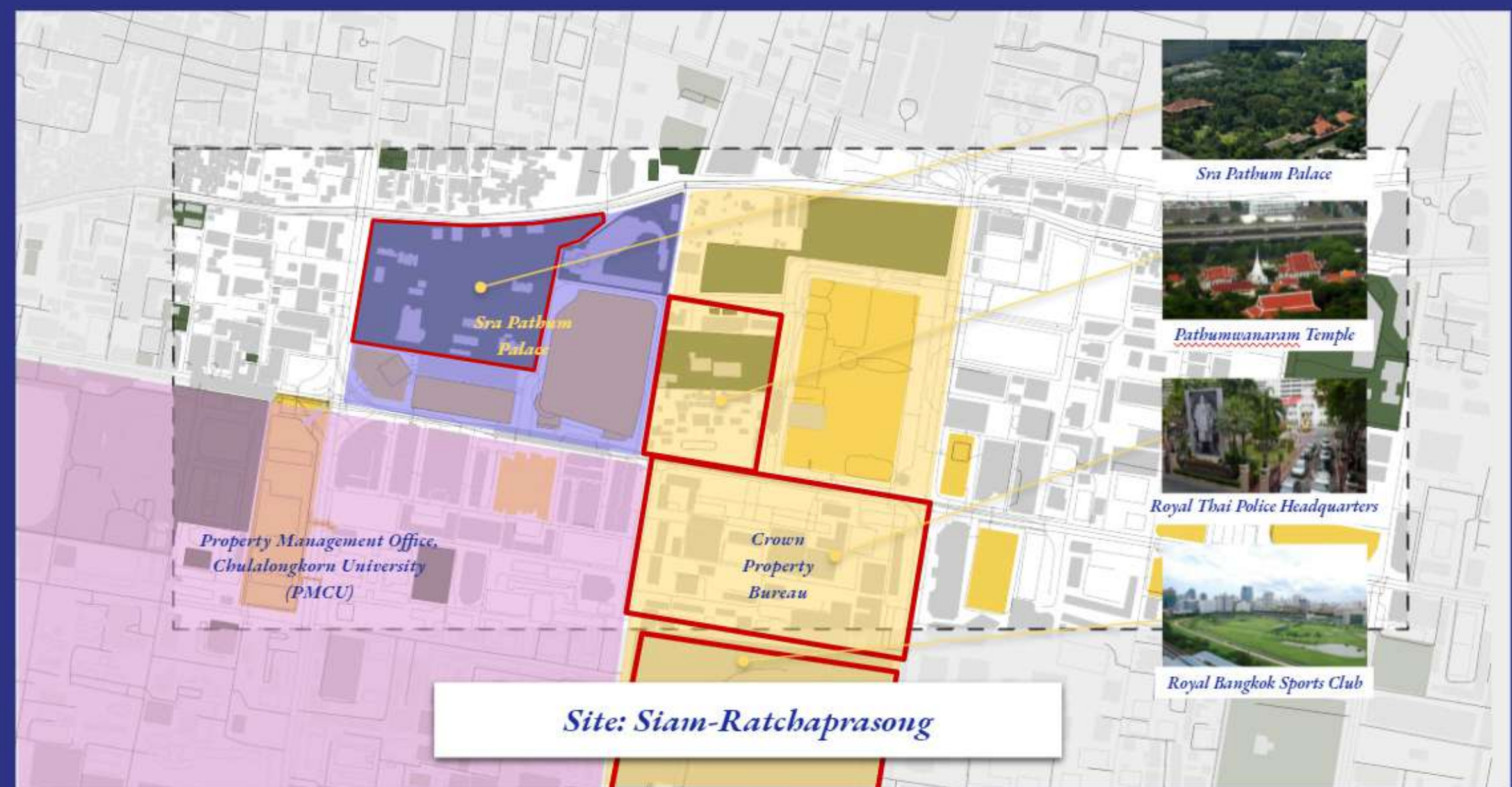
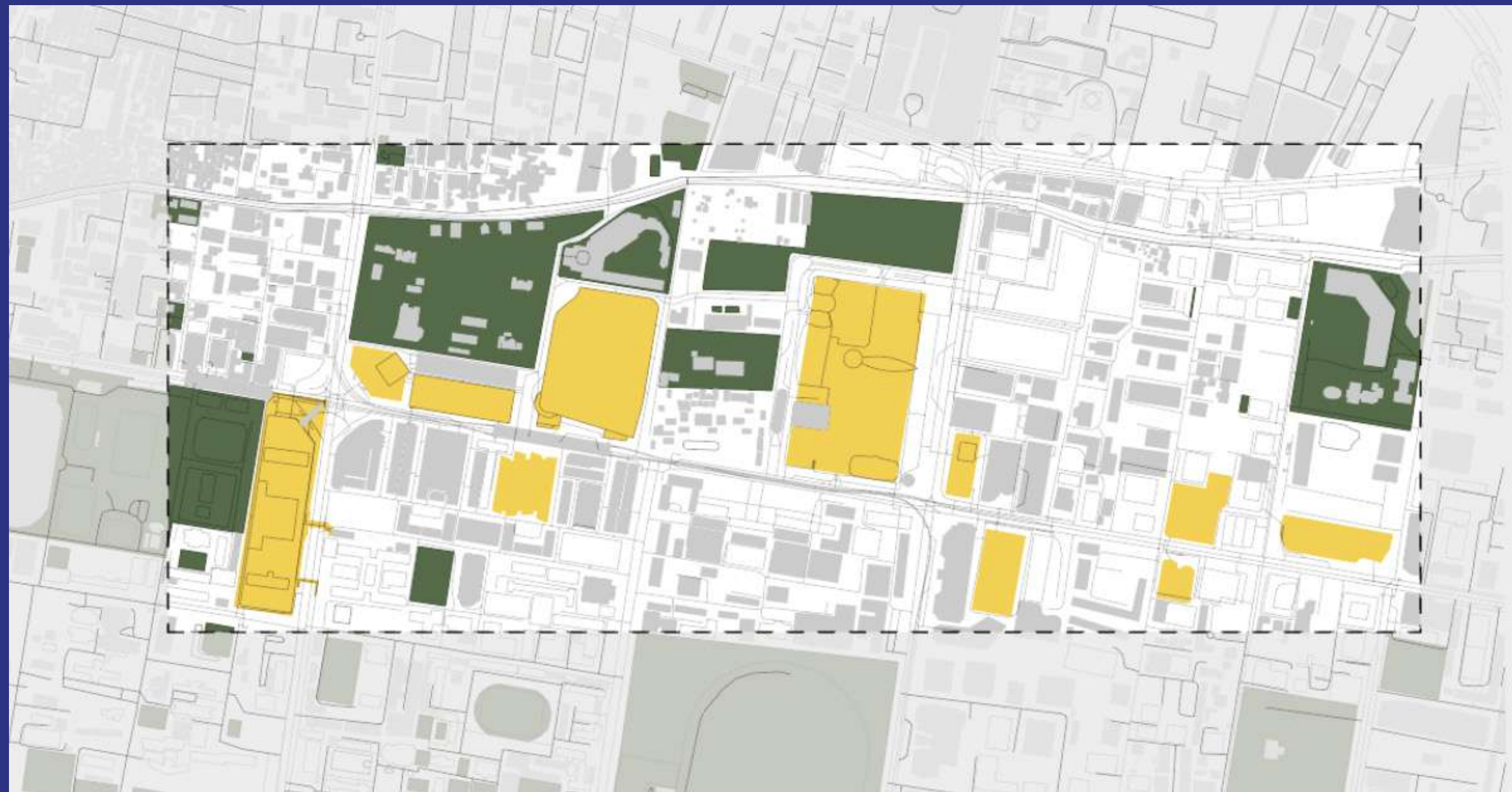
These malls serve a one-stop service, putting horizontal programs together, saving time that is limited in the industrial modern life. Some are mixed used with hotels and offices included. Department stores first emerged around 1950s in the commercial district or the important roads, targeting higher class customers, selling imported and luxurious goods. Then in 1970s, more malls emerged and now they became public space. The first shopping mall was The Nightingale-Olympic, built in 1930 in Phra Nakhon District, where the Royal Ground including the Grand Palace is locate, offer public space and promote new modern lifestyle. It was the first mall to sell imported products from western countries, and to sell its products through TV commercial. They also had the first fitness club and beauty salon for high-class women. These shopping malls offered the population the first glance of new technologies that were invested into the public space architecturally - an accumulation of techniques of modernity. For example, the air-conditioned

siam-ratchaprasong shopping district



The largest concentration of malls in Bangkok is the shopping district Siam-Ratchaprasong, which has been the tourist spot of Bangkok that defines its characteristic to both the local and international audience, projecting a modern and democratic image of Thailand to the world.

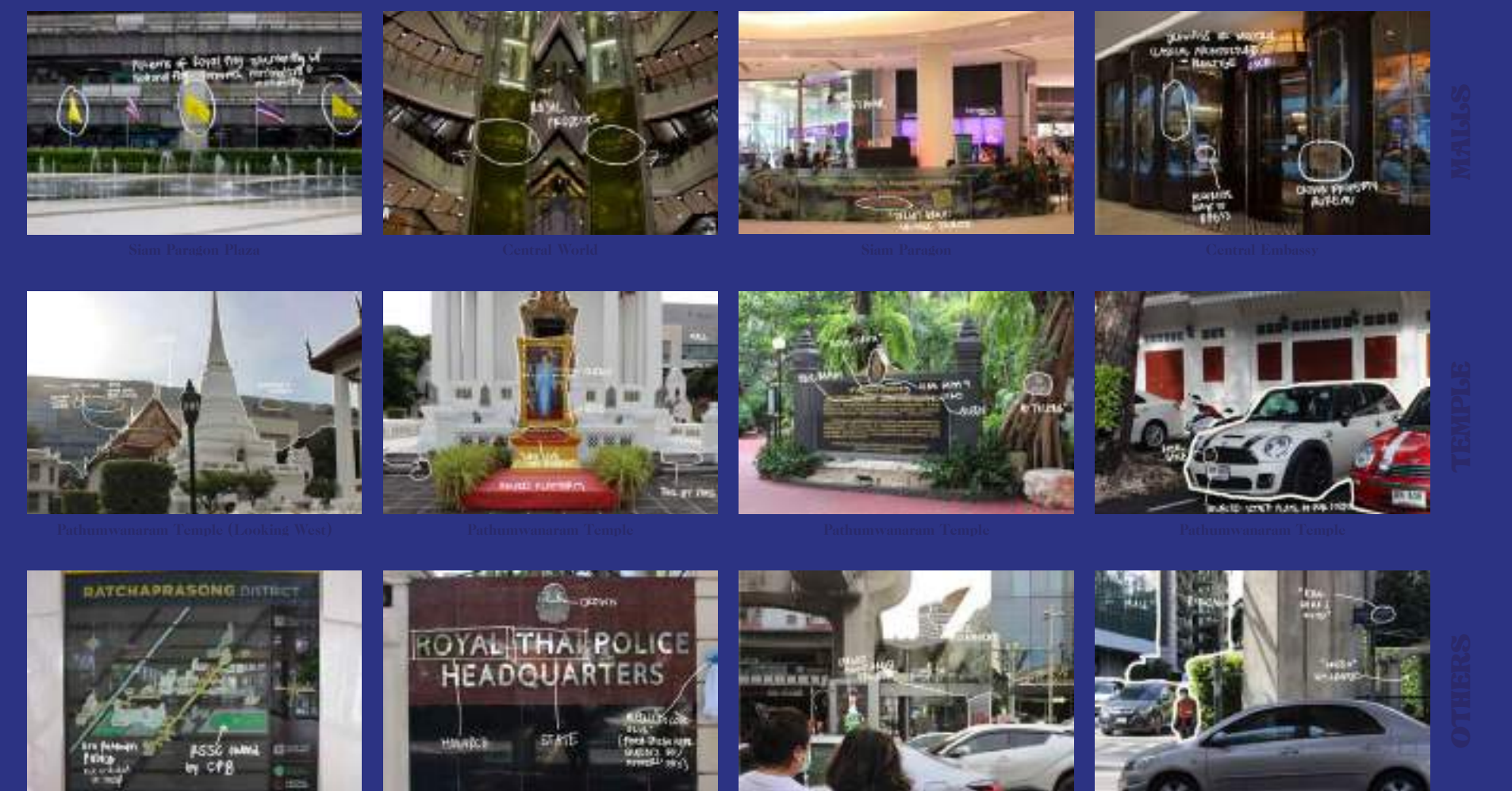
The site contains 10 malls, 8 shrines, commercial hotels, a temple, a palace, the police headquarters, the royal bangkok sports club, as well as slums hiding behind the palace. The Siam Interchange Skytrain Station and the 1500 ft long skywalk bridge that connects the 10 malls onto the elevated walkway have made this site a major network node of the city.



The system of the merit makers, specifically the monarchy, has been one of the main agents in causing the concentration of these malls and shrines in this district - as these malls are meant to amplify the grandeur of the monarchy's extensive landholdings and financial investments

This site highlights the reality of - the system of merit-making - that has sustained the merit makers and their never-ending merit

The site reflects power and elitism, but the merit-makers who dominate the area and their power nodes are hidden behind walls and forest of trees, letting the modern shopping malls take the center stage as they seem to be secular,



The shopping malls in this site are composed of regulating tactics and strategies designed to optimize this massive volume of profit-generating machines. These tactics were carefully designed to trap the customers in these boxes to amplify the grandeur of the merit makers. The strategies include, first, creating a Small scale pedestrian street that is located in city center along train lines, second, creating an interiorized environment that censors the chaos on the exterior, and third, keeping the shopper in with program organization and mobility tactics.

By employing these mall's regulating tactics in the mall design, it has created a calculated experience that the merit-makers want you to feel. This has allowed the malls to generate profit for merit makers and amplify their grandeur and presence in the Thai everyday life. The malls became architectural machines that are used to regulate the customer's experience.

