
Spatial Ordering of Low-income Flat Common Area Use

The Case of Baan Euay-Arthorn in Thailand

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SUMMARY

Baan Euay-Arthorn (BEA - literally 'home with care') is a social housing program initiated by the Thai government in 2003. Operated by the Thai National Housing Authority (NHA), the low-priced houses and units in BEA are sold to low-income people in urban areas. The BEA housing complexes are then managed by private companies with income from condominium fees paid by residents. BEA residents include low-income earners in government and private sectors, workers in the manufacturing and service sectors, and self-employed labourers.

The objective of this thesis is to understand how residents, NHA and BEA management companies each view common areas in BEA housing developments. The thesis seeks to describe the spatial ordering of BEA common areas in terms of how these spaces are negotiated via the NHA legal frameworks and residents' everyday practices.

Three typical BEA flat developments within Bangkok were selected for this research based on criteria of population density and willingness of management to participate. The density of the population at these locations is a key factor in the intensity of space-sharing as residents are forced to use common areas outside their private units to conduct everyday activities.

The study uses concepts from the sociology of everyday life and socio-cultural studies of architecture, specifically the notion of 'front' and 'back' regions and 'unbounded' space, to analyse the confrontations between authorities' imaginations of the purity of common areas and the realities of residents' practices.

The study employs qualitative methods, including visual research (building documentation, photography, and observations) and non-visual research (interviews with eight BEA management company and NHA employees, and document analysis of BEA management guidelines, regulations and minutes) as well as sociological literature on shared space and urban communities. Interviews with BEA resident were not undertaken in this thesis, which exists as a limitation to the findings. Inclusion of residents as participants in this project was not possible due to MRes research ethics approval being limited to low-risk research only within the a nine-month thesis submission timeline. Consequently, recruitment for interviews was done by postal and electronic permission and invitation letter with the NHA and management company employees only and data about residents uses of common areas was restricted to unobtrusive observation, which was documented via the visual research component.

The thesis finds that lack of understanding by management of the everyday needs and requirements of residents and a resulting emphasis on legal standards causes conflicts over common area use. Managed in a top-down approach, BEA public housing space is designed and regulated according to middle-class values, which causes a structural contradiction between rules and

practices. While BEA authorities mainly regulate by law, regulations and rules, the residents often manage common areas informally in ways that reflect their lower-class 'habitus'.

The thesis concludes that negotiated outcomes are generated by the housing authorities to bridge this contradiction via informal compromises between legal aspects and everyday practices, for example, by overlooking infractions of rules if other residents do not complain.

Furthermore, it finds that these compromises are unwillingly used by authorities. Therefore, BEA common areas are the site of contests between authorities' imagination of a middle-class community and the residents themselves. The thesis, therefore, argues that these negotiated outcomes should be recognised as part of the formal processes of BEA management.

STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

Signed on October 20, 2019

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CHAPTER ONE

SPATIAL ORDERING OF LOW-INCOME FLATS COMMON AREA USE

Introduction

The use of public space depends on a ‘spatial order’ (White 1996: 37) which refers to the way in which such spaces are conceived and regulated by private owners and the state. In this model, semi-public space, where access to spaces, such as shopping centres, is relatively open, yet actually limited to specific groups, is highly revealing of the prevailing spatial order. By focusing on the use of common areas within housing complexes in Thai urban society, this thesis examines everyday uses of one kind of semi-public space: common areas outside private dwellings but within the purview of the housing complex management. These everyday uses of these semi-public spaces reveal the role of private ownership and the state, and users themselves, in negotiating an underlying spatial order. Through this approach, my thesis uncovers the symbolic production and maintenance of such space as a process of ‘spatial ordering’, which allows me to consider the residents’ everyday practices within this model. This thesis investigates how different socio-economic groups use the common areas of these housing complexes in very different ways, as well as how interactions within these spaces reflects a class-based conflict between housing authorities residents themselves.

These differences and conflicts have recently been manifested in urban Thailand within the Baan Euay-Arthorn (BEA) (literally ‘home with care’) program. Begin in 2003, BEA is a social housing scheme for formalising the homeownership of urban low-income populations operated by the National Housing Authority of Thailand (NHA). Recently, urban poor live in approximately 300,000 units in BEA developments throughout Thailand (Mekintharanggur 2004: 126-127; Sintusingha et al. 2010: 72; 2009 3.4). This research examines the spatial ordering of common areas, which are publicly accessible areas located within the property boundaries of BEA flat (such as common courtyards and corridors), within three complexes¹ in Bangkok, the capital city of Thailand.

My research questions are 1) What elements of design of BEA common areas currently signal to residents how to conduct their activities in these areas?, 2) What forms of communication are currently placed in BEA common areas to direct residents on how to conduct activities in these areas, and what conflicts over the uses of common areas are anticipated and negotiated in these forms of communication?, 3) How are these spaces and residents’ activities currently imagined by the NHA and the management companies’ staff?, 4) How are these spaces and residents’ activities currently

¹ The three research sites are located in the suburban areas of Bangkok and have a large number of flat buildings. The pseudonym of Suburbville, Busy-town, and Outskirt-ville are given to describe each BEA environment and to prevent potential harm from housing authorities to any BEA residents who may not comply with the BEA rules and management staff who may fail to enforce those rules.

understood to be regulated by the NHA and the management companies' staff?, and 5) What assumptions about residents' class background emerge in the design, communication, imagination and understanding of the NHA and the management companies' staff? The aims of this thesis are 1) to understand conflicts over residents' uses of common areas within public housing developments through a lens of class transformation and 2) to identify how these areas are managed and regulated both formally by the NHA and its associated companies, as well as the residents themselves.

This review literature section first gives background information on BEA. Next, it discusses the perspectives of studies on common area uses and toward public and private spaces. Then it describes how social class shapes use of space via concepts of habitus and back and front regions. Finally, it discusses sources of conflict over space.

Baan Euay-Arthorn development and its spatial ordering

Baan Euay-Arthorn (BEA) is a public housing project operated by Thailand's NHA, a state enterprise which provides housing for low-income people. The BEA program intends to help low-income people to acquire housing ownership (Khanchong 2008: 80) under the principle of 'buying the house with the money which would otherwise be spent on rent' (PLC1, 2019). Low-priced units are sold to low income people for whom monthly family income is not more than 22,000 Baht (Approximately \$AUD 107)², which is the criteria applied to screen BEA applicants at the beginning of this program (NHA n.d.). BEA includes flat developments and communities of single attached houses. Because this thesis focuses on common areas in high-rise accommodations, only BEA condominiums are studied. Each BEA development consists of over than 50 buildings. Each building is a walk-up five-level structure. Each development provides open areas which are allocated as common areas for public sharing, such as a courtyard, parking lot, and public facilities, e.g. a child-care centre (Sintusingha et al. 2010: 71-72).

As a public space cannot be occupied for personal use, the use of BEA's common areas is ordered via rules and regulations and is regulated by the NHA and management companies. Those rules and regulations are generally advertised on a board at the entrance of each building. These rules construct an explicit spatial order which includes prohibiting residents from placing anything in the common areas, dining or alcohol drinking in the common areas, parking vehicles at building entrances and exits, as well as installing any satellite dishes and letter boxes on building exteriors (the Suburbville management n.d.).

² Approximate rate calculated from currency rate as of 13 September 2019 at 20.5 Baht per 1 Australian dollar. The comparison of Thai Baht to Australian dollar throughout this thesis will be based on this rate and illustrated with the table in Appendix 12.

Most previous studies of BEA spaces have been conducted by architects (Mekintharangur 2004, Natakun & O'Brien 2009). Although some have studied these spaces from a social science perspective, for example, using terms such as community participation and democratisation (Sintusingha et al. 2010: 70-71, 77), sociological approaches based on the role of everyday spatial practices of residents provide deeper insights into the social aspects of this type of space.

Diverse aspects of studies on condominium common area use

For the purpose of this thesis, I have adopted Tulin's (1978: 2) definition of 'common area' of residential development as all areas of a development, for instance, hallway, courtyard and parking lot, except the interior of a dwelling unit. As condominium is a term that Thai people typically call a residential building, this thesis calls the common area of this residential building 'condominium common area'. However, BEA common area is called 'flat common area' since flat means a residential building for low-income people in Thai society. Also, I will apply Giesecking et al.'s (2014: 185) view of public space to the BEA flat common area as it refers to a public space shared by all of the residents, and not occupied for an individual's personal activities.

Although how residents use condominium common areas for personal activities has been studied in different social and cultural contexts, two main differences can be categorized. The first context is societies which adopt a Western sense of public and private space such as the United States and Australia. Since the Western perspective has a strict view on the boundary between and function of public and private spaces, research findings from these countries revealed low levels of common area use for personal activities. For example, the only personal activity that existed was personal gardening (planting flowers and decorating a garden with a birdbath) on common courtyards, and common areas were rarely used for events and then only for small and temporary ones such as picnics (Ross 1974: 9-10; Tulin 1978: 79, 82, 125-126).

The second context is countries which apply a Western sense of space to their traditional use, for instance, Singapore and Thailand. As a result, a higher level of using public space for personal activities is reported. Residents often use common areas as an extension of their domestic space by placing personal belongings, such as footwear, furniture, and religious paraphernalia, on the hallway and exteriors of their unit. Also, the common areas are used for big events, for instance, wedding and funeral ceremonies and birthday celebrations (Bodnar 2014: 2089, Hee 2009: 79, 82; Mekintharangur 2004: 116). Considering these differences, BEA common areas will be thoroughly considered as a part of semi-public space in Thailand, where traditionally blurred boundaries between public and private spaces have been long established.

Another aspect of studying condominium common area use is the social class of the users. According to Ross King (1974: 22), children living in low-income condominiums used common areas for playing less than the ones residing in higher-income condominiums. Although class is an important aspect of common area use, there is a little existing research that highlights this factor.