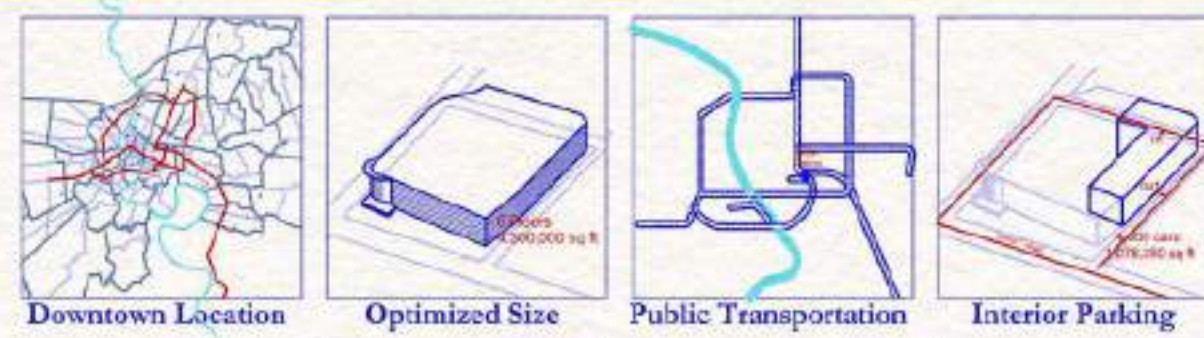
Malls' Regulating Strategies

to generate profit for merit-makers

to amplify grandeur of merit-makers

manipulate human behavior with physical surroundings

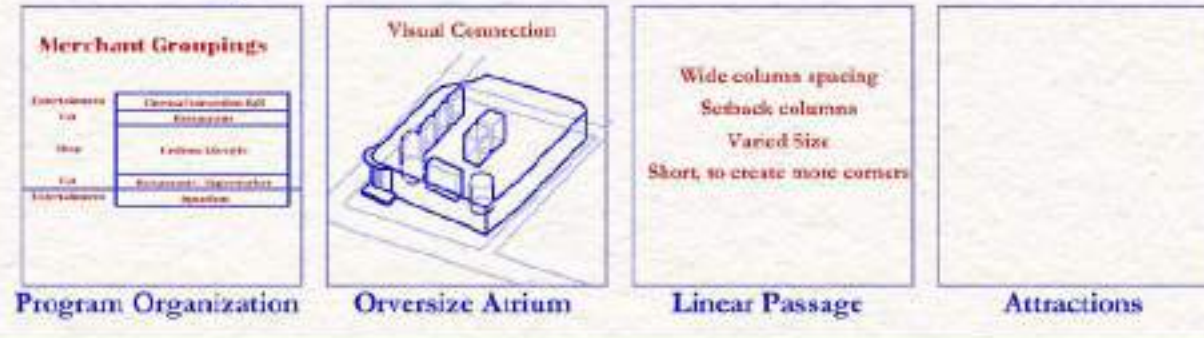
create small scale pedestrian street



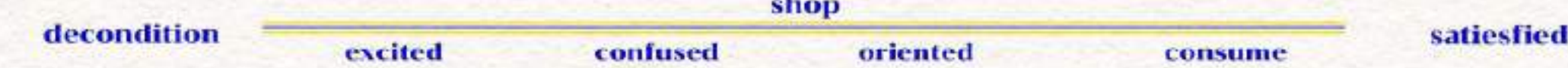
orchestrate interiorized environment



keep shopper in

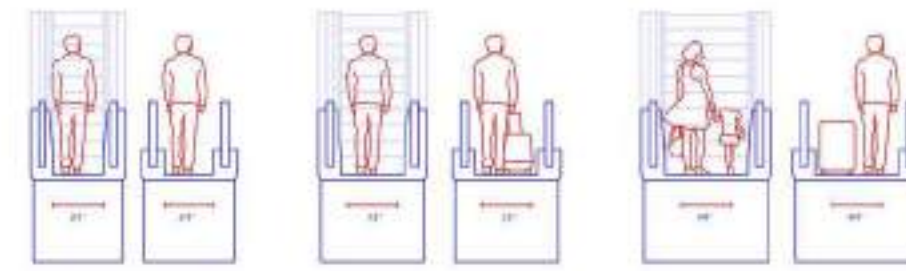


calculated experience



Escalators

Size

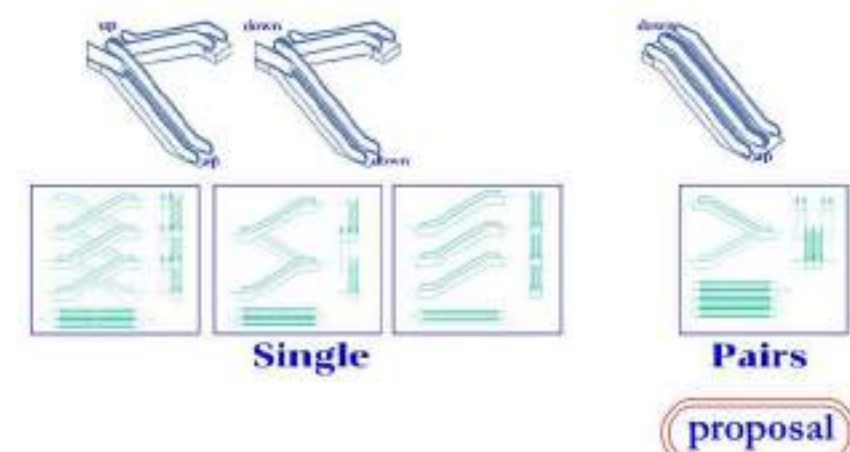


small medium large
proposal typical mall escalator

Pace

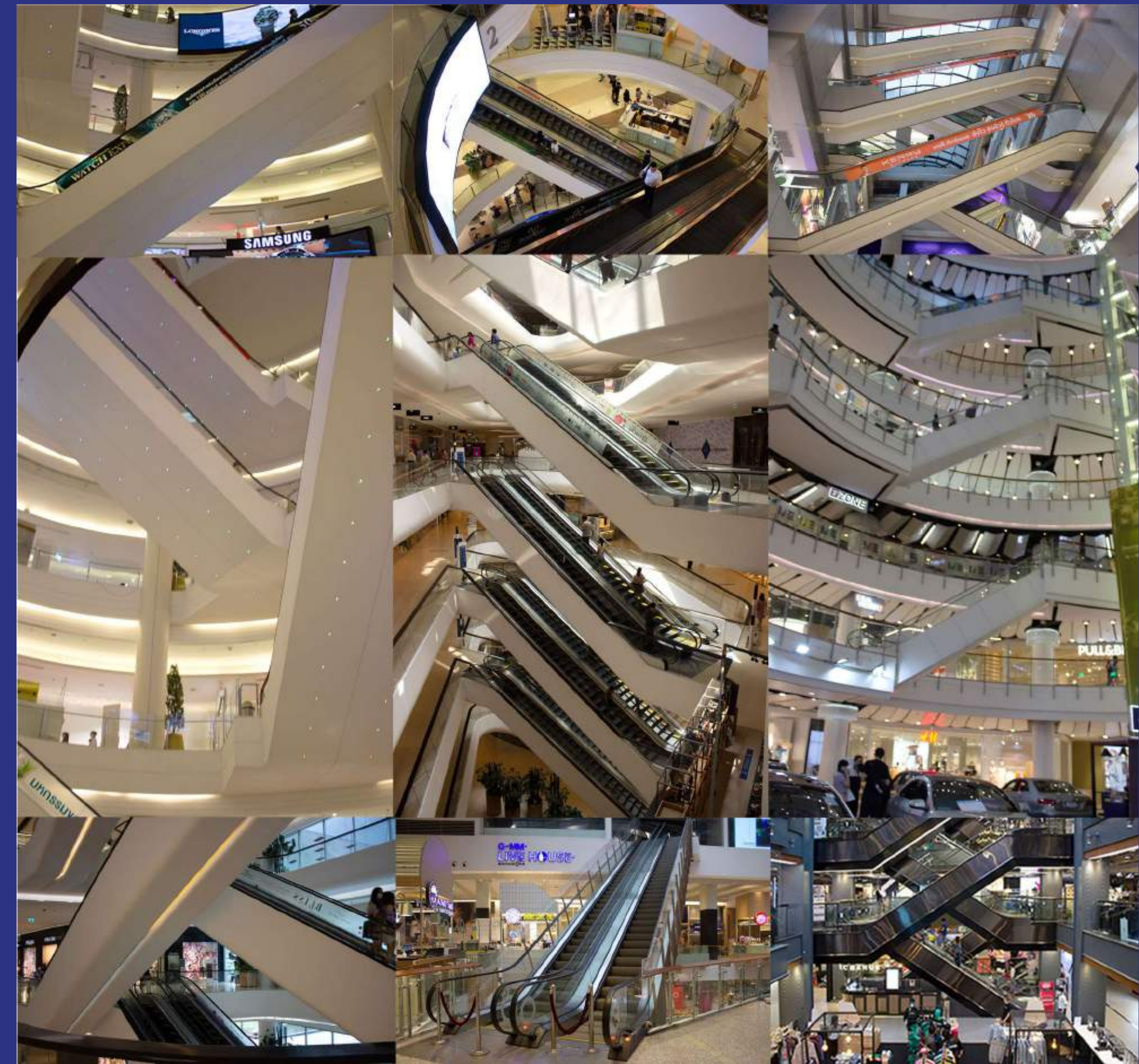
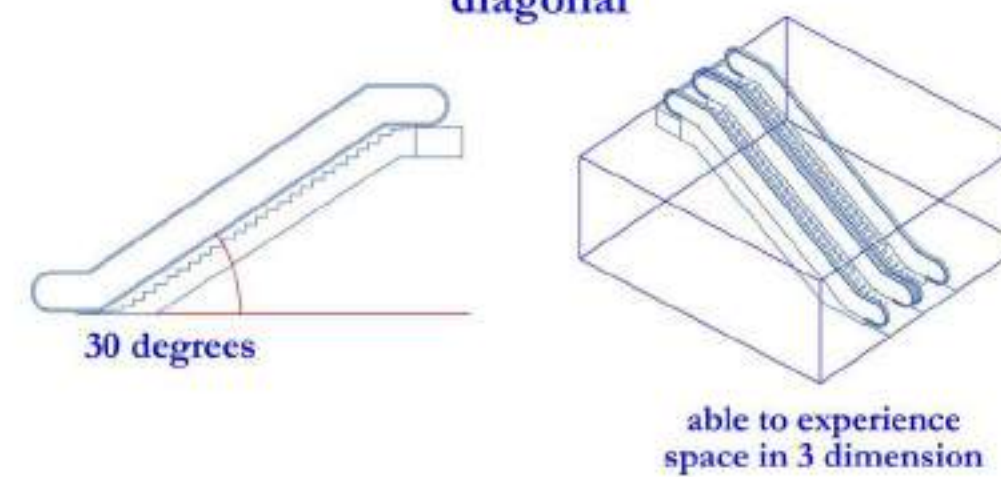
1 - 2 ft per second
10,000 people per hour

Organization



Direction

diagonal



Escalators are the main regulating mechanism that have shaped shopping mall design to be as efficient as they are today. By increasing visual connection, your time spent there, and therefore the volume of sales. While walking means actively moving on a steady ground, the escalators have allowed the customers to be still while passively traveling with the moving ground plane

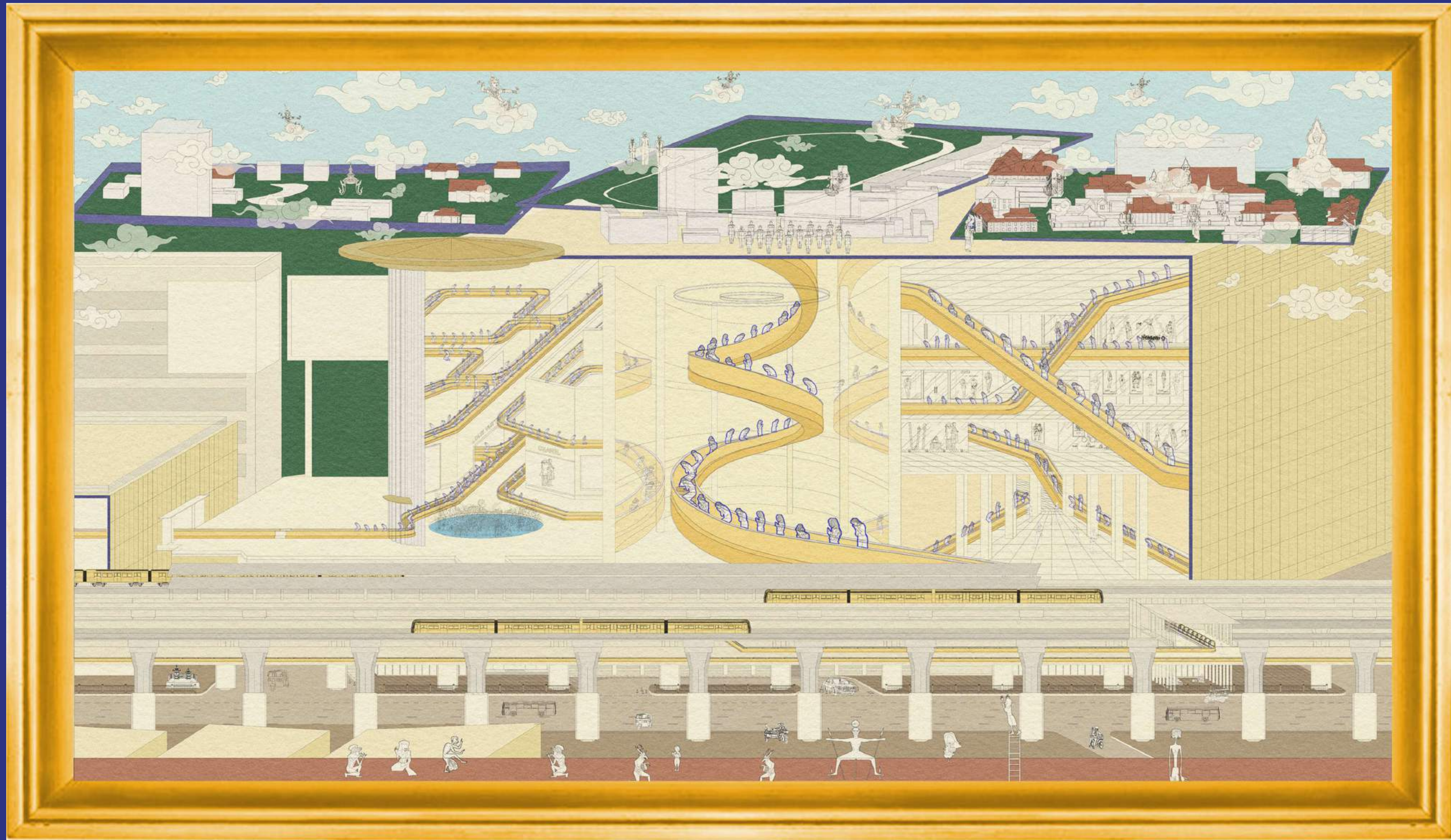
It adds the diagonal dimension to the experience & deny the distinction between separate compartments and floors, that are limited by the structural logic and systems of the building. This thesis takes advantage of the escalators' properties, and reinforce them by creating one continuous escalator throughout the malls.