It can be noticed that qualitative research is employed to study the use of a condominium's common area. Interview is the most popular method for collecting data. In contrast, visual research, which allows researcher insight into the cultural and social meaning of space (Emmison & Smith 2007: 19), is rare in the field of condominium common area use study. Due to the scarcity of this research, Gieryn (2000: 483-484) suggested more research should be conducted by 'place sensitive' sociologists. To fill this gap of visual methods, a visual document in the form of model and photograph will be used in this study of the use of BEA common areas, especially for examining their elements design.

Perspectives toward public and private spaces

Space is a domain which is socially constructed and conceptualised with the terms 'public' and 'private' (Gieseeking et al. 2014: 183). The relationship between public and private space has been conceptualized in three different ways. The first perspective is the binary opposition. From this perspective, public and private spaces are totally separated from each other. This viewpoint divides space into two opposite types: public and private. Each type allows different activities. For example, public space is only suitable for impersonal activity. As opposed to public space, private space is a place of intimate practice (Sennett 2002 cited in Giardiello 2017: 741). The second perspective is based on the continuum of public and private space. Instead of considering public versus private, it views space as having different levels of privacy and restriction. The level that provides an absolute sense of privacy and high restriction is called 'primary territory'. This space is owned and used by specific users. Another space that is situated on an overlapping of public and private place is 'secondary territory'. With semi-public and semi-private status, less privacy and restriction are applied. The last level of space that have has less sense of privacy and less control over usage is 'public territory'. This space is open to everyone for their presence and use (Altman 1975, cited in Tulin 1978: 23).

The third perspective is the disappearance of the division of public and private space. 'Unbound' space is used to conceptualise spaces commonly used in Thailand which blur public and private distinctions. This unbounded nature is investigated as a concept of space that was commonly used in the past and continuously operated in a hidden or less visible part of Thailand. This space cannot be analysed through Western concepts of public and private concepts since the distinction between the two spaces are is blurred and not recognised by some Thai users. For example, alley

spaces in Bangkok's residential areas are seen and used as living rooms by urban villagers (Noparatnaraporn 2004: 208, 211; Noparatnaraporn and King 2007: 77).

Three perspectives toward public and private spaces are used in this thesis. The binary opposition perspective enhances my understanding of how BEA housing authorities expect residents to recognise the lines dividing common areas and personal units. The continuum of public and private space perception allows me to view a common area in BEA closed communities as a 'semi-public space', termed by Yancey (1971: 4). The perspectives of the disappearance of the division of public and private space are employed since the notion of unbounded space develops my understanding of the common areas which are generally used for personal activities that cut across common area and personal unit boundaries.

Different social classes and use of space

In sociological studies of class and use of space, there is a consensus of findings that different social classes shape how people use space (Low 2005, 121-122; Robben 1989: 572, 580-583). Hence, middle-class people do not use space in the same way as the lower-class. Two prominent sociologists, Pierre Bourdieu and Ervin Goffman, affirm these differences. Bourdieu examined differences in space use via the lens of class disposition called 'habitus' (Bourdieu 1990: 52), whereas Goffman (1956: 66, 69) explained differences through the activities that people perform in the social world, which he called 'the front' and 'the back' regions.

According to Bourdieu, habitus is developed from class experience and socialization. It shapes patterns of the behaviour and lifestyle of individuals (Bourdieu 1980: 57-58, 98). Therefore, people from the same class and social background tend to use space in the same way because they experience and learn that from their families. Lower-class people view and use space in their residential surroundings based on a 'taste for necessity' (Bourdieu 1990: 53, 58; Robben 1989: 572). His analysis is supported by contemporary research which illustrates that lower-class people in Costa Rica used the plaza as a workplace for their informal business (hawker) (Low 2005: 112, 117-125).

By using a different analytical lens, the front region represents the world of middle-class people while the back region supports those of lower-class people. To illustrate, the front region in Goffman's sense means the place for performance to be observed by others, for instance, the act of formality. This formal tone of performance represents how middle-class people use space in tidy, prepared and clearly zoned ways. Conversely, the back region or backstage tends to be occupied by low-income class people who use space in an unprepossessing and informal manner as shown in the study of Parisian's working-class women who view homes and neighbouring shops as the backstage, and present themselves with a bathrobe and bedroom slippers in those areas (Goffman 1956: 77).

There is a marked absence of literature that explores the common area with a social class aspect on condominium complex on the international level. On a local level, the social class dimension that influences this unique spatial ordering has been ignored. This is because studies of space have been dominated by architecture scholars who focus on quality of space rather than a focus on social groups of users. For example, Sakarnukit's (2011: v) study on BEA developments in Bangkok revealed that common areas of BEA which was built with a cluster-layout building design, gained higher levels of satisfaction from the residents than BEA which constructed with a parallel-layout building. This approval was due to the design of the buildings which provides for more efficient space for parking and socialising. Nevertheless, the lifestyle of lower-class residents that rightly matched with the BEA cluster building was not illustrated. The uniqueness of the spatial ordering of Thai low-income people requires further exploration.

Norm-based and class-based conflict over space

Although several pieces of research on the source of conflicts over space have been conducted, they are convinced by two main arguments: norm-based and class-based conflicts. For the norm-based argument, researchers believe that this conflict develops from norms (i.e. rule, regulation, value) used for controlling the use of space. While the class-based conflict argument suggests that different views and use of space due to different classes of users are the main source of conflict over space (Hee 2009: 84, 88; Tulin 1978: 25).

With the norm-based viewpoint, two debates are constructed. Some researchers believe that norm in-itself causes conflict over space, for example, residents view courtyards as a semi-private space for a picnic, which is unsatisfactory for others who believe this space is semi-public (Tulin 1978: 22-23). In contrast, the second standpoint is that a conflict over space is a conflict between a space's controller and user. This is because using norm to control space naturally creates antagonism which leads to conflict. This conflict can be seen in studies of resistance behaviours which revealed that users respond to an authority's power in the form of deviance, for instance, unruly play in void deck, urinating in the lifts of condominiums and invasion of pathways (Gieryn 2000: 476, 479; Hee 2009: 84, 88; Rocio and Gomez 2013: 182-187).

Conversely, the research that supports the argument on class-based conflict over space views this conflict as a result of the contradiction between people from different classes. As mentioned earlier, middle- and lower-class people have different views and use of space. This difference causes the conflict when higher social class groups force lower-class people to use the space as the former prefer. This argument can be found in Low (2005: 112, 117-125) and Ranasinghe's (2011 cited in Bodnar 2015: 2098) research which showed that the middle class's ideal perception of public space

influenced the government decision to remove vendors and gambling and religious activities of working class people from streets and plazas.

It is notable that these research findings can shed light on the understanding of conflicts over public space; however, they did not suggest how to limit or deal with conflicts. Research that investigates data from both authority and user to find a practical way to reduce this problem of conflicts should be undertaken.

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH METHODS

Introduction

My research focuses on the spatial ordering of low-income flat common area use. I use a qualitative research method to study how the Baan Euay-Arthorn common areas are used under the regulation of the design of BEA development, the formal rules and the everyday practices of residents. To do so, the design of common areas, the communications of the BEA rules to direct the use of common areas, the negotiation and the anticipation of those communications of BEA rules, conflicts over use of space as well as the housing authorities' imagination and understanding of common areas use are examined. Then the assumptions about BEA residents' class background are discussed in relation to those common area use regulations and rules. Data are collected by visual and non-visual research methods including building documentation, photographing, interviews, and documentary research.

This chapter begins by introducing the research site, the Baan Euay-Arthorn developments. After that, it illustrates how building documentation and photographing help me investigate the physical arrangement of common areas and 'what really happens' (Emmison & Smith 2007: 110) in the actual situation of common areas use. Then how both research methods (the interview and the document research) enable me to gain the perception and the expectation of housing authorities' staff about activities on BEA common areas is suggested. Afterward, it demonstrates how data is processed and analysed via the concept of front and back regions, the unbounded space and the habitus. Next, it addresses the ethical considerations regarding data collection venues, voluntary participation, and privacy of interviewees and people residing in BEA. Lastly, it discusses how the research finding is constrained by the limited group of interviewees and visual research methods.

Suburbville, Busy-town, and Outskirt-village: the high space sharing and large population BEA research sites

My study selects Baan Euay-Arthorn (BEA) flat development as a research site because BEA development can be considered as the representative site of low-income flats in Thailand. To illustrate, BEA flat residents work in low-income and casual jobs such as factory worker, handyman, driver, sales staff, and government officer (2003a 3.9; PLC1 & PLC3, 2019). Also, the

proportion of low-income people in BEA is higher than other public low-income flats³. Moreover, BEA provides plenty of common areas that allow varieties of activities. Therefore, BEA is a suitable site for observing spatial ordering of common area use. BEA developments in the Bangkok metropolitan⁴ area, the most populated city in Thailand, with a large number of units are chosen for study. Due to a high density of residences and a great volume of space sharing, BEAs in Bangkok give me the opportunities to investigate common area use and conflicts over space. In the research site selection stage, the NHA provided me with a list of possible sites. I then choose three BEA sites based on a large number of buildings, the voluntary agreement of management staff to be interviewed, and practicality for traveling to sites in the short period of my Thailand fieldwork trip. Consequently, three BEA developments are chosen as my research sites and are given the pseudonyms of *Suburbville*, *Busy-town*, and *Outskirt-village*.

Suburbville is selected as the main research site where three research methods were followed. Firstly, modelling and photographing is used for exploring its element of design. Secondly, photographing is also derived for studying the communication of the rules and common area use. Thirdly, interview is employed to examine the management and regulation of common areas. Suburbville is located in the north-eastern region which is the least-populated residential area of Bangkok (the draft of Bangkok city planning 2019) and is on the sub-road of the avenue that connects the northern and eastern suburbs. This development consists of 83 buildings (3,731 units) and accommodates 14,924 residents⁵. The density of residents is around four people per unit, which is a one-bedroom apartment in the size of 33 square metres.