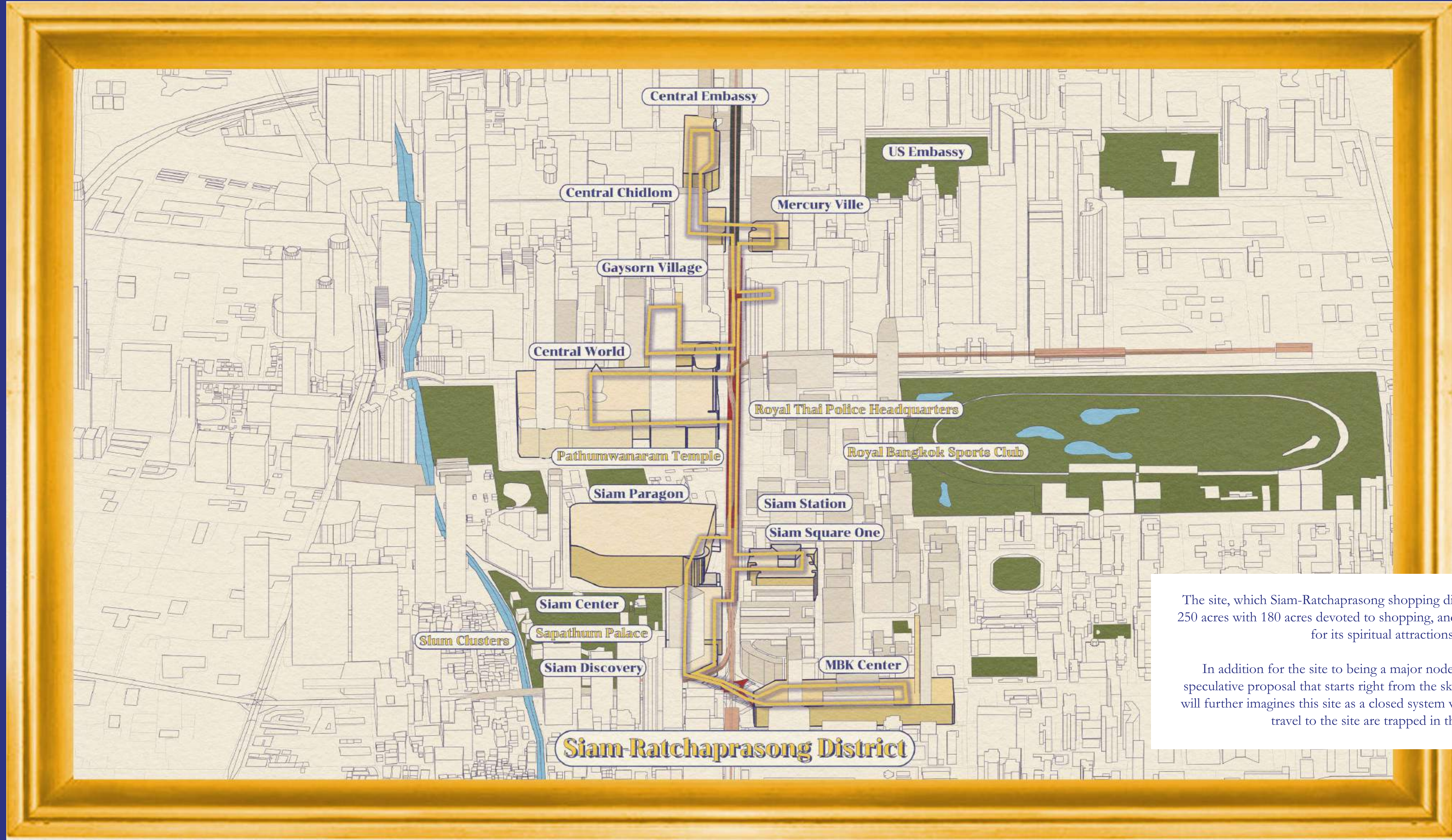


This thesis is a speculative dystopian narrative that subverts the role of escalators in shopping malls, by proposing a never-ending loop of moving walkway that travels through 10 existing malls in the shopping district Siam-Ratchaprasong, connecting every escalator of the malls into one path.

The customers, in which I call the devotees in this walkway loop are constantly being placed on the spiritual hierarchy which is regulated by the merit score systems, where the score is measured by the time and money the devotees spent at the malls.

This satirical dystopia is a metaphor for the hierarchical ideologies implemented through the Thai Buddhist beliefs by the governing systems, where it reflects the merit-makers' strategies through the architecture of the mall, where the narrative of shopping at shopping malls is overlaid upon the narrative of making merit at buddhist temples - where your spiritual or social status is based on your merit





The site, which Siam-Ratchaprasong shopping district covers more than 250 acres with 180 acres devoted to shopping, and it is also widely known for its spiritual attractions

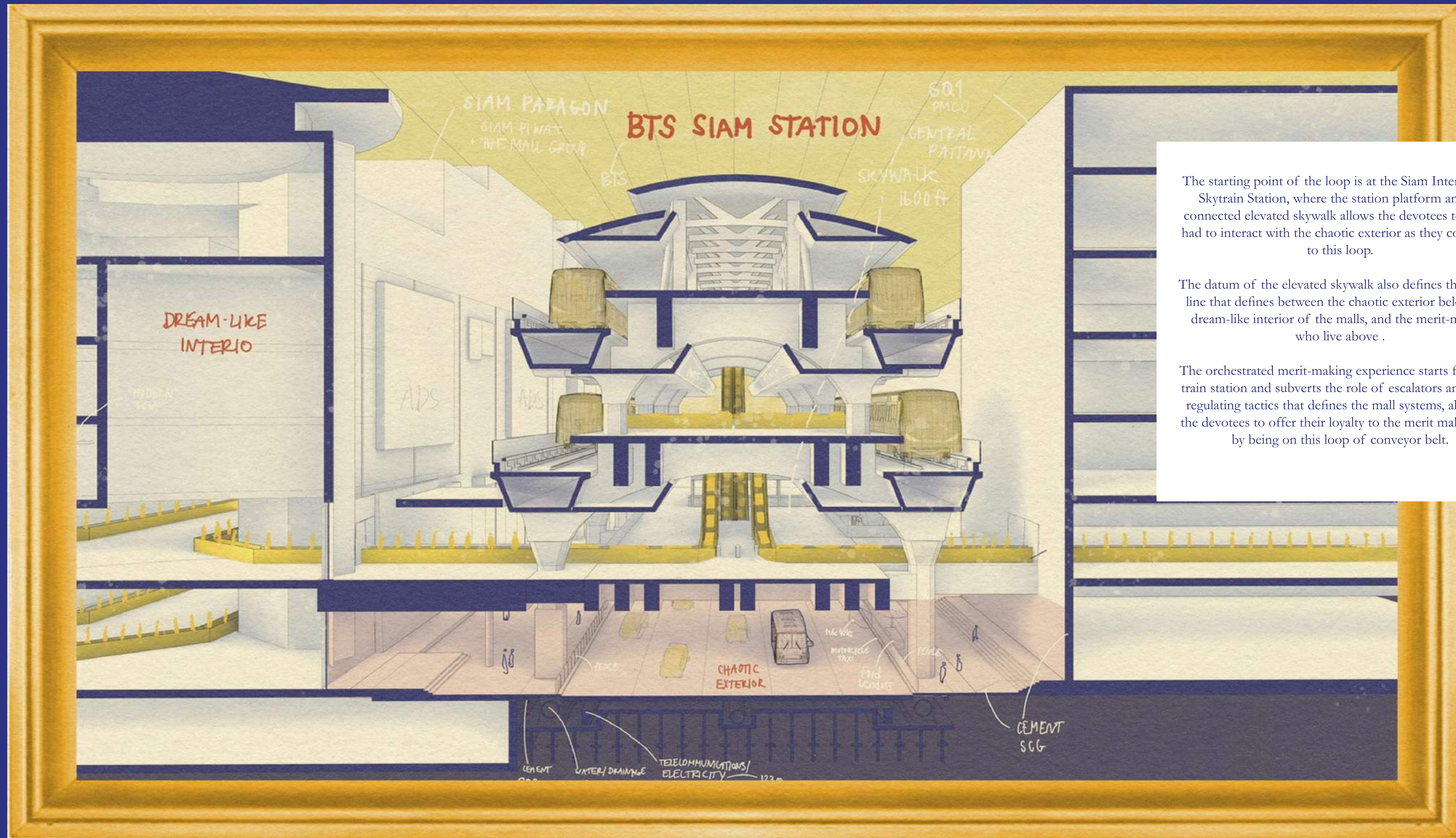
In addition for the site to being a major node of the city, the this speculative proposal that starts right from the skytrain station platform, will further imagines this site as a closed system where the devotees who travel to the site are trapped in this loop

The walkway travels in a loop in anti clockwise, starting from the Siam Skytrain Station, then the devotees will loop around the ten malls. In between one mall to another, the devotees will be judged based on the amount of merit score they offer back to the shopping malls

If you can't make merit, or earn enough merit score, you will be kicked out of the system, and have to join the peasants in living in the chaotic street below, or if you offer enough amount of merit score, the devotees will be elevated to join the merit-makers above and can travel to any other spiritual levels

In each mall is the orchestrated merit-making ritualistic experience that subverts the role of escalators and other mechanisms that defines the mall systems, allowing the devotees to offer their loyalty to the merit makers just by being on this loop of conveyor belt.





The starting point of the loop is at the Siam Interchange Skytrain Station, where the station platform and its connected elevated skywalk allows the devotees to never had to interact with the chaotic exterior as they commute to this loop.

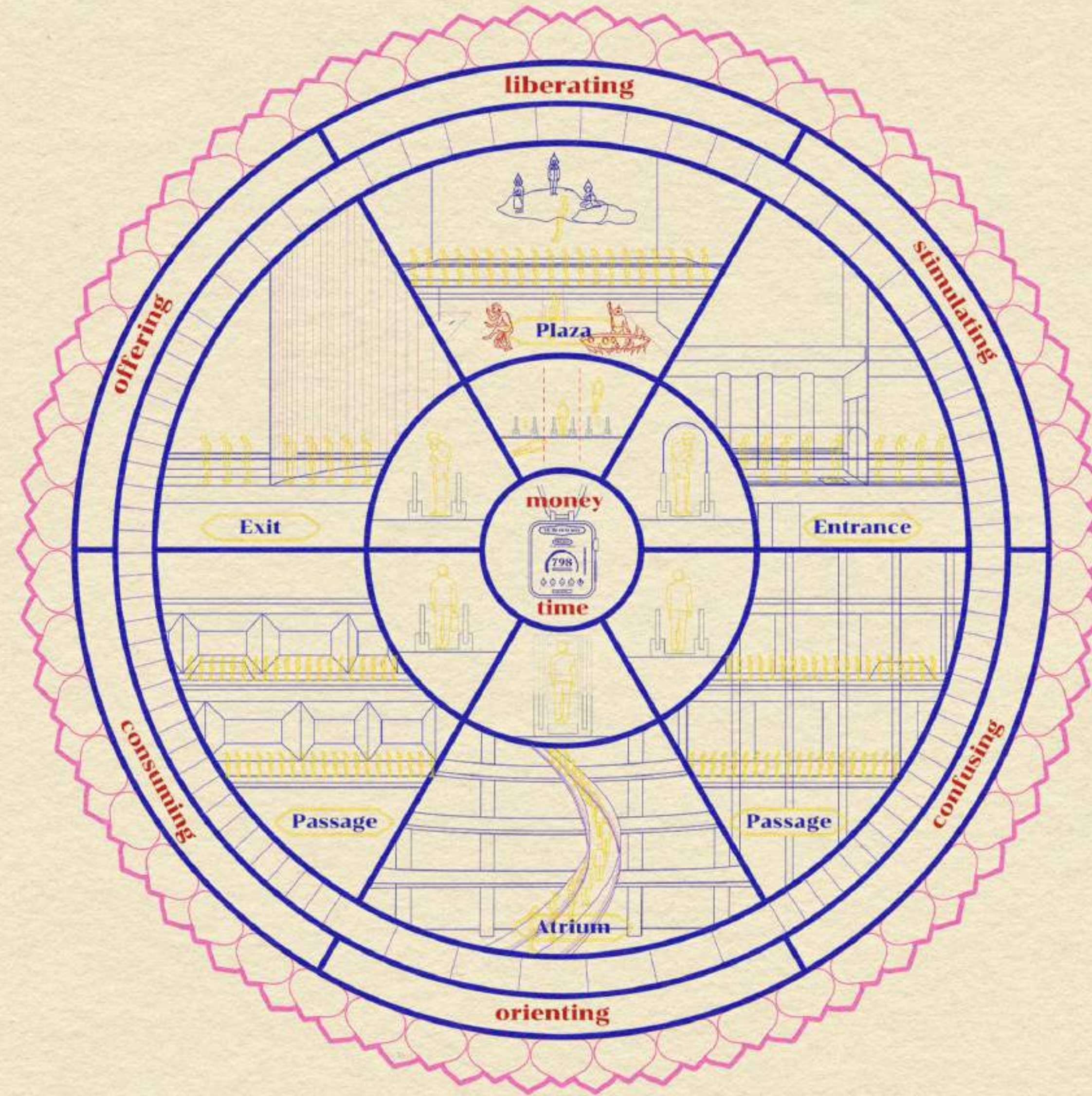
The datum of the elevated skywalk also defines the sacred line that defines between the chaotic exterior below, the dream-like interior of the malls, and the merit-makers who live above .