Busy-town and Outskirt-village are subsidiary research sites. Only photography and interviews were conducted at these sites. Photography was only used to gain understanding of the communication of the rules and common area use. The interviews are used for the same purpose as I use them in Suburbville. Busy-town and Outskirt-village are both located in eastern Bangkok. Both sites are on the sub-road of the same avenue that connects north-eastern to south-eastern regions. However, Busy-town is located in the moderately-populated residential region while Outskirt-village is in the less-populated residential region (the draft of Bangkok city planning 2019). The transportation from Busy-town to other areas is more convenient due to the distance

³ Another public income flat is the NHA flat. Many residents living in NHA flats are government officers who have a moderate level of income or an income security (POL1 & MNG4, 2019). Therefore, an NHA flat cannot be fully claimed as a low income flat as BEA.

⁴ There are approximately 100 BEA developments in Bangkok. This number is estimated from the figure of BEAs in Bangkok and their peripheries which were recorded at 128 developments on March 2011 (Department of Policy and Planning, NHA cited in Sakranukit 2011: 3).

⁵ Due to unavailability of the statistical record, I took this figure from the reference document of the Suburbville management which is not regularly updated.

between Busy-town and the avenue being shorter than that of Outskirt-village. Busy-town is a large development with 134 buildings (5,872 units) and approximately 20,000 residents (Busy-town management office 2018: 1)⁶. Outskirt-village is a smaller complex consisting of 126 buildings⁷.

All three BEA sites have open spaces allocated for roads, pathways, courtyards, parking spaces and community centres which are shared by BEA residents. However, those space are managed by private management companies, not NHA, under consultation of BEA resident committees. This form of management is designed by NHA and is applied to BEA across Thailand (Unit for Communities' Policies and Standards n.d.b: i). In order to understand how common areas are regulated, not only the staff of NHA but also the private or associate management companies are invited for giving an interview.

Relationship between visual and non-visual methods

My thesis undertakes qualitative research to explore 'how social experience is created and given meaning' (Denzin & Lincoln 2011: 8). Under qualitative research, the knowledge is generated from diverse subject matters and practices (Denzin & Lincoln 2011: 3, Hesse-Biber 2011: 4). Various subject matters and practices in this research, e.g. the design BEA common areas, the communications of the rules, the BEA authorities' viewpoint, and the residents everyday life practices, are examined by visual and nonvisual research methods. The visual research is used to target what I can see in BEA common areas such as their design, appearance and written communication of rules. The non-visual research methods are used to study the viewpoint of the authorities of BEA, the regulating and using of common areas as well as the non-written communications of the rules.

Visual research is generally conducted in order to understand the social world through a researcher's 'sense of sight'. By this, a researcher examines a social phenomenon by interpreting what they see (Pole 2004: 1). In this study, I observed how BEA common areas looks like and means to residents who use these areas during my BEA visits. At this stage, I created my own visual data material for analysis: BEA building documentation and photographs. The material gathered during the fieldwork is analysed by looking at the spatial arrangements and use of semi-

⁶ The exact statistic of Busy-town population from census is not available. The population figure is roughly calculated by the management from the number of registered residents in the management record and of estimated renters.

⁷ As the collecting of data on number of buildings in the Outskirt-village data was not conducted during my fieldwork in Thailand, the number was then counted based on the pictures derived from the program application 'Google Earth'.

public space and facilities (Yancey 1971: 9-10). By linking the existence and use of BEA common areas, I argue that the models and photographs help me explore the relationships between the designs of common areas and how these areas used by residents; for example, the design of the main stairwells that separate them from residential units signals residents not to use them. Similar to Yancey's finding, the absence of free space between corridors and stairwells of the Pruitt-Igoe public housing building discouraged the neighbours to have social activities in a semi-public space (Yancey 1971: 13,17). Unlike Yancey, however, I was unable to complete interviews with residents during the time of the research, and so have only been able to conduct unobtrusive observation.

For sociological research, not all models and photographs can be used as the materials for data analysis; only the ones relating to the concepts or theories are allowed. As Backer stated (1974, 1998), 'the interpretative power of theory raises image making into a sociological enterprise'. My selection of common spaces to examine is based on three sociological and one architectural concepts: the front and back region, the habitus, and the unbounded space. For this reason, the photo of recyclable waste stored at a common area (figure 2.1) which shows the typical low-income people practice of recycling waste for extra earning (Wilson et al. 2006: 798) are taken. Using common space for waste storing is also related to the 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1990: 58-59) concept which I derive to make explicit the unique way of common area use performed by BEA residents, who have similar class backgrounds.



Figure 2.1 Recyclable waste stored at common area
Photograph taken by the author at the entrance of a Suburbville building, June 2019

Visual methods: modelling

Building documentation of BEA common areas is conducted as a tool for exploring how the space of common areas is arranged by the layout and design of BEA development. In other words, the models record the physicality of common spaces, in terms of location (e.g. at the right side of a building boundary), boundary (e.g. a wall which marks the limit of a personal unit), and spatial characteristic (e.g. depth and height of an entrance hall) (Emmison & Smith 2007: 69, 156; Felstead et al. 2004: 109). By this, modelling is useful for my study because it enables me to collect spatial information more than could ever be taken by interview (Felstead et al. 2004: 109). To create models of the BEA common areas, I worked with an architect research assistant named Atinan Sinsilaket. The modelling process started with choosing the types of model that can match the element of design analysis. With Atinan's advice, I chose two-dimension and three-dimension models. The two-dimension model is suitable for illustrating the floorplan and location of common areas, such as at the right side of a building, while the three-dimension model is better at demonstrating the spatial characteristic and boundary. After that, Atinan and I visited Suburbville for one day. I am responsible for assigning the common areas for modelling. Those areas are the main and sub entrances of a building, the corridors, the main and fire exit stairwells, the common courtyards surrounding corner units and next to normal units, and the nook—the gap between two units. At Suburbville, Atinan recorded the physicality of BEA and the common areas by taking photos and studying the building floor plan and the development outline. Then she made the digital model of BEA development. Finally, the models of each part of the common area are exported from that model and readied to be the material for analysing common area design.

Visual methods: taking photos

Photographs of common areas of BEA are taken as a tool to store information of space when the building documentation technique cannot cover all the details. The information that photographs are able to capture includes the location of residents' belongings and the movable objects within common spaces (e.g. furniture and vehicles) and the appearance of common areas, which is considered as 'too fleeting or complicated to remember' (Harper, 1988: 55). As Felstead et al. stated, photographs provide complementary data because the messages that are difficult to describe in words are well communicated in a photographing method (2004: 109). I utilise photographs in four ways. Firstly, I use them along with the models for analysing elements of design of Suburbville's common areas. Secondly, I examine them to analyse the communication of the rules and the regulations from the management staff. Thirdly, I review them to improve

my understanding of the interview transcripts. Lastly, I retrieve some information and seek some ‘taken-for-granted detail’ of common area use to confirm the relations between residents’ class backgrounds, design of BEA and the housing authorities’ viewpoints.

Non-visual methods: interview

The eight semi-structured interviews were undertaken to explore how the housing authorities set and manage the rules. Interview data is used to gain an insight into the motivation, experience, value, and justifications for action (Tracy 2013: 5, 132-133) of regulating BEA common area performed by the BEA authorities (NHA and the management companies’ employees). Eight employees were interviewed on their imagination and understanding of BEA common areas, or how BEA common areas appearance and BEA residents behavior is supposed to be. Those housing authorities include employees in the policy and management sectors. The first sector is four NHA staff who hold executive positions in the community management segment which I give the code PLC1, PLC2, PLC 3, and PLC4. The second one is four staff from executive and administration positions from two management companies which were coded as MNG1, MNG2, MNG3 and MNG4. This recruitment criterion ensures that data gathered from different management experiences.

Several techniques are used to elicit the interviewees’ responses. First, I asked for permission from the NHA governor via international letter postage (Appendix 10). After the approval, I met the executive staff who was assigned by the NHA governor to refer me to interviewees at his office in Bangkok, Thailand. Next, I selected the potential interviewees from the list which such executive staff provided to me. Then, his secretary and I contacted the interviewees to make an appointment.

The face-to-face interviews were organized in two locations: the first location was for interviewing NHA staff which were interviewed at NHA headquarter and branch offices, and the second location was for NHA staff, and the second location was for interviewing the management offices at three BEA developments for the management company staff. The interviews were conducted from June, 24 to July, 4 2019. The interviewees were asked by using Thai native language. Invitation letters and Participant Information and Consent Forms (PICF) (Appendix 3 and 4) were given to the interviewees for their consideration before commencing the interviews. Besides giving the written document, verbal explanation of information in PICF was clarified since it is an efficient method to create a better understanding and gain trust from the interviewees within Thai contexts. The interviews ranging from 45 to 90 minutes were recorded and transcribed by me.

Non-visual methods: documentary research

Documentary research method is also employed to gain an insight into the imagination and understanding of NHA staff towards BEA common areas. This approach involves an analysis of ‘any written materials that contain documents that contain information about the phenomena we wish to study’ (Bailey 1982: 301). Those materials are ‘public document’ (Mogalakwe 2009: 46) published by Thai government and ‘private documents’ (Mogalakwe 2009: 46) produced by NHA and the management companies. The document obtained from Thai government includes Thailand Condominium Act. The lists of NHA documents are the minutes of NHA committee meetings, the guidelines of BEA management for the NHA staff, and the management companies, which were made available for NHA library visitors. The documents from management companies were handed to me during the interview sessions at the management offices. Those contain the minutes of BEA residents meeting, the body corporate by-law, the rules of BEA and the map of BEA.

These above documents are used in various ways, as can be summarized as follows. Firstly, I research the background of each BEA site, BEA management system from the minutes of NHA committee’ and BEA residents’ meetings, the guidelines of BEA management, as well as the BEA map. Secondly, I examine the Thailand Condominium Act, the guidelines of BEA management, the body corporate by-law, and the rules of BEA in order to analyse how imagination and understanding of BEA authorities are generated. Finally, I synthesize all documents to develop my understanding of the interview transcriptions and to help me interpret the photographs and the models accurately.

Data analysis

In this thesis, the spatial ordering of BEA common area use means how common area is used under the formal regulation and residents’ everyday practices. This spatial ordering of BEA common area use is analysed with one architectural and three sociological concepts. The architectural concept is ‘unbound space’ (Noparatnaraporn and King 2007: 77). The sociological concepts are ‘habitus’ (Bourdieu 1990: 58-59), ‘front region’ and ‘back region’ (Goffman 1956: 14, 66, 69, 75).

To answer the first research question ‘What elements of design of BEA common areas currently signal to users how to conduct their activities in these areas?’, I examine the design of Suburbville recorded in the models and photographs. For second research question, that is, ‘What forms of communication are currently placed in BEA common areas to direct users on how to

conduct activities in these areas, and what conflicts over the uses of common areas are anticipated and negotiated in these forms of communication?’ are investigated by analysing the photographs and the interview transcriptions. In addition, photographs are useful materials for investigating the design and use of BEA common since they reserve permanent visual data that I can revisit at any stage of data analysis (Felstead et al. 2004: 107). The concepts of the front and back regions and the unbounded space was employed for both research questions.

In terms of analysing, the transcriptions of interviews are conducted to answer the third and fourth research questions. Focusing on BEA authorities' viewpoint, the third and the fourth research questions involve how these spaces and residents' activities are imagined by the NHA and the management companies staff and how these spaces and residents' activities are currently understood to be regulated by the NHA and its staff. My analytical framework concerns the concept of the back and front regions and the unbounded space. The understanding of the imagination of common area use by BEA authorities is developed through the concept of front region, which focuses on the tidiness and orderliness appearance of space. Those of BEA authorities understanding are investigated according to the concepts of the back region and unbounded space, which emphasizes how space is used in disarranged and uncontrolled ways.

The visual and non-visual data are analysed together to answer the fifth research question ‘What assumptions about residents' class background emerge in design, communication and imagination, and understanding of BEA authorities?’. I use the concept of habitus to explore residents' social class background, especially in their previous living environment, and understanding of their residents' activities in common areas by authorities. This concept enables me to discover the confrontation between middle-class value, embedded in BEA design and authorities' imagination, and low-income resident practices in common areas. In addition, the notion of ‘habitus transformation’ (Lehmann 2013: 1) is derived to examine the communication of BEA rules which based on middle-class value to BEA residents who have lower-class residential habitus as well as the conflict between authorities and residents due to that transformation process.

Ethical considerations

Ethics approval for this study was granted by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee on 24 April 2019. The methods chosen for this study involves building documentation, photographing and interview. These treatments of research material gathered via these methods uphold the research ethics principles and values of respect and beneficence (National Health and Medical Research Council 2007: 16, 28-30) by ensuring that the identities

of interview participants are kept confidential by de-identifying their responses to interview questions. Additionally, to prevent potential harm from housing authorities to any BEA residents who may not comply to the BEA rules, site studies of common areas were only conducted in publicly accessible areas and no identities were recorded of any users of these areas. For this reason, no resident appears in any of the photographs used in this study. During fieldwork, my research assistant and I restricted our documentation to photographs of details of the areas and the physical placement of objects in the spaces only.

Voluntary participation and privacy of interviewees are important considerations for the interview process. Refusing to give an interview can be done without giving any reason. However, in Thai culture, refusing to participate is not a common practice. One of the potential interviewees, who was contacted by the secretary, indicated her refusal to interview by giving me a non-working contact number and ignoring my efforts to contact her. I accepted the indirect refusal and stopped approaching her. Regarding the privacy of interviewees, all of them will be de-identified in their responses. Names and job titles of interviewees were not revealed. In addition, an audio-recording could be made with the permission of interviewees. One of eight interviewees understood that possibility and did not allow me to record her interview.

Minimising the risks and maximising the benefits of the interviewees are of considerable concern in this research. The interviewees are advised to contact the Thai local contact person, the Master of Research (MRes) Supervisor, and the Director of Research Ethics and Integrity for any issues regarding participation in the interview. Furthermore, a copy of the interview transcription will be provided to all interviewees upon request. Also, they will be invited to request a copy of the executive summary of the examined thesis, or a copy of the examined thesis (See Appendix 3 and 4). The research result will be potentially beneficial to both NHA and the management companies' staff for developing more efficient and adjusting the rules and regulations for managing BEA development.

Limitation of the research methods

Overseas data collection under a short time frame of the MRes thesis limited the range of interviewees who were able to be included. To ensure the availability of interviewees during a data collection trip, prior contact with the key persons who will introduce the interviewees must be made before I travel to Thailand. However, I cannot make prior contact when I am at Sydney since BEA residents can be approached only when I meet them during my BEA visit. This difficulty posed a risk to the data collection in the short two-week period available to me. Therefore, I decided to interview housing authorities with whom I could make prior contact, instead of BEA

residents. As a result, the findings on the regulation and management of BEA common areas are based on the housing authorities' interviews and photographs of common areas. In the next study, the regulation and management of BEA common areas from the BEA residents' interviews deserve further examination.

Analysing the models and photographs may not reveal the data that is necessary for my comprehensive analysis of common area use because 'the [visual data] material does not tell much about the population that uses it' (Emmison & Smith 2007: 149). In my research, the recycling waste abandoned at the fire exit entrance of a BEA building does not tell me about the residents who left the waste. Therefore, I am not able to conclude that residents living in the nearest unit tend to occupy this part of the common area. However, my research finds a relationship between the free space designed for occasional use and the belongings stored in this space. More research on the reason for using the free and occasionally used space to store belongings needs to be done.

Conclusion

The use of BEA common areas is studied by qualitative research to illuminate the understanding of its spatial ordering. Three BEA developments in Bangkok are selected for examination with visual and non-visual research. My study employs building documentation, photographing, interview and document research. Data is analysed with the concept of unbounded space, the front and back regions, and the habitus to address research questions one to five. The ethical considerations regarding modelling and photography and conducting the interview with the housing authorities are reviewed. Lastly, the limitations of a limited range of interviewees and the characteristics of visual data are illustrated. This chapter suggests that various research methods are helpful for my sociological research on using and regulating BEA common areas. The next chapter will utilise visual and non-visual research to explore the design of BEA common areas, communication of rules, and conflict over these spaces.

CHAPTER THREE

BEA COMMON AREA DESIGN AND COMMUNICATION OF BEA RULES: ANALYSIS OF CONFLICTS BETWEEN BEA AUTHORITIES AND RESIDENTS

Introduction

Baan Euay-Arthorn (BEA) development spaces consist of residents' personal units and common areas. Based on the study of Tulin (1978: 2), I consider the BEA units as personal areas and the whole BEA development space except the interiors of dwelling units as a common area. The dwelling units are located on the first to the fifth levels of the BEA buildings. In this study, a BEA common area is posited as a semi-public space, which Yancey (1971: 9-10) called the common areas of apartment buildings in the U.S.A. since the apartment buildings were limited to access and use by residents, not the public. Similar to a BEA flat, BEA common areas are located in a closed housing complex (the Suburbville management n.d.: 3); White (1996: 45-46) called this type of space 'privately-owned and executive private access' public space. As a semi-public space, only BEA authorities and residents are involved in common area use. Therefore, BEA common areas are a space of negotiation between the rules enforced by authorities and residents' practices. This chapter focuses on the design of BEA common areas and communication of the BEA rules, which underline the BEA authorities' values, and the residents' responses toward those frameworks.

This chapter parts begins by establishing two key dimensions of common area use, the implementation of laws and the influence of everyday life practices. After that, I move to discuss the elements of design of BEA common areas that signal to residents how to conduct their activities in these areas. The of a common area that are heavily used by residents are analysed as they provide me plenty of pieces of evidence of common area use. In the last section, I examine three forms of communication of the BEA common area use rules and their consequences. To examine the consequences, negotiation and anticipation of those communications and conflicts over common area use that underline the conflicts between the BEA authorities and residents are suggested. The analytical frameworks based on the concepts of front and back regions and unbounded space is used throughout this chapter.

BEA common area under the BEA authorities' legal frameworks and residents' practices

A building composed of residential units for sale in Thailand is called a condominium. The NHA claims that a BEA flat is a condominium. Therefore, the Thailand Condominium Act, which was enacted in 1979, is derived to guide the NHA in terms of designing the BEA spaces and regulating these spaces (PLC2; MNG4, 2019). In the Condominium Act, common area is 'part of the building that is not the unit, such as land on which the building is constructed, or other properties provide[d] for common use' (Aoumpuang 2009: 2). Under this Act, the 'legalities of land ownership' (Noparatnaraporn and King 2007: 59) principle also applies to BEA common areas. In other words, residents buy only land and the structure of units, they are not allowed to use common areas for their belongings and domestic activities. As such, the NHA prevents BEA residents to use common areas for personal purpose as the NHA specify in the guidelines of BEA management for the management companies which specifically state that 'the management companies must ensure that residence belongings are not placed at common area' (n.d.b.: 4). Consequently, the BEA management companies issue the BEA rules that assist them to accomplish the responsibility assigned from the NHA. Those BEA rules prohibit residents to use common areas for placing any equipment, instrument, construction material, unused objects, and shoes at common areas, attaching any advertising materials on walls and balconies of common areas as well as drying any objects at common areas (the Suburbville management n.d.: 4-5).