The orchestrated merit-making experience starts from the train station and subverts the role of escalators and other regulating tactics that defines the mall systems, allowing the devotees to offer their loyalty to the merit makers just by being on this loop of conveyor belt.

This merit making experience is represented through the circular format of the Samsara - which is the the historical buddhist representation of never-ending cycle of suffering or reincarnation, in which this cycle is that is fueled and run by humans' unlimited desires, placed in the center.

In this merit-making ritualistic cycle, the never ending loops revolves around the time and money the devotees spent at the malls. The cycle in each mall follows and adapt from the intended experience of the typical mall design, indicated on the outer circle: Deconditioning, stimulating, confusing, orienting, consuming, offering, liberating.

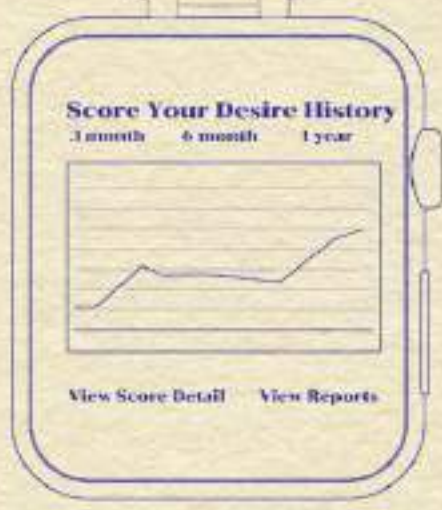
The pace of the moving walkway is designed responding to this intended experience. At the exit of each mall, the devotees must offer an amount of their merit score to the "merit-makers" who orchestrated these malls.



Merit-Making Ritual (Shopping)

The merit score is displayed on your necklace amulets, referencing the buddha amulets that are commonly worn by Thai Buddhists.

The score is a calculated accumulation of the devotees time and money spent in shopping in this loop. As you enter the site, you are automatically placed in the devotees level, and Your merit score can then determines your spiritual levels throughout this loop



My Merit Scores

Spiritual Status
Shopper
125,563 points to merit makers

798

15,684 Baht 10 Items 02.04 Hour 5 km Distance 3 Mall

[See Details](#)

Merit Makers
monastery monk military lawyer

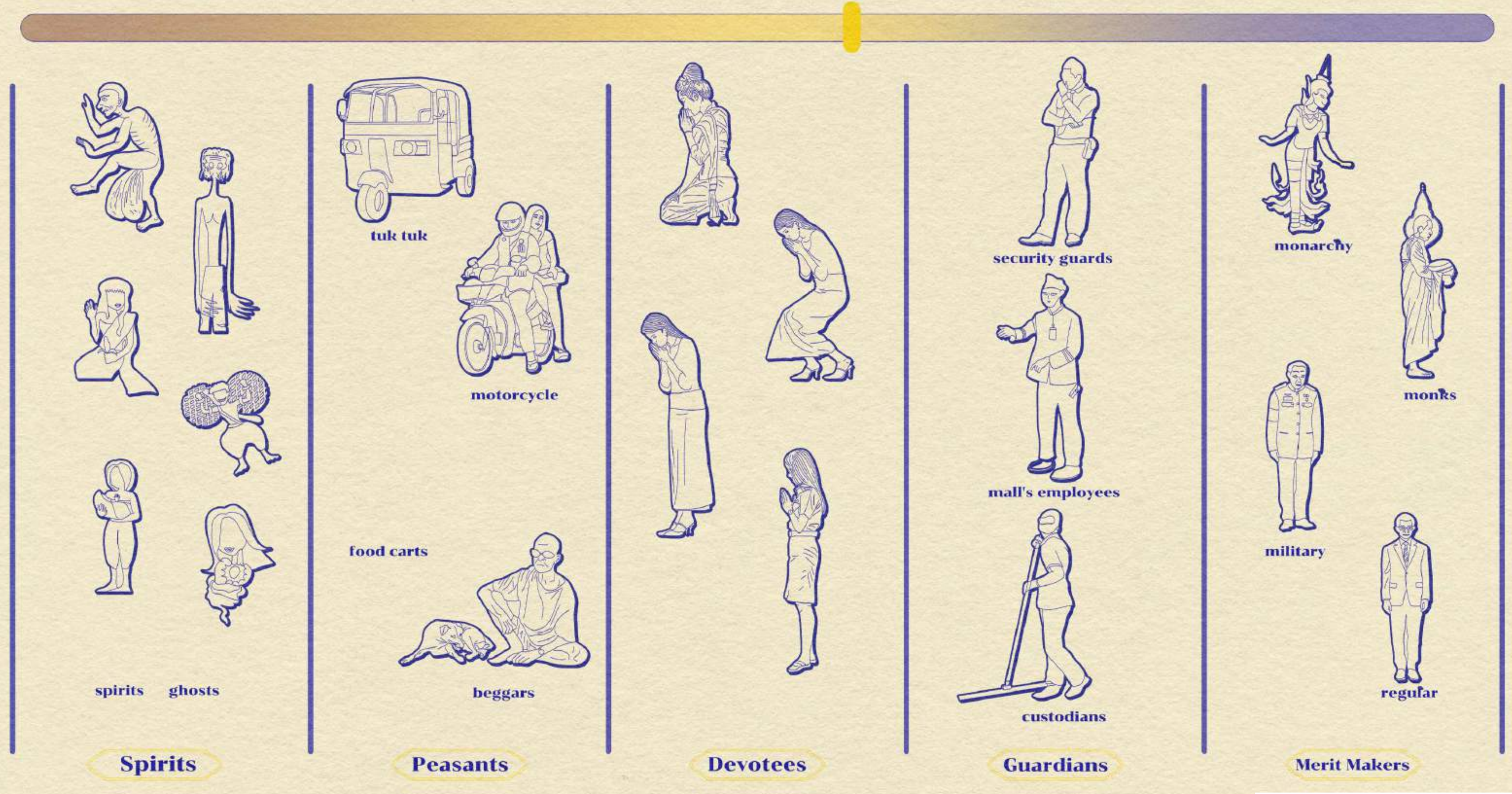
Guardians
security guard mall's employees custodians

Devotees
eve sleep pray shaven

Peasants
tuk-tuk motorcycle food vendors homeless

Spirits
ghosts

Spiritual Levels



Spiritual Levels

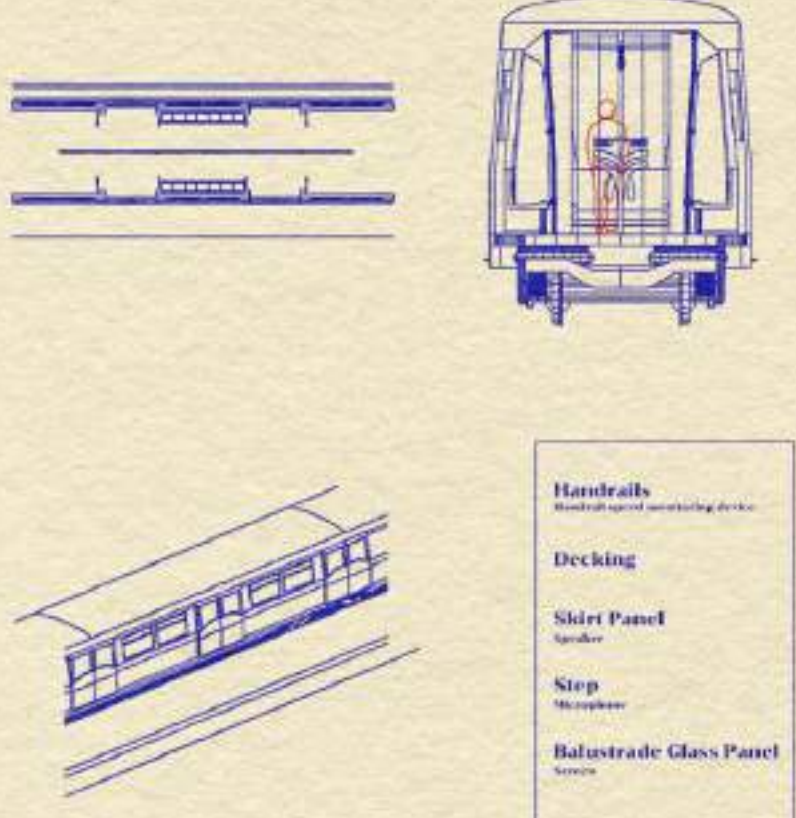
The spiritual levels reference the traiphum cosmology in the Thai Buddhist beliefs, which contextualized social hierarchy as an integral part of the natural order by encoding class distinctions within an understanding of both real and imagined space.

Your merit score in this walkway loop determines your spiritual hierarchy. There are five distinct spiritual levels which includes, from the bottom, the spirits, the peasants, the devotees (the level where every customer comes into), the guardians (who maintain the walkway loop and the merit-making experience), and lastly, at the top, the merit-makers who exist on top of every other spiritual level.

the merit-making sequential experience is designed according to the mall's existing regulating tactics and while also pushing those tactics to be more apparent, learning from the mall's calculated experience orchestrated by the merit-makers.

Skytrain

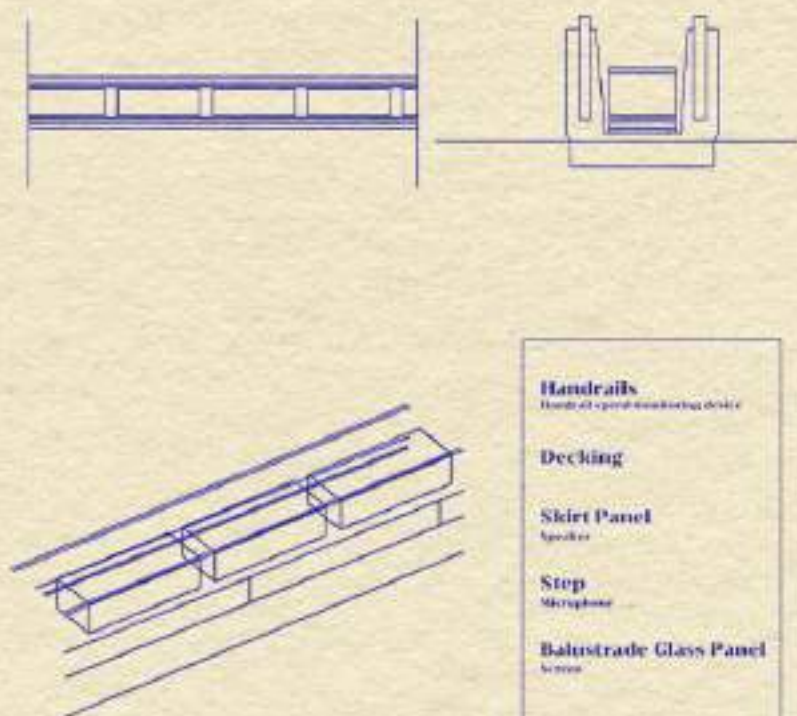
Inclination: flat, 30 degrees
Speed: 2 ft per second
Capacity: xx people per hr



- Handrails: Handrail speed monitoring device
- Decking
- Skirt Panel: Spreader
- Step: Microplate
- Balustrade Glass Panel: Screen

Coffin

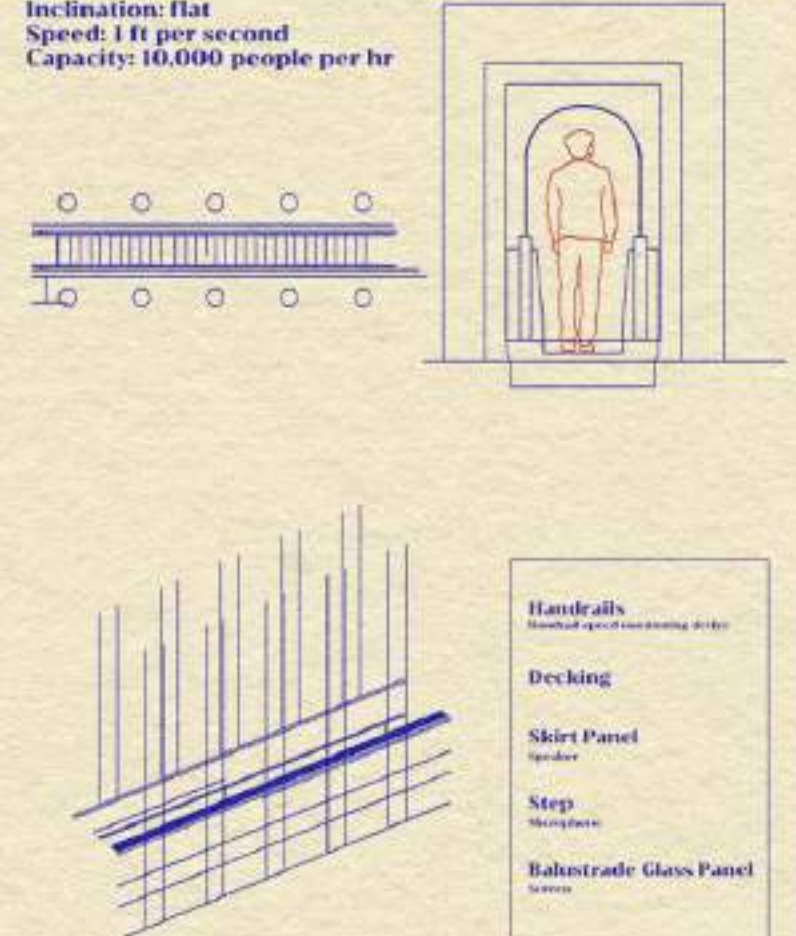
Inclination: flat, 30 degrees
Speed: 2 ft per second
Capacity: xx people per hr



- Handrails: Handrail speed monitoring device
- Decking
- Skirt Panel: Spreader
- Step: Microplate
- Balustrade Glass Panel: Screen