The legal frameworks are also reflected in the BEA building floor plan which is designed by the NHA (Figure 3.1). In this floor plan, the NHA clearly assigned boundaries between common area and personal unit. A BEA development space is divided according to a binary definition of space, common and personal. This division is similar to the 'rigid spatial environment' (Hee 2009: 87) in Singapore's public housing space where the use of areas of the housing complex, such as footpaths, is authorised by the state. The binary nature of common and personal space illustrated its contrary by white and blue space which also relates to the opposition of public and private space.

Blomley (2007 cited in Brighenti 2010: 120) suggested that 'private property enacted through a variety of material process of enclosure'. In the BEA building context, boundaries of walls and surrounding spaces help separate a private unit from other public areas. The space of units is separated from common areas in the floor plan by two clues. First, the thick black lines of concrete walls, doors and windows. Second, the public space of corridors and outdoor spaces

coloured in white and the blue-coloured private spaces for a unit. This sign of division is based on the title deed system (Aoumpuang 2009:2) which the NHA use to regulate BEA spaces.

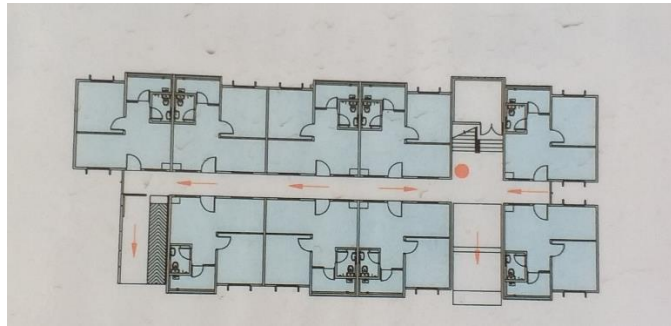


Figure 3.1 Floor plan of a BEA building which separates units and common areas with line and colour clues
Photograph taken by the author at the entrance of a Suburbville building, June 2019

A distinct division of space and legal frameworks allows the NHA and the management companies to view common areas as public space and control these spaces with several prohibitions, as evidenced in the guidelines of BEA management for the management companies as I discussed earlier. Regulation of common areas with these legal and BEA authorities' frameworks is consistent with the concept of 'the front region' and 'the back region' (Goffman 1956: 75). The notion of 'front' and 'back' is a metaphor in Goffman's work (1956: 66, 69); he theorized these notions from the model of 'presentation of self' and did not actually apply them to material space. However, he explained 'the front region' and 'the back region' in his study of middle-class housing where different expectations of residents' and guests' manners are applied to a house's parts (1956: 75). He suggested that 'the front tends to be relatively well decorated, well repaired and tidy'. Conversely, 'the back region' represents a region not attractive to the eye and allows users to perform activities that are inappropriate to conduct in the front region (Goffman 1956: 75).

In my study of BEA, prohibiting the use of public common space for personal objects and domestic activities is the NHA and management companies' measure to keep the front region appearance for these areas. Moreover, I view the BEA rules infraction by doing inappropriate activities, e.g. drying laundry in the corridor and parking at the main entrance, as the way residents give the back-region appearance to BEA common areas.

Besides the back region, another concept which I employ to analyse the models, photographs of BEA common areas, and BEA authorities' interview transcriptions is 'unbounded'

space (Nopparatnaraporn and King 2007: 77). Unbounded is defined as ‘uncontrolled, disordered’ physicality of space because ‘any activity might go anywhere, there is no zoning in the Western sense’ (Nopparatnaraporn and King 2007: 77). Moreover, unbounded space is commonly found in the village life of Thai people, where Thai villagers extend their everyday life activities beyond the boundaries of their houses (Nopparatnaraporn 2004: 208). In BEA, domestic activities, such as drying kitchen utensils and dishes, can go beyond the private unit zone to the public common area. BEA flat development can be seen as a villager society where residents enjoy extending their belongings and activities beyond unit boundaries.

In the next section, the front and back regions and unbounded space will be derived to examine how legal frameworks are used to regulate BEA resident activities on common areas via the design of each part of these areas.

Signalling from authorities and response from residents’ practices in the design of the BEA common areas

Using common areas as unbounded space and a back region does not exist in all parts of BEA common areas. Each part of a common area is unlike in designs that have different potential to attract residents’ personal activities and belongings, or to signal common area use as an unbounded space and a back region. This section explores the elements of design of BEA common areas that indicate to residents how to conduct their activities in these areas. The models and the photographs of common areas which recorded the element of design of each part of BEA common areas are analysed with the concepts of unbounded space and front and back regions. The parts of BEA common areas often used by residents are selected because they provide extensive pieces of evidence of common area use. Those parts are the building entrances, the corridors, the stairwells, the common courtyards and the nooks (the gap between two units).

An analysis of the BEA building entrance design

Each BEA building has two entrances. The main entrance is located on the right side of the building. The sub entrance is a fire exit entrance located at the left end of the building. Different locations and physicality of the entrance signal dissimilar ways of use, for instance, the kinds of objects that should be placed (Figure 3.2).

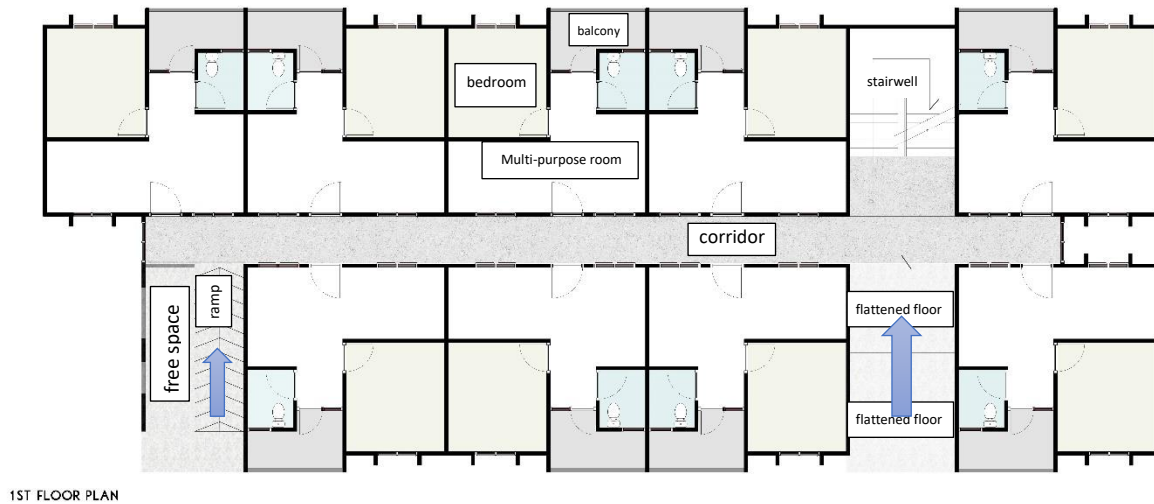


Figure 3.2 Components and space of flat building (level one).
Modelled by Atinan Sinsilaket (the research assistant) at a Suburbville building, July 2019.

The main entrance is a hall with two blind walls and is five storeys high (Figure 3.3). It directly leads to a stairwell that connects levels one (ground floor) to five. The different levels of the floor are connected by one and two-step flights of stairs.



Figure 3.3 The models of the main entrance: the general view and lower floor.
Modelled by Atinan Sinsilaket at Suburbville, July 2019

Plenty of empty space at the main entrance encourages residents to use it as unbounded space. Activities that residents normally do in domestic and outdoor areas are arranged in this area. A corridor that is wider than a typical walkway gives room for placing and parking narrow objects such as laundry racks, benches, and two-wheel vehicles. A corridor with a roof located near a unit is a safe place for keeping residents' bicycles and motorcycles. A steel handrail on the top of the staircase serves as bicycle parking so residents use it as a bike rack for locking bicycles. For motorcycle parking, the design of the floor, which does not provide a ramp, hinders the residents from bringing a motorcycle to a higher floor. Some BEA residents found the way to park a motorcycle by placing concrete blocks to bridge different levels of the floor.



**Figure 3.4 An entrance used for placing seats, laundry rack and parking vehicles.
Photograph taken by the author at a Suburbville building, June 2019**



**Figure 3.5 The concrete blocks at an entrance provide the way provide the way
to park motorcycles
Photograph taken by the author at a Suburbville building, July 2019**

Under the stairwell, there is a tiny room and space in front of the water pump room. This hidden space allows residents to store unused objects such as pieces of cloths, construction equipment and crutches.



Figure 3.6 Empty space under stairwell used for storing unused objects
Photograph taken by the author at a Suburbville building, June 2019

With the five-storey height, the BEA main entrance provides vertical space for residents' use. Due to the easily visible location, this space reinforces the residents to attach vinyl posters to advertise their businesses by hanging them from balconies (Figure 3.7). Also, balconies with steel handrails located at this spacious airy space signal to residents to view them as laundry drying racks for large items such as drying linens, towels and blankets. Both posters and laundries create an untidy and disordered appearance to Suburbville buildings, and this use of space changes the front region appearance of the main entrance into the back region.



Figure 3.7 An advertisement poster and laundries are hung from a balcony
Photograph taken by the author at the main entrance of the Suburbville building in June 2019

The sub entrance is approximately two times smaller than the main one. Its space is shallower than that of the main entrance and its height is only one and a half storeys (Figure 3.8).