Exterior Entrance Walkway

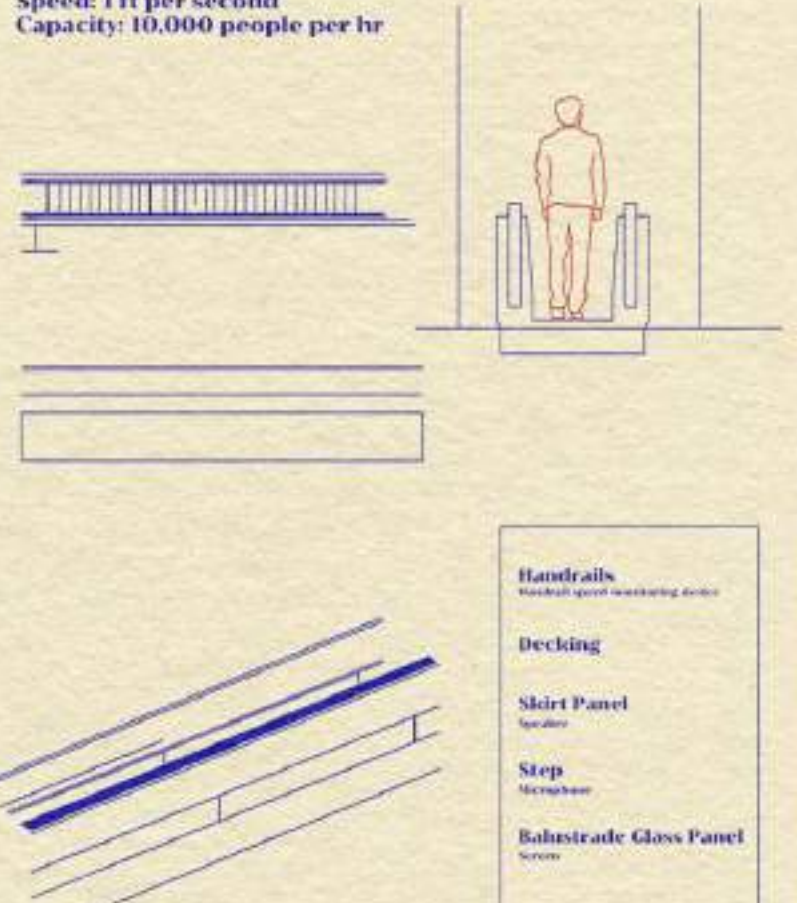
Inclination: flat
Speed: 1 ft per second
Capacity: 10,000 people per hr



- Handrails: Handrail speed monitoring device
- Decking
- Skirt Panel: Spreader
- Step: Microplate
- Balustrade Glass Panel: Screen

Passage

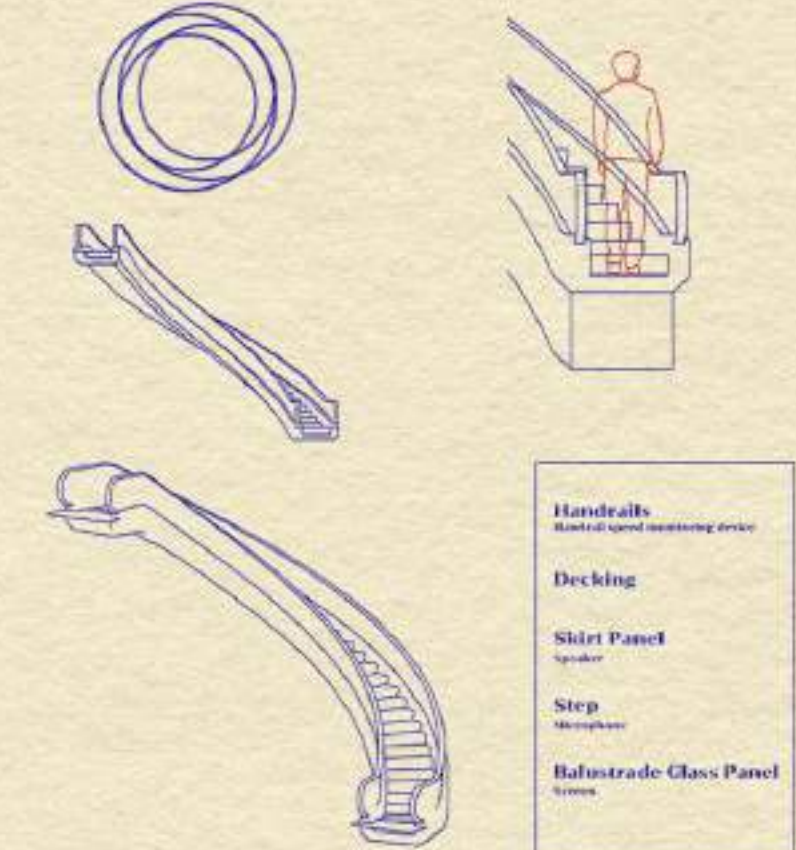
Inclination: flat
Speed: 1 ft per second
Capacity: 10,000 people per hr



- Handrails: Handrail speed monitoring device
- Decking
- Skirt Panel: Spreader
- Step: Microplate
- Balustrade Glass Panel: Screen

Spiral

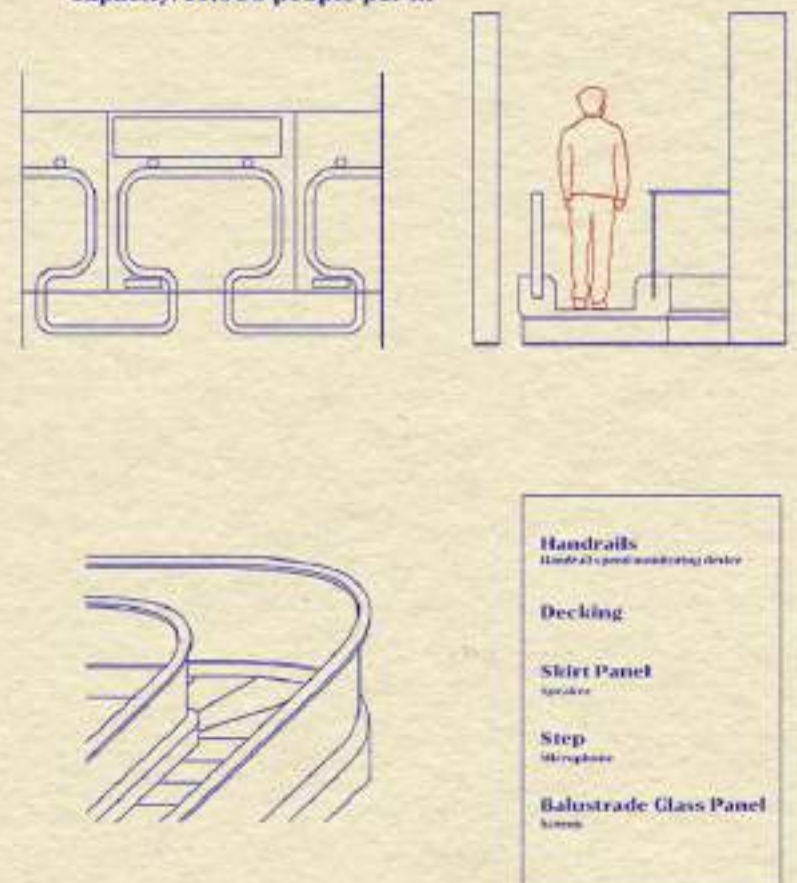
Inclination: 30
Speed: 5 ft per second
Capacity: 5,000 people per hr



- Handrails: Handrail speed monitoring device
- Decking
- Skirt Panel: Spreader
- Step: Microplate
- Balustrade Glass Panel: Screen

Shop

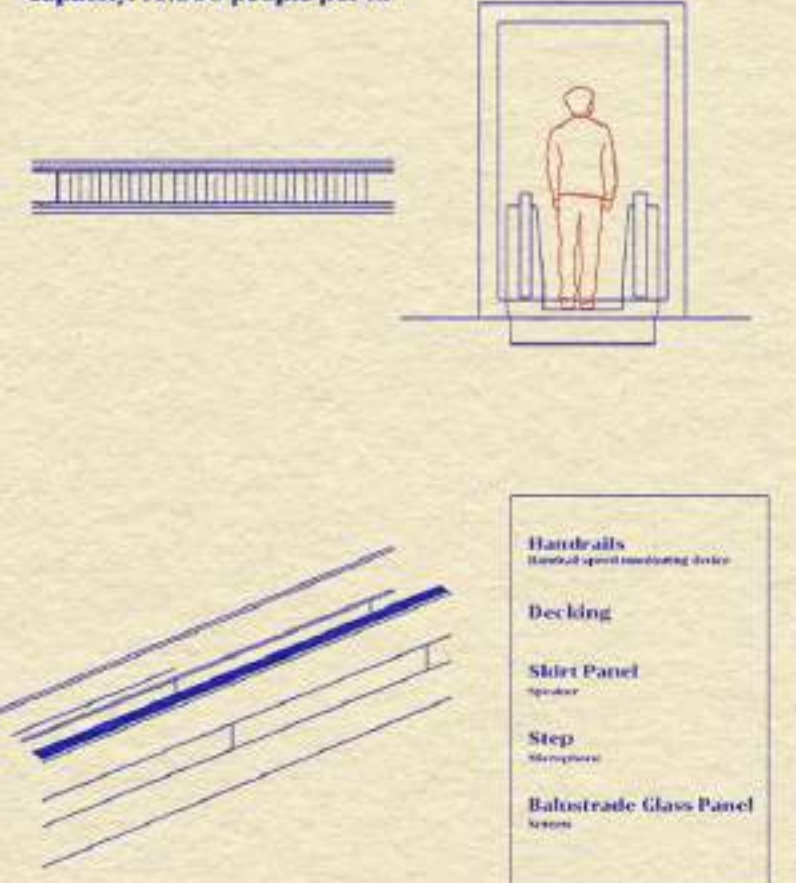
Inclination: flat
Speed: 1 ft per second
Capacity: 10,000 people per hr



- Handrails: Handrail speed monitoring device
- Decking
- Skirt Panel: Spreader
- Step: Microplate
- Balustrade Glass Panel: Screen

Exit

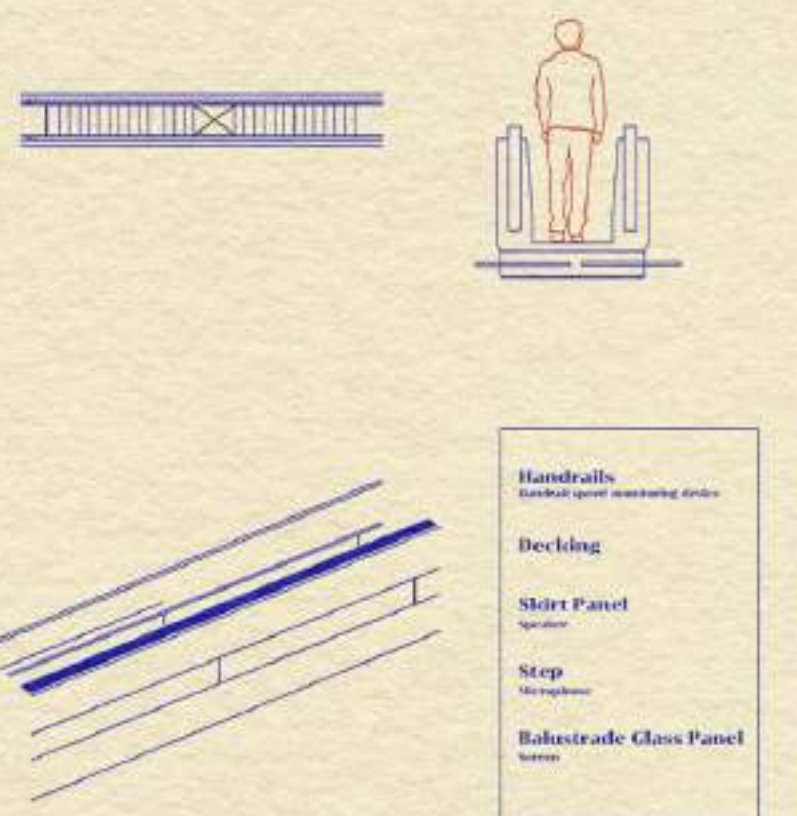
Inclination: flat
Speed: 1 ft per second
Capacity: 10,000 people per hr



- Handrails: Handrail speed monitoring device
- Decking
- Skirt Panel: Spreader
- Step: Microplate
- Balustrade Glass Panel: Screen

Transition

Inclination: flat
Speed: 1 ft per second
Capacity: 10,000 people per hr



- Handrails: Handrail speed monitoring device
- Decking
- Skirt Panel: Spreader
- Step: Microplate
- Balustrade Glass Panel: Screen