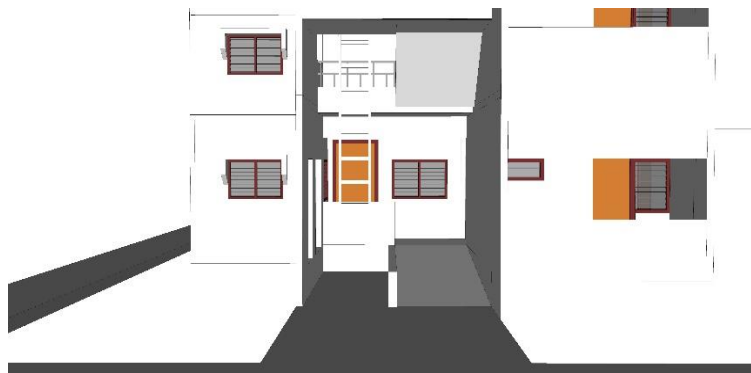


Figure 3.8 The model of the sub entrance, the general view and lower floor
Modelled by Atinan Sinsilaket at Suburbville, July 2019

One side of the sub entrance is free space which leads to a low wall. This free space is made to connect an extendable ladder with the fire exit stairwell at level two for an emergency evacuation. The design of an empty and dead-end space allows residents to perceive it as an

underused area (Figure 3.9). This perception enables residents to break the boundaries of the public entrance and personal unit by placing their belongings and vehicles, such as bicycles and motorcycles, on the sub entrance. Moreover, viewing it as the back region, the main activities done in this area are the extension of domestic activities: storing unprepossessing objects (e.g. recyclable waste, broken electric appliances, and unused flowerpots) and doing household chores (e.g. hanging laundries) (Figure 3.10).



Figure 3.9 The free space of the sub entrance filled with residents' belongings. Photograph taken by the author at Suburbville, June 2019



Figure 3.10 The extended ladder used for drying laundries. Photograph taken by the author at Suburbville, June 2019

The other side of the sub entrance is a ramp with a blind wall and handle on its right side. The end of this entrance is a wall and a window of a corner unit which adjoins a corridor of level one (Figure 3.11). Because this space can be used for entering the building at all times, not only during emergency situations, an extension of domestic activities is rare. Only small objects occupy this area, for example, the carton box insert in the steel handle and the foldable cart leaning against the wall.



Figure 3.11 Appearance of the sub building entrance
Photograph taken by the author
at a Suburbville building, June 2019

Overall, the appearance of the front region of the sub entrance is made by uncontrolled and unordered use of this space. It can be concluded that the design of the main and sub entrances encourage the use of this space as unbounded where the physicality of the front region tends to be replaced by the back region.

An analysis of the BEA corridor design

A corridor is a passageway in front of all BEA units. This common area links nine units at the same level and these units to stairwells. The narrow corridor consists of a concrete floor and wall with openings—door and window—and a wider rectangle area that connects to a stairwell and common balcony (Figure 3.12).

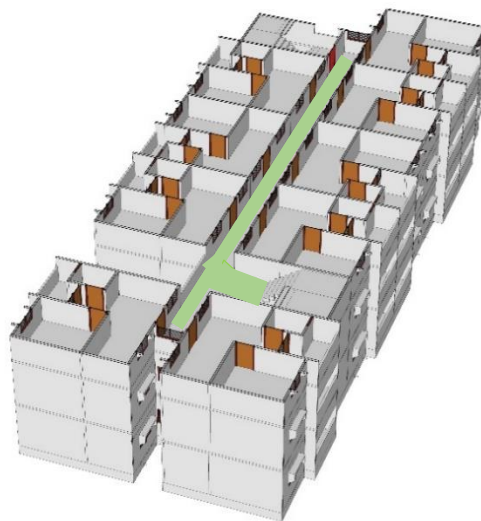


Figure 3.12 The corridor of BEA building. Modelled by Atinan Sinsilaket at Suburbville, June 2019

As a physical barrier, a wall signifies the private and public zoning to residents and prevents them from using the corridor for their belongings and activities. However, not every resident perceives the meaning of private and public spaces from the wall because corridors are located in front of and join units to which residents easily connect themselves by open doors and windows. Residents often extend their activities from their personal unit to corridors. This strikingly illustrates the nature of unbound space where personal belongings and domestic activities can take place in common areas, which are supposed to be shared by all residents (Nopparatnaraporn 2004: 208).

Several designs of corridors signify to residents that they can use them as unbound space. The prominent one is the dead-end area at the beginning and the end of a corridor. This design gives a clue to residents that no one passes this area; therefore, using this space does not block a passageway and does not trouble other residents. As a result, dead-end corridors are often fully occupied for personal activities such as leisure sitting with their own couches, taking care of a toddler with spread-out mat and toys, and placement of a shoe cabinet. Sometimes, a vinyl board is placed to block other residents from entering this area. Notably, residents of shop units extend their selling activities by placing product shelves, an ice container as well as bags of snacks hanging on the windows in the corridor areas. Some residents also claim a corridor area as a private storage space for cleaning equipment and shelves for keeping everyday objects (e.g. calendar and umbrella). These activities and belongings create the appearance of a back region for the dead-end part of the corridor.



Figure 3.13 Taking care of a toddler at a corridor
Photograph taken by the author at Suburbville, June 2019



Figure 3.14 Extending of selling activities beyond the unit compound to a dead-end corridor area

Photograph taken by the author at Suburbville, July 2019

At the middle of the corridor, a passage is used by residents for entering units; therefore, residents use only the areas next to their units' walls. Using them for permanently storing and wearing shoes is the most common activity found in this space. Other activities are drying laundries and placing blooms, dustpans, bins and flowerpots as well as storing recyclable waste and wooden boards.



Figure 3.15 Personal belongings in the middle of a corridor

Photograph taken by the author at Suburbville, June 2019



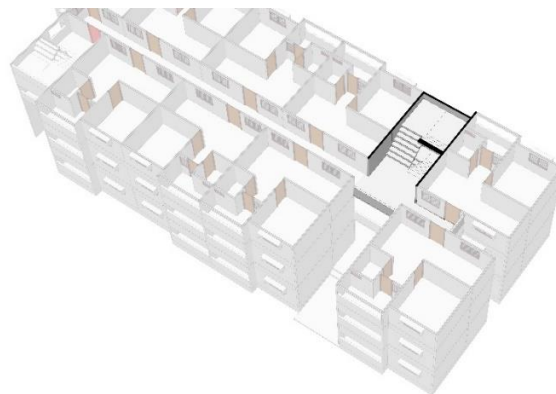
Figure 3.16 The middle of corridor space used for placing laundry racks and shoes

Photograph taken by the author at Suburbville, June 2019

At a level one corridor, bicycles and motorcycles are parked near the window. These activities clutter the corridor space and give the appearance of a back region to the public space that should be used as the front region. The largest area of a corridor located between the stairwell and the balcony is used by every resident to enter their units; therefore, blocking this passageway with domestic activities rarely occurs. Although this corridor retains the appearance of a front region, the back region still sometimes exists due to some temporary use such as barbeque picnic on its floor and drying laundries at balconies. To conclude, the corridors of BEA is mostly used by residents as an unbounded space and back region.

An analysis of the BEA stairwell design

A BEA building has two kinds of stairwells: the main and fire exit stairwells. The main stairwell is located at the back of the main entrance, whereas the fire exit stairwell is above the sub entrance. At the main stairwell, there are two sets of eight-step stairs and one landing in order to connect to each level (Figure 3.17). The walls of the level one stairwell are used to attach mailboxes and advertisements from the management. Blind walls throughout the stairwell do not allow any visible and physical connections between units and the stairwell area. This separation suppresses the residents' feelings of belonging toward the stairwell area. Without an elevator, residents unavoidably use this space to access other levels. The volume of stairwell use shapes residents to view personal use occupancy of stairwell space as an action that blocks many residents' passageway. Furthermore, lacking a flat area in the stairwell area, residents do not prefer placing their belongings and parking vehicles in this area. Despite the main entrance usually being occupied, the stairwell remains empty (Figure 3.18). The main stairwell design discourages unbounded nature of space; therefore, the main stairwell space is congruent with a front region appearance.



**Figure 3.17 The model of the main stairwell of a BEA building
Modelled by Atinan Sinsilaket at Suburbville, 2019**



Figure 3.18 Main entrance is usually occupied whereas the stairwell remains empty
Photograph taken by author at Suburbville, July 2019

The fire exit stairwells are designed for emergency evacuation, not everyday use. Therefore, they are located at the hidden part of a BEA building—at the corner of levels two to five and behind the fire exit doors. The fire stairwells are surrounded with two-hole walls, a blind wall and a wall with a door connecting to corridors (Figure 3.19).

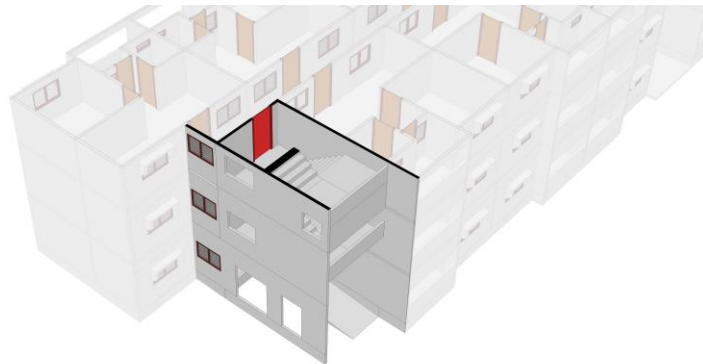


Figure 3.19 The model of a fire exit stairwell. Modelled by Atinan Sinsilaket at Suburbville, July 2019

Due to the hidden location and rare use, this space reinforces residents to view it as underused space and stimulates the extension of domestic activities. As an airy indoor space, this fire exit stairwell provides a perfect place for drying laundries. Importantly, BEA residents occupy this space more and longer than the main stairwells. Numerous laundries and clothes racks

consume most of the stair landing area and clothes and bedding equipment is permanently kept in this area.

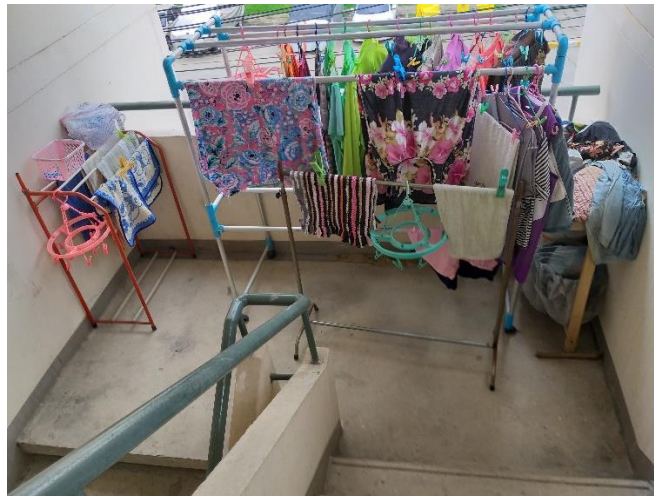


Figure 3.20 Numerous clothes and laundry racks permanently placed on a fire exit stairwell.
Photograph taken by the author at Suburbville, June 2019

An analysis of the BEA common courtyard design

Outdoor areas of Suburbville consist of concrete and courtyard space (Figure 3.21). Courtyard space surrounds the flat buildings, so it is more near personal units than other outdoor areas. To analyse the signal for courtyard use to residents, I divide common courtyards into four types based on their design: C-shaped, L-shaped, and I-shaped common courtyard and common courtyard between buildings.



Figure 3.21 Model of common courtyards which surround the BEA flat buildings.
Modelled by Atinan Sinsilaket, July 2019

Common courtyards located next to the corner units allow for a C-shaped courtyard. Surrounded by the units' walls and corridor that are not shared with other units, C-shaped courtyard gives a sense of privacy that leads to a sense of ownership of these spaces (Figure 3.22).

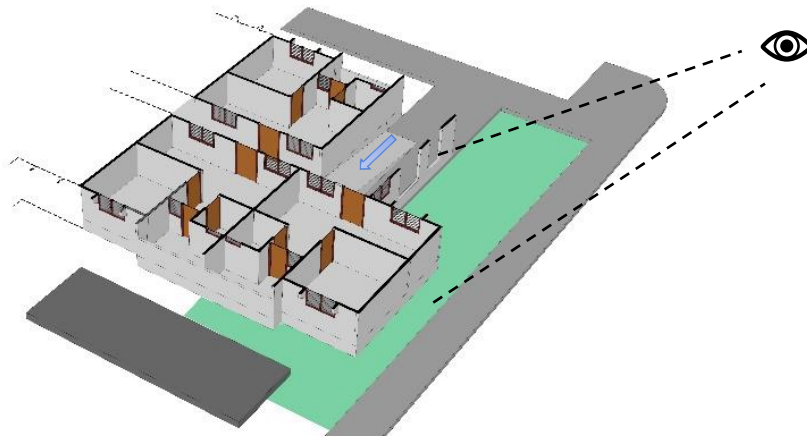


Figure 3.22 Model of a C-type courtyard at the corner unit.
Modelled by Atinan Sinsilaket, July 2019

However, the residents commonly do not occupy the whole area for extending their everyday life activities. They normally use the rectangular areas which are larger than the narrow space at the right side and back of the unit (The eye symbol in Figure 3.22 denotes where the photographs in Figure 3.23 and 3.24 were taken). This space is used as a back region by residents who live in nearby units for storing possessions, washing and drying their laundries (Figure 3.23). Conversely, it can be perceived as the front region because it is located in the front of the building and is easily seen by the community. These perceptions encourage commercial activities such as placing outdoor furniture to provide seats for customers and decorating walls with advertisement banners (Figure 3.24).



Figure 3.23 The C-type courtyard with the appearance of a back region
Photograph taken by the author at Suburbville, June 2019



Figure 3.24 The C-type courtyard with the appearance of a front region
Photograph taken by the author at Suburbville, June 2019

A different type of common courtyard is located at one of the opposite ends of buildings. The design of the building allows two corner units to face each other at the corridor area (Figure 3.25). Therefore, the areas adjoined to L-shaped common courtyards are the back and right side of corner units. The balcony and bedroom walls that connect to the edges of these courtyards stimulate the feeling of ownership of common courtyards of the 'residents who have edge lots' (Tulin 1978: 145). This design also signals to its residents that there is plenty of space that can be used by them as the nearest residents, comparing to the other residents in the same building. Of course, unbounded space occurs at an L-shaped common courtyard.



Figure 3.25 The model of L-type courtyard at the front corner of building
Modelled by Atinan Sinsilaket, July 2019

As unbounded space, residents often use the L-shaped common courtyard as an extension of domestic activities which give the appearance of the front and back regions. Some L-shaped common areas are seen as the front of a building; therefore, residents treat them as the front region. This is evidenced in the well-maintained private garden (Figure 3.26), which coheres to the ‘well-repaired’ appearance termed by Goffman (1956: 13). Viewing it as the back region, residents use the space for everyday life activities that make this L-shaped common courtyard look untidy, such as repairing electric appliances and selling ready-to-order food (Figure 3.27).



Figure 3.36 Well-maintained private garden at an L-shape courtyard. Photograph taken by the author at Suburbville, June 2019



Figure 3.37 Untidy L-type courtyard space used for repairing electronic appliances. Photograph taken by the author at the front of one building of Suburbville, 2019

Additionally, the type of activities and amount of occupied area are related to the barrier between a unit and common courtyard. Wall barriers, which completely divide private resident space from public common courtyard, encourage residents to do activities such as gardening and outdoor work that do not relate to activities within units. This type of use tends to occupy the whole area of an L-shaped backyard. Contrarily, wall and window barriers, which allow some physical and visible connections, encourage activities that connect to objects or people at a common courtyard. For example, using a common courtyard as an order counter and the dishwashing area of a food shop unit, drying utensils, and parking a motorcycle near bedroom windows. Interestingly, when residents use the L-shaped backyard to support activities in units, the areas that do not connect to the unit become useless. Therefore, the areas of an L-shaped common courtyard which adjoins a blind wall are not heavily utilised.



Figure 3.28 The dishwashing area of a food shop unit located at the window of unit balconies.
Photograph taken by the author at the front of one building of Suburbville, 2019



Figure 3.29 The space of a courtyard is used to park a motorcycle next to a bedroom window.
Photograph taken by the author at the front of one building of Suburbville, 2019

Another type of common courtyard is I-shaped which provides a smaller area than earlier-discussed types of courtyard. The I-shaped courtyards are parallel to the backsides of units. This area is separated from a personal unit space by a wall with two large windows, as illustrated in Figure 3.30.



Figure 3.30 The model of an I-type courtyard at the back of units
Modelled by Atinan Sinsilaket, July 2019

The walls with huge windows allow residents to see the whole area of the I-shaped courtyard. As a result, occupying the whole area of a courtyard sounds reasonable to them. Residents tend to use the whole I-shaped courtyard as unbounded space. Furthermore, the design of the I-shaped courtyard signals residents to view common areas like the rear and the front of the house. In Thai society, these parts are usually modified to serve residential needs such as cooking and leisure sitting (Natakun & O'Brien 2009: 55, 61). For this reason, BEA residents modify I-shaped courtyards more extensively than other common areas. The typically modifications are installing roofs, fencing a garden, and paving common backyards with concrete, brick, and gravel, all of which can be seen as 'uncontrolled' (Noparatnaraporn & King 2007: 77) space.



Figure 3.31 Fencing the I-shaped common area
Photograph taken by the author at the back of a Suburbville building, June 2019

Perceiving I-shaped common areas like the rear or the front of a house leads to different use of common areas. As the rear of the house, which can be considered as the 'back' region (Goffman 1956: 75) (Figure 3.32), BEA residents use the space in a disordered way and for domestic activities such as washing and storing recyclable waste, laundry drying, and backyard gardening. This is in contrast to when residents view this area as the front of the house, and then they tend to tidy up and decorate this space, which is consistent with the concept of the 'front' region (Goffman 1956: 75). This front region is used for commercial (e.g. decorate the dining area with plant and garden props) (Figure 3.33) and residential (outdoor living room) purposes.



Figure 3.32 Using a common area as the rear of a house
Photograph taken by the author at Suburbville, July 2019



Figure 3.33 Using a common area as the front of a house
Photograph taken by the author at Suburbville, July 2019

The last type of common courtyard area is the common courtyards between buildings. Compared to the earlier types of common area, they are more spacious and have a longer distance from the units. The surfaces of this outdoor space are grass and concrete, which is the cover of underground tap water tanks (Figure 3.34).

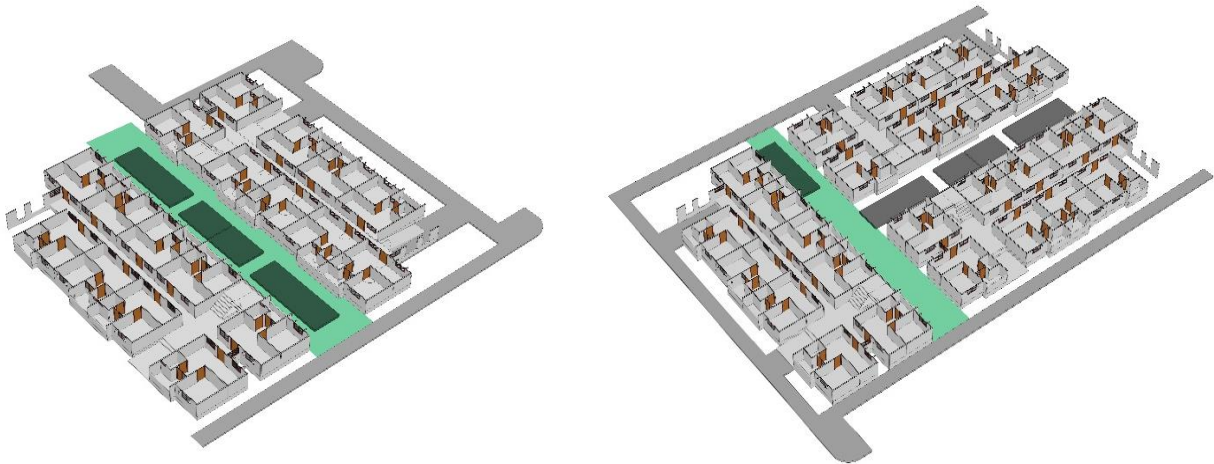


Figure 3.34 The model of common courtyards between buildings
Modelled by Atinan Sinsilaket, July 2019

An open and spacious area encourages BEA residents to extend their personal activities into this public common area or to make it unbounded. Locating it behind the buildings encourages residents to use it as a back region often. The activities which Thai people normally do at the rear of houses, e.g. laundry, exist in this area. Outdoor spaces that are directly exposed to sunlight signals BEA residents to dry their laundries on racks placed on grass and concrete surfaces as well as hung on sticks and ropes connected to electricity posts (Figure 3.35). A hidden space also encourages residents to store broken furniture and miscellaneous equipment (e.g. ladder, bowl, unused door, and scaffold) (Figure 3.36).