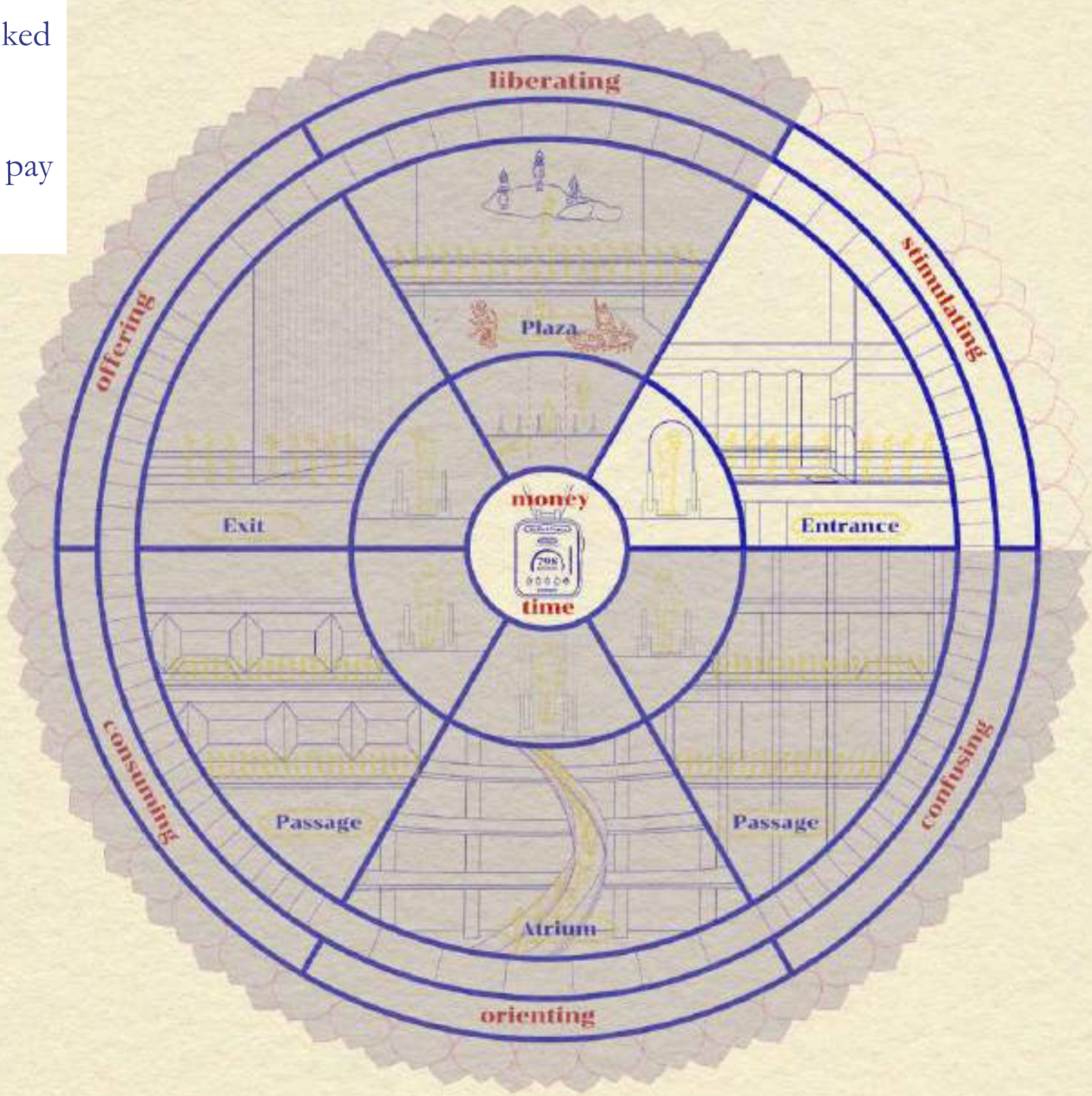


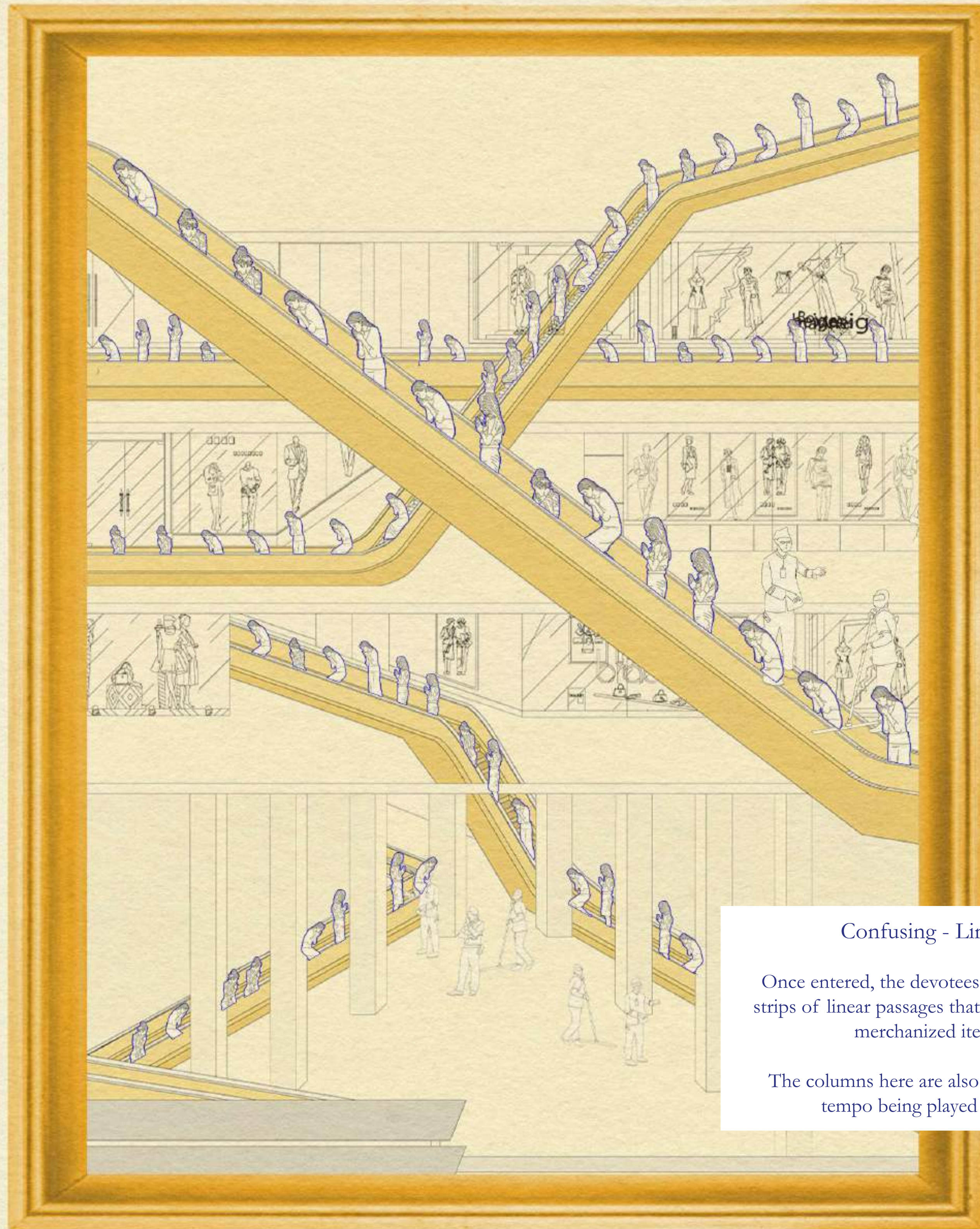
Stimulating - Entrance Bridge

The columns and mullions along the entrance bridge will synchronize with the ideal music tempo for the mall experience.

As the devotees walk through the sliding doors, their identity, credit card information, and social media holdings will be scanned. The devotees will then be asked to take their shoes off and buy new pairs.

They will be stopped for a brief moment to greet and pay respect to the mall.

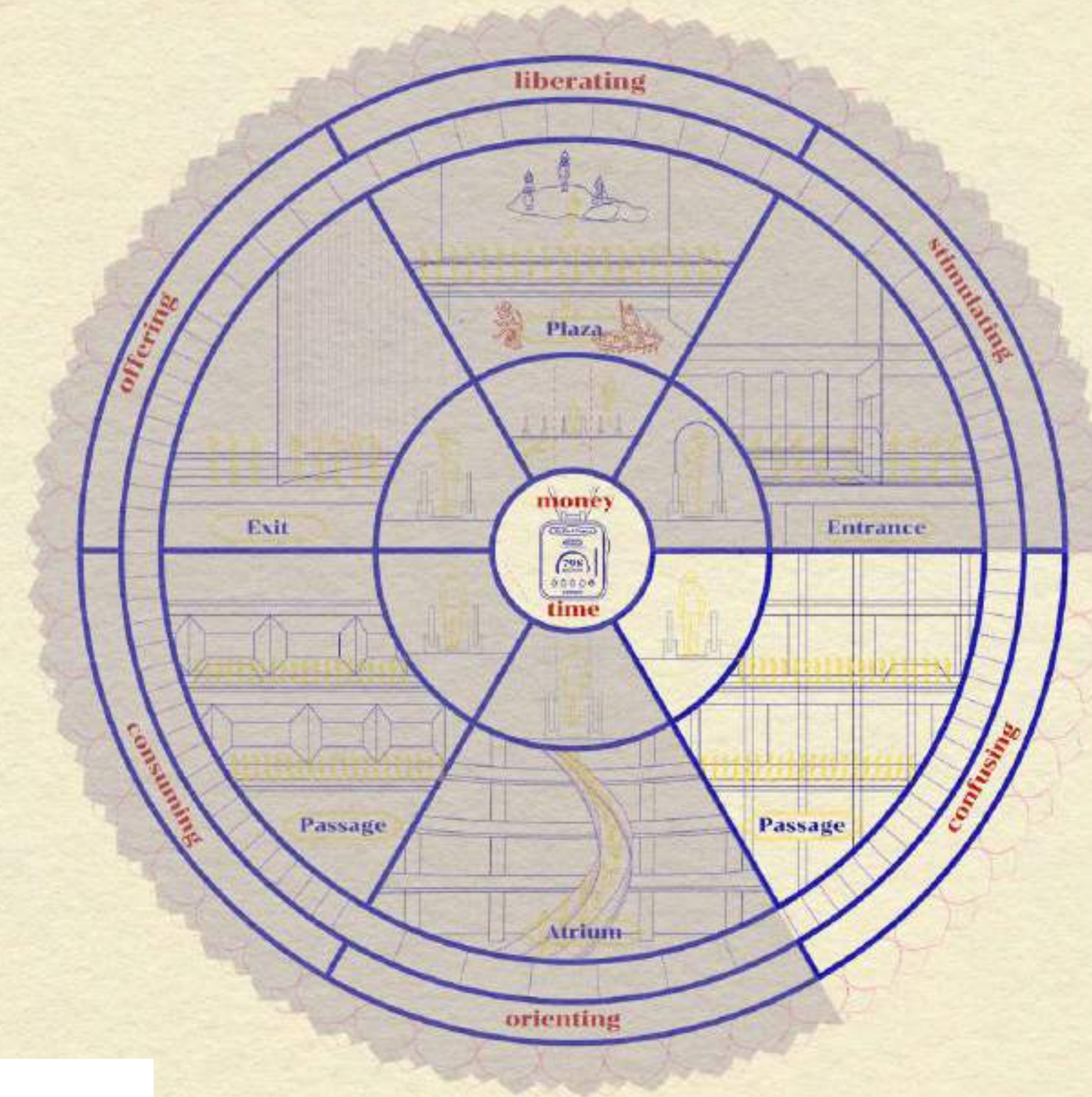


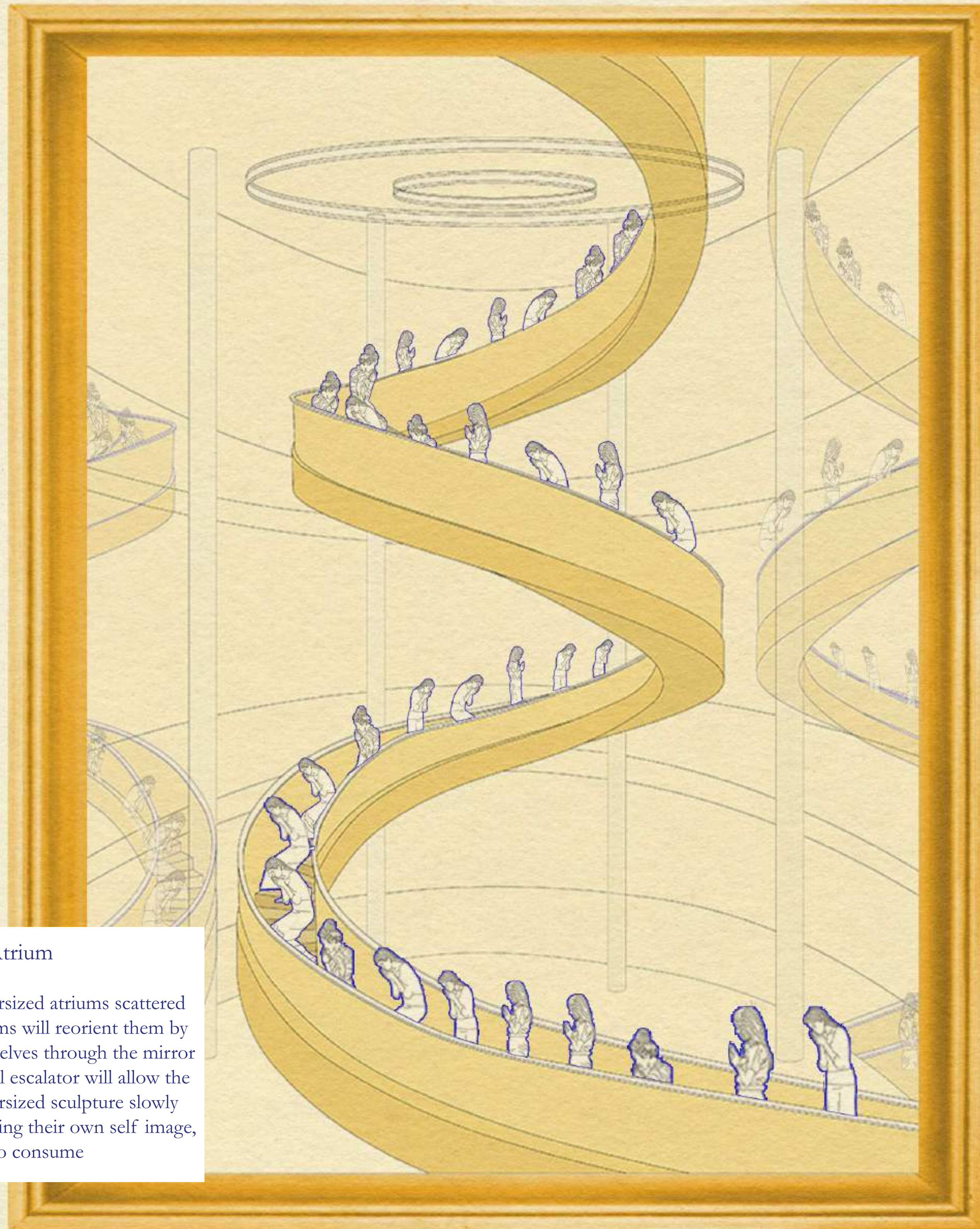


Confusing - Linear Passage

Once entered, the devotees will be confused by the strips of linear passages that blast infinite brands and merchandized items to them.

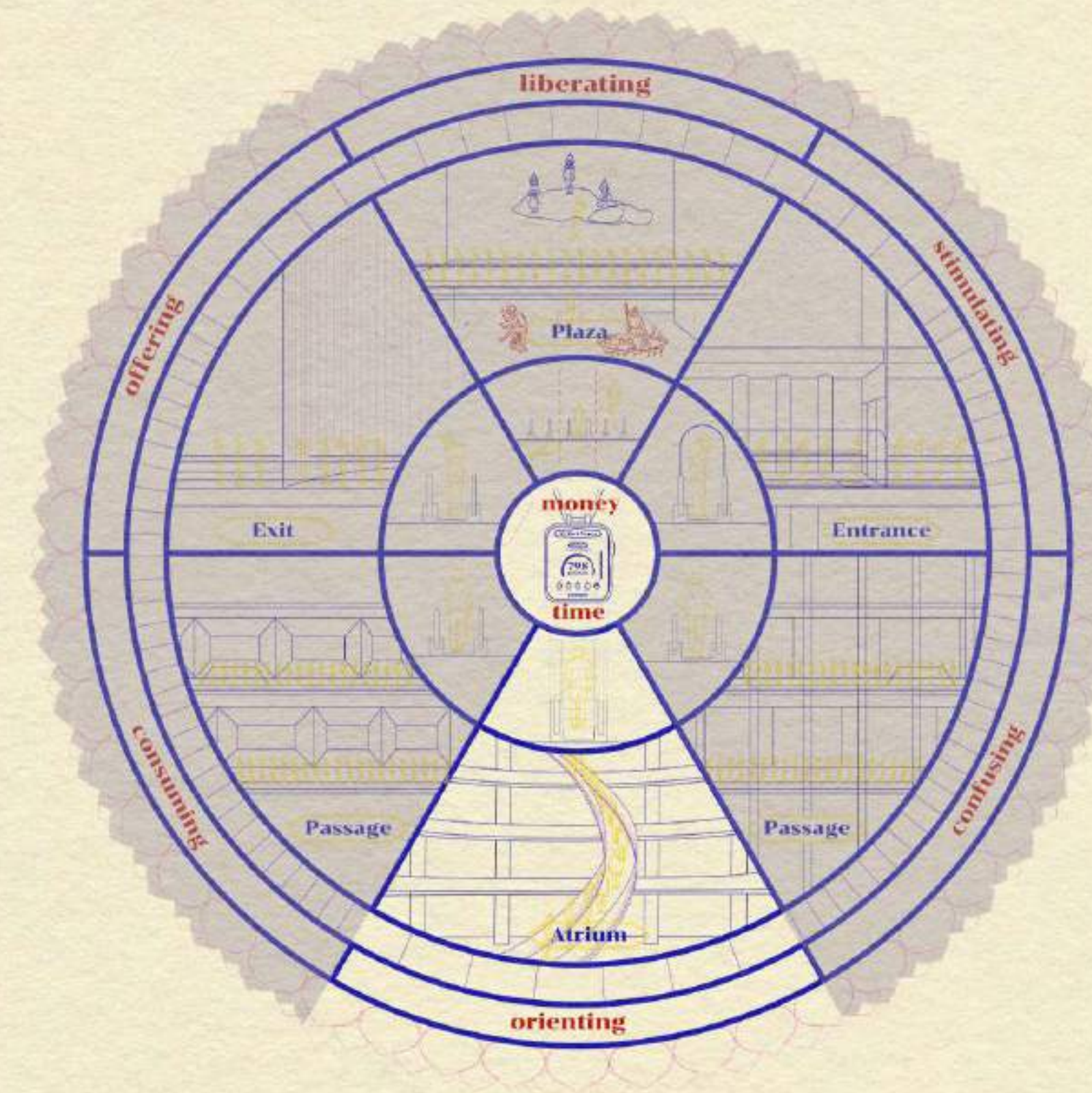
The columns here are also in sync with the music tempo being played inside the malls.

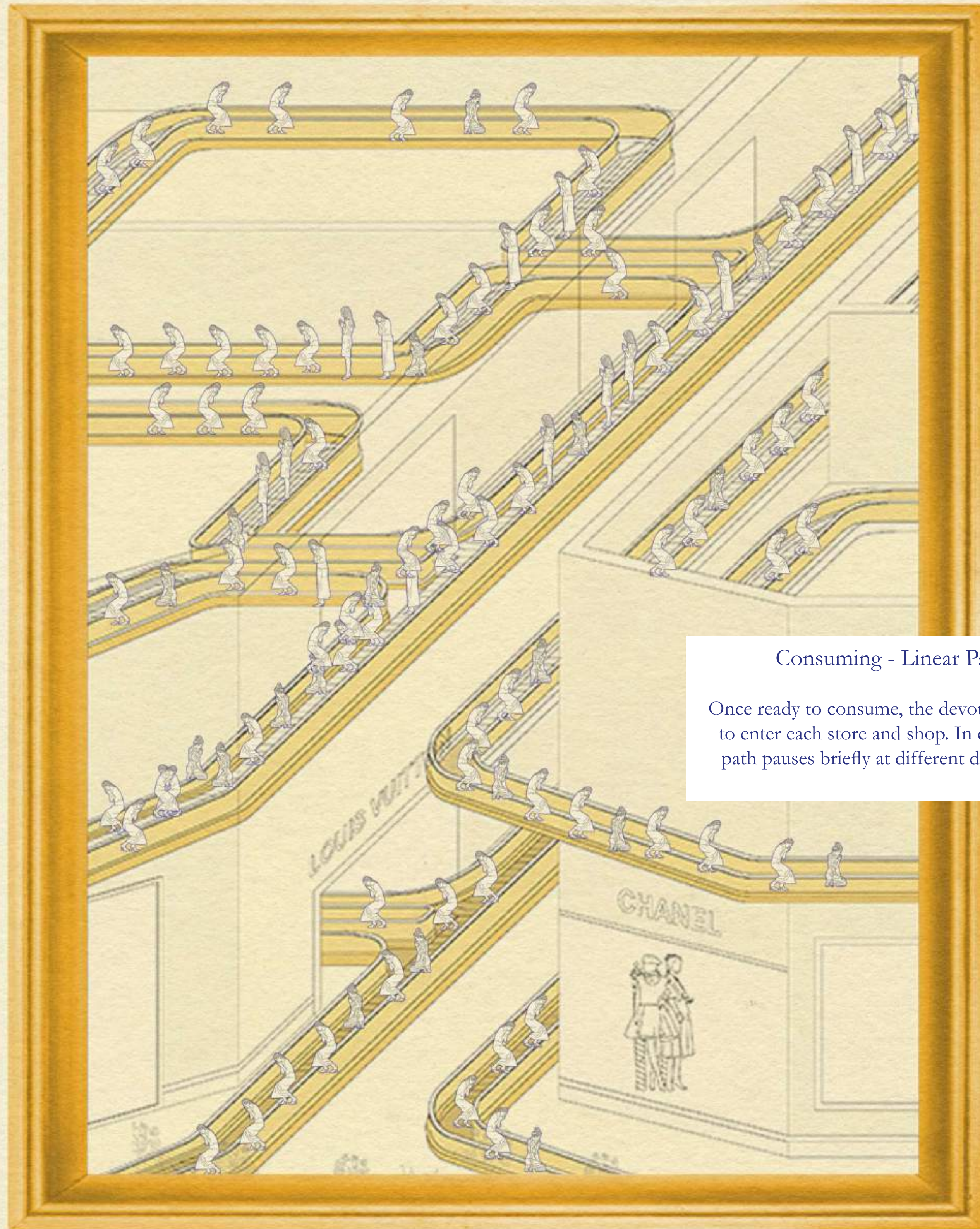




Orienting - Atrium

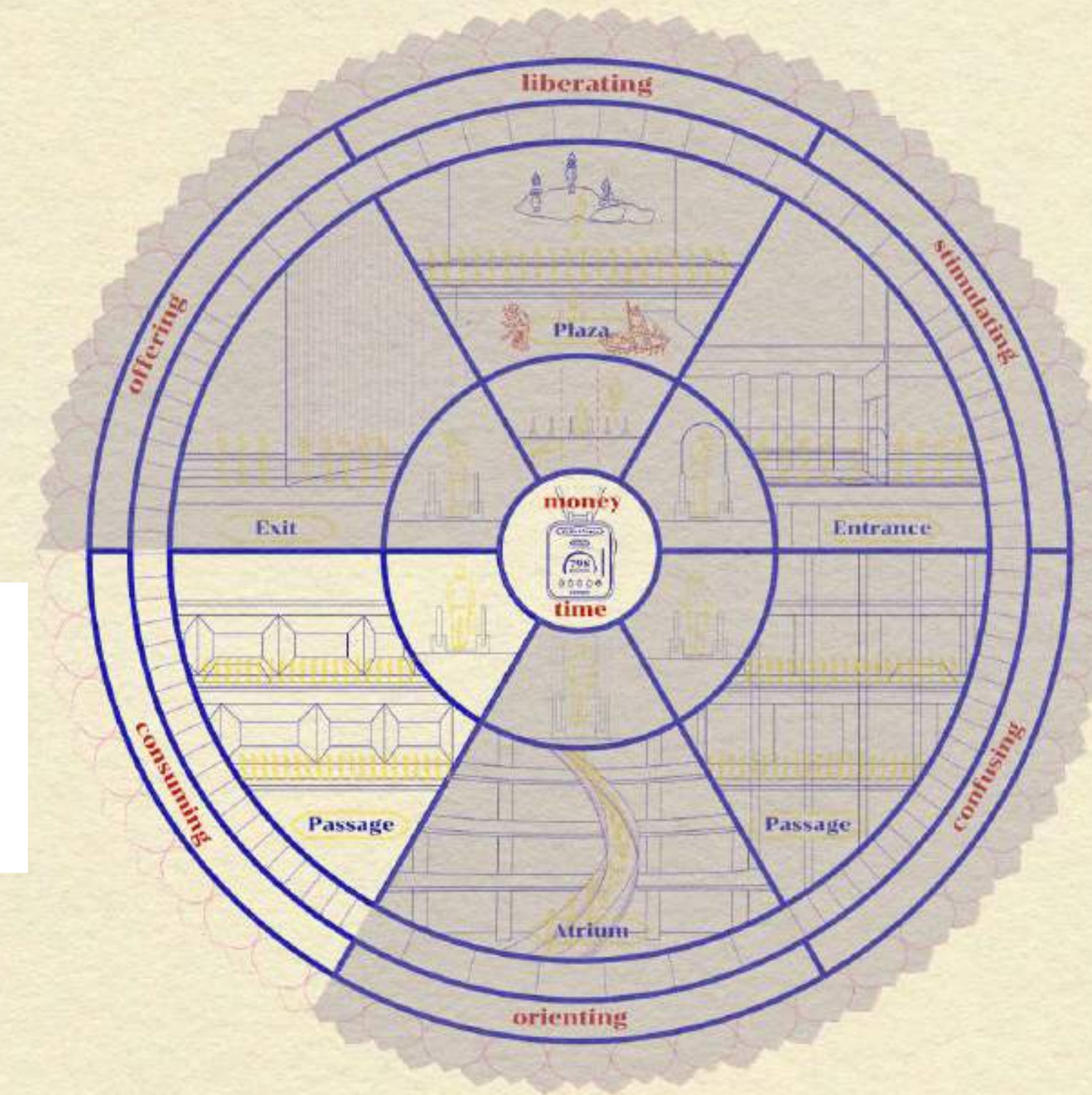
The devotees will reach the oversized atriums scattered throughout the malls. The atriums will reorient them by allowing them to focus on themselves through the mirror that encloses the void. The spiral escalator will allow the devotees to experience the oversized sculpture slowly from the interior while constructing their own self image, and getting ready to consume





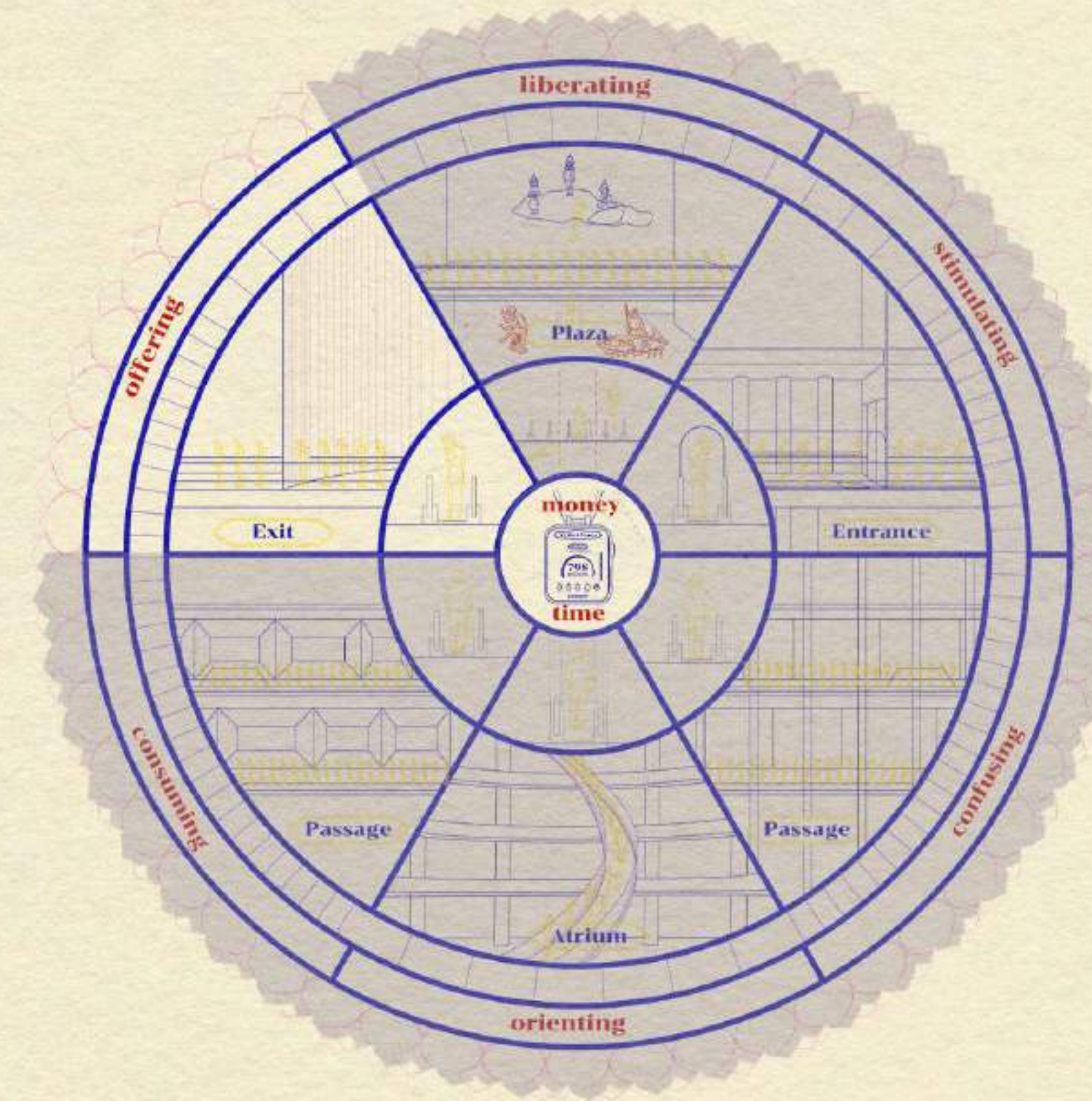
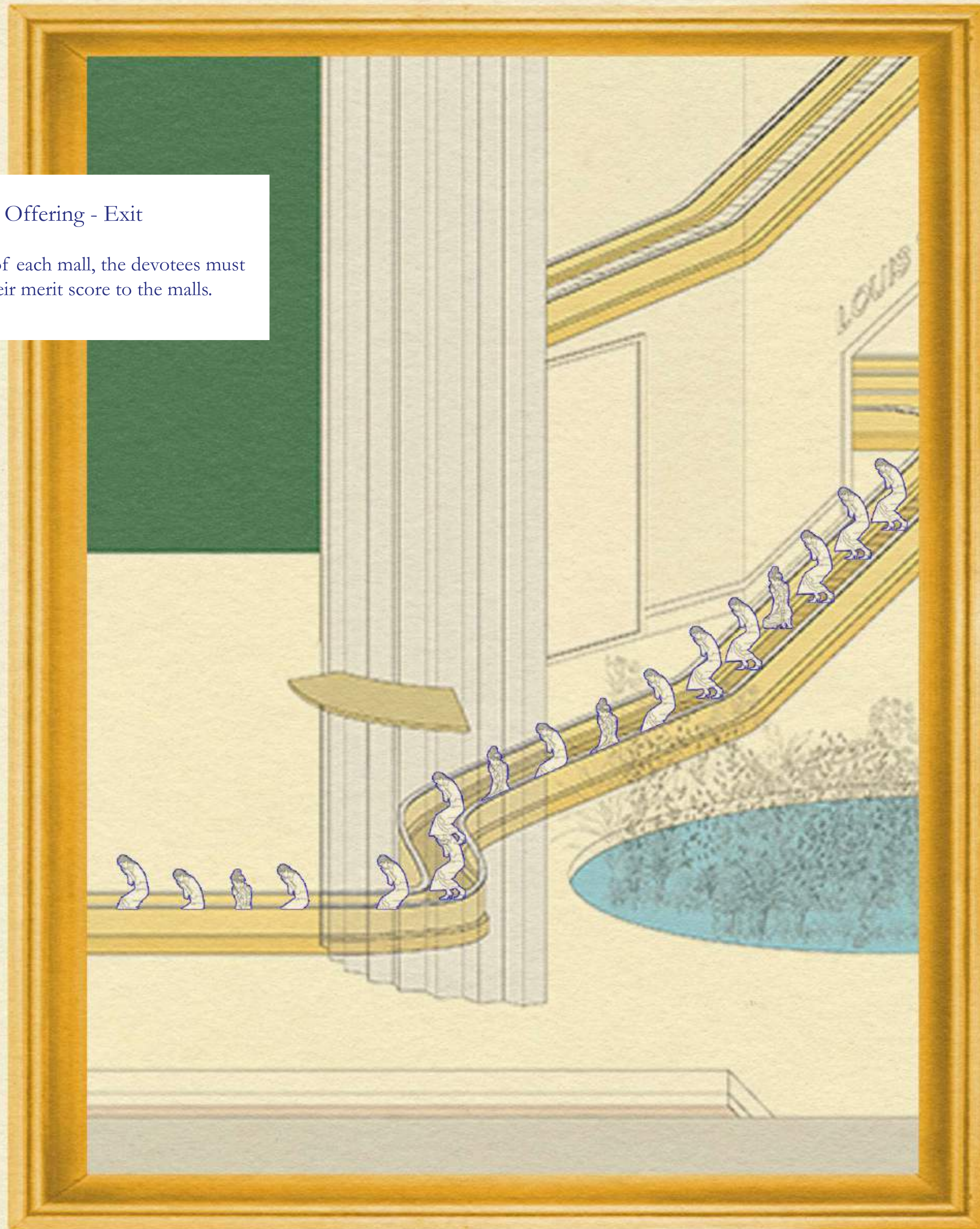
Consuming - Linear Passage

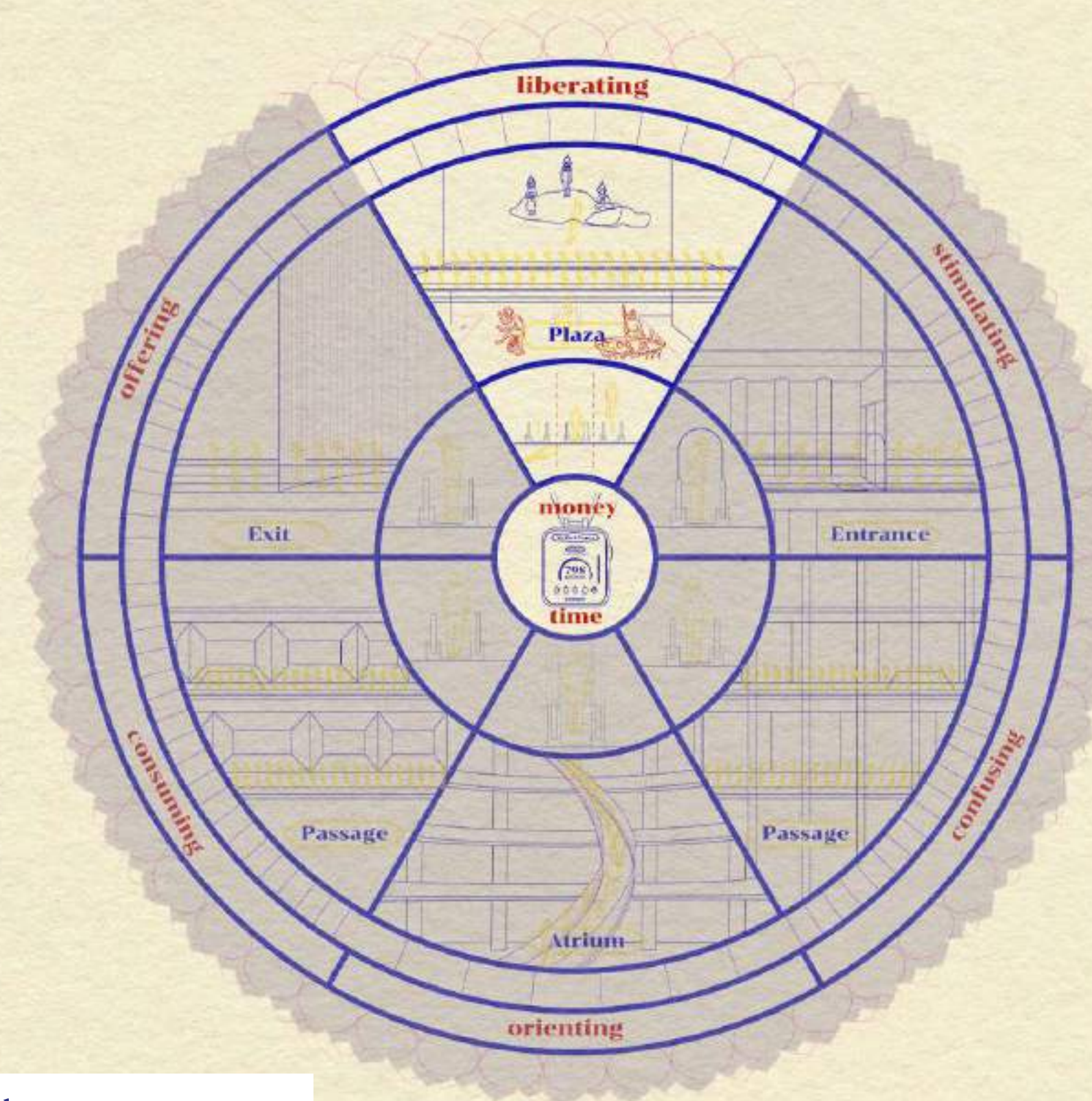
Once ready to consume, the devotees will be able to enter each store and shop. In each store, the path pauses briefly at different display shelves.



Offering - Exit

At the exit of each mall, the devotees must offer their merit score to the malls.





Liberating - Plaza

Based on the merit score the devotees offer at the exit, the devotees will either get kicked out of the loop and join the chaotic streets below, or rise above to joining the merit-makers.

If the devotees stay on the path, they will be briefly exposed to the chaotic streets to show that karma is near them if they do not behave in this systems.

This proposal showcases how the 'commoners' have become an integral part in completing and sustaining this interdependent system of government and the modern capitalist society that coexist with the traditional buddhist landscape.

By using the same architectural tools that the merit-makers have used on the collective population, this satirical dystopian narrative is a metaphor for the hierarchical ideologies of the Thai Buddhist beliefs and the governing systems, where it reflects the merit-makers' strategies through the architecture of the mall for the governing systems, where it reflects the merit-makers' strategies through the architecture of the mall - where shopping at shopping malls can be read as making merit at buddhist temples - and your status is based on your merit level. This closed loop is in the constant state of balancing out each other, always regulating to be the most efficient and profitable.



This constructed loop offers an approach to study, understand, and learn from the strategies used by the overarching systems.

It takes references from the cycle of reincarnation in different realms which is based on your karma, where to escape this never-ending cycle, you must first understand what it is and how it works.

To escape from a trap, you must know the trap, and in knowing how it works, it can be undone.

By overlaying a fictional dystopian narrative onto the existing site, the loop reveals the values and behavioral patterns of what it means to be a true Thai Buddhist in the modern Thai context, while also speculating on how both this shopping district and the city work politically and financially through the process of merit-making, that exists in the constant juxtaposition and clashing of the traditional and modern, the old and new in the disorderly urban fabric.

Bibliography

Apiwat, Ratanawaha. The Land Economy of Thailand. 1st ed. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University, 2015.

Arifwidodo, Sigit and Orana Chandrasiri. “Urban Heat Island and Household Energy Consumption in Bangkok, Thailand.” *Energy Procedia* 79, (Nov, 2015): 189-194.

Askew, Marc. Bangkok: Place Practice and Representation. New York;Boulder;: Routledge, 2002.

Burkett, Paul and Martin Hart-Landsberg. “Alternative Perspectives on Late Industrialization in East Asia: A Critical Survey.” *Review of Radical Political Economics* 32, no. 2 (Jun, 2000): 222-264.

Goebel, Rolf J. “Paris, Capital of Modernity: Kafka and Benjamin.” *Monatshefte* 90, no. 4 (1998): 445-64.

Isra Sarntisart, “Growth, Structural Change, and Inequality: The Experience of Thailand,” (2004): 405-427.

King, Ross. Reading Bangkok. Singapore: NUS Press, 2011

Kirsch, A. Thomas. “Complexity in the Thai Religious System: An Interpretation.” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 36, no. 2 (1977): 241-66.

Larsson, Tomas. Land and Loyalty. Cornell Studies in Political Economy. 1st ed. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012.

McCargo, Duncan. “Buddhism, Democracy and Identity in Thailand.” *Democratization: Religion, Democracy and Democratization* 11, no. 4 (Aug 1, 2004): 155-170.

Mega, Voula. “Bangkok — the Mega-City of Angels.” *Ekistics* 65, no. 388/389/390 (1998): 107-120.

Mirgani, Suzi. Target Markets: International Terrorism Meets Global Capitalism in the Mall. Bielefeld;Qatar;: Transcript, 2017.

Ning, Mao and Michael McAleer. Theravada Buddhism and Thai Luxury Fashion Consumption. Amsterdam and Rotterdam: Tinbergen Institute, 2017.

Ouyyanont, Porphant. “Crown Property Bureau in Thailand and its Role in Political Economy.” ISEAS Publishing.

Paksukcharern, K. (2016). Sustaining Urban Spatial Network of Historical Communities Through the Reuse of Temple Grounds and Social Space – A Case Study of Rattanakosin, Bangkok. *Nakhara : Journal of Environmental Design and Planning*, 12, 177-186.

Phramaha Yanakrit Chakbodin, The Effect of Economic Globalization on the Thai Buddhist Monks, University of Pune

Ratanawaraha, Apiwat. Building Resilience in Cities under Stress. Report. International Peace Institute, 2016. 4-12.

Rujopakarn, Wiroj. “Bangkok Transport System Development: What Went Wrong?” *Journal of the Eastern Asia Society for Transportation Studies* 5 (2003).

Saiyavath, Puntipha “Rehabilitation of Public Open Spaces in Central Business District, Bangkok” Master’s Thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 2009, National Library of Thailand (4118/52).

Sopon Pornchokchai, “Bangkok Housing Market’s Booms and Busts, What Do We Learn?”

Sopranzetti, Claudio. “The Unsettled Layers of Bangkok.” In *Owners of the Map: Motorcycle Taxi Drivers, Mobility, and Politics in Bangkok*, 33-62. Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2018.

Sorkin, Michael. 1992. Variations on a theme park: the new American city and the end of public space. New York: Hill and Wang.

Suchiro, Akira. Family Business Gone Wrong? Ownership Patterns and Corporate Performance in Thailand. Tokyo: Asian Development Bank Institute (ADBI), 2001.

Tambiah, S. J. “Buddhism and This-Worldly Activity.” *Modern Asian Studies* 7, no. 1 (1973): 1-20.

Ünaldi, Serhat. Working towards the Monarchy: The Politics of Space in Downtown Bangkok. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2016.

Wongweerasert, Yuwadee. “Department Store: The Practical Space of Class Distinction” Master’s Thesis. Thammasat University, 2012.