Figure 3.35 Drying their laundries at the common courtyard between buildings. Photograph taken by the author at Suburbville, July 2019.



Figure 3.36 Storing faulty furniture and untidy equipment at the common courtyard between buildings. Photograph taken by the author at Suburbville, July 2019.

Unlike a common courtyard in front of a building, these areas are used as a back garden. Trees and shrubs are mainly grown for shade and food, not decoration. Therefore, gardens that are neglected and growing wild are commonly found in grassy areas (Figure 3.37). A slightly higher flattened concrete surfaces give a suitable place for parking and storing usable and discarded vendor carts, especially in rainy weather (Figure 3.38).



Figure 3.37 Functional and neglected garden at a common backyard between buildings
Photograph taken by the Author at Suburbville, July 2019



Figure 3.38 Parking old vendor carts at the common courtyard between buildings
Photograph taken by Atinan Sinsilaket at Suburbville, July 2019

An analysis of the BEA nook design

The nook is located at the outside right end of a BEA building. It is a small space with a roof between two corner units that are five stories high. The nook is surrounded by three walls. A wall with large windows divides the nook from the corridor of a ground floor. Two walls with windows and eaves separate the living rooms of corner units from the nook area.

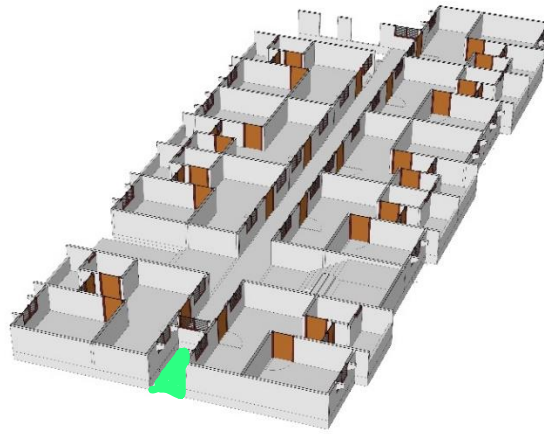


Figure 3.39 The model of a nook location. Modelled by Atinan Sinsilaket, July 2019

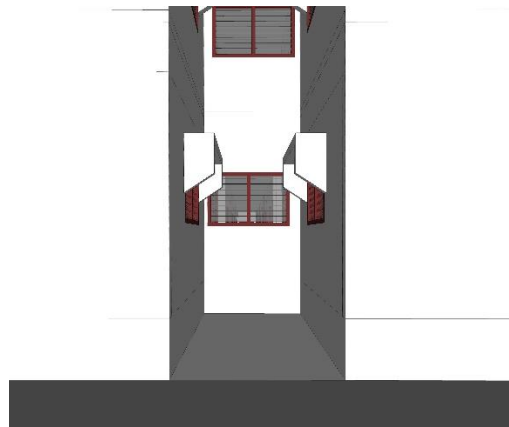


Figure 3.40 The model of nook physicality. Modelled by Atinan Sinsilaket, July 2019

The small rectangular space of a nook cannot provide room for human activities, such as gathering and laundering. Residents perceive that communication of design and use the space only for keeping objects. The use of the nooks for storage space is served by the roofs that create a semi-indoor and rain-protected space. The objects stored at the nook, unused furniture and stuff (e.g. umbrella, table, wooden sheet, and bags of recycling waste), illustrate how people use it as a back region. These objects include the clay stove that is not suitable and is dangerous to keep in the unit (Figure 3.41). Interestingly, the windows can signal the arrangement of objects in the nook. Residents avoid leaning their objects on the windows which allow visibility from residents living in ground-floor units and walking in the corridors. Therefore, a person observing this space from the corridor may not notice those objects (Figure 3.42).



Figure 3.41 Unused furniture and stuff kept at the nook.
Photograph taken by Atinan Sinsilaket at Suburbville, July 2019



Figure 3.42 Belongings never lean on windows.
Photograph taken by Author at Suburbville, July 2019

The forms of communication and the conflicts over the common areas use

Beside the NHA's communication via the design of the BEA complex, advice of the common area use rules by the BEA management is another communication sent to residents. The management normally manage that communication to control residents' activities in common areas in three forms: written, oral, and non-verbal communication. Residents respond to those communications by anticipating and negotiating them. This part investigates the type of BEA authorities' communication and the responses from residents toward each communication type as well as examines conflicts between BEA authorities and residents, which are reflected via tension over common area use.

The written communication and conflicts over common area use

Written communication is generally placed at BEA common areas in the forms of vinyl posters and notice papers attached to the buildings' walls. A huge poster in front of the management offices is the common form of formal communication used by Suburbville, Busytown, and Outskirt-village managements. It announces all rules, approximately 12 items, of BEA developments (Figure 3.43 and translation in Appendix 11). Some BEA management add this poster to the main entrance areas. The rules regarding common areas can be considered as the dominant perception of the public and private spaces, and the front and back region in an absolute

and binary way. Viewing BEA common areas as an absolute public space, in contrast to private space, is evident in these rules: do not place belongings and instruments in common areas, do not extend laundry racks out of unit balconies and place them at common areas, and do not attach posters and advertisement materials at the exterior of units. Similarly, the management perception of common areas is consistent with the front region with restrictions on order, tidiness, and clean space. This perception is represented in the rules which prohibit these following activities: petting any animals in buildings and messing up the corridors and common balconies, e.g. sprinkling water, throwing garbage and sweeping dust.



Figure 3.43 The general BEA rules posters
Photograph taken by the author opposite the BEA management office, July 2019

Besides the general rules posters, small vinyl posters and notice papers notify one rule at a time. With regard to my observation, a couple of posters give notice with a due date to residents who act against the BEA rules. For instance, a notice paper (Figure 3.44) which notifies residents with the following post: ‘Please do not place your belongings at common area. Please remove them within three days of announcement day. The announcement day is 12 May 2018. Otherwise, the management will demolish them. Thank you for your cooperation’. Similar to general rule posters, announcing that rule and the warning about removing residents’ belongings expressed how the front region expectations applied to BEA common areas.



Figure 3.44 Formal pieces of notice paper warn the residents to remove their belongings from the entrance of the building
Photograph taken by the author at Suburbville, June 2019

Some written communication leads to conflicts among residents and between residents and the management. The conflicts arise when residents anticipating the rules force their neighbours to comply with those rules via informal announcement posters made by themselves. For instance, the anti-dog droppings notice paper at the corridor of the upper level (Figure 3.45) criticising the dog owner neighbour with the typed notice ‘No dog droppings at common areas’ and the handwritten note ‘I feel for dog lovers, but I cannot stand for dog poos’, and the announcement papers at the building’s main entrance with the gentle and positive words that express annoyance at messiness in common areas, ‘Your kind help in keeping our building clean is appreciated’.



Figure 3.45 The anti-dog poo notice poster made by residents
Photograph taken by the author at Suburbville, July 2019

The conflict with the management is clearly seen in the way residents negotiate with those written communications. Regarding warnings about misplacing belongings, the notice paper upset the residents and the management was scolded by them (MNG2, 2019). However, not all of the written communication leads to overt conflicts. In many cases, the residents ignore the rules advertised in the posters and the notice papers and do the prohibited practices anyway, for instance, drying their laundries (MNG2, 2019) and attaching a poster advertising massage service at a common balcony. Residents ignoring the rules sometimes defy the communication of the management by doing those activities where the notices are posted, such as parking motorcycles in front of the ‘no parking in the building’ sign (Figure 3.46) (MNG1, 2019).



Figure 3.46 Parking motorcycles in front of the sign ‘no parking in the building’
 Photograph taken by the author at Busy-town, 2019

The oral communication and the conflicts over the common areas use

Oral communication to direct residents’ activities at common areas is another type of communication used by all BEA management. The management normally talks to their residents when the user of a common area is a serious offender and other residents complain about their behaviour. As stated by MNG3 (2019), she asked a resident not to sell food on the BEA footpath and a resident of a corner unit not to do her private garden in the common courtyard. In the case of MNG1 (2019), he verbally warned a resident not to do construction work on the common courtyard between buildings. Also, MNG4 (2019), who intended to restrict tree-growing on

common courtyards, asked the residents to register their trees to show the responsibilities related to the damaging of underground pipes and harming of animals living in those trees.

The conflicts caused by the negotiations related to oral communication are often provocative and likely to be more violent than the ones related to written communication. The violent consequences are the feelings of hate toward MNG3 who bans their vendor activities and the great irritation towards MNG4 who controls their planting. As verbal communication is a face-to-face interaction that potentially leads to a prompt response, a dispute between the management and a resident is sometimes unavoidable. MNG3 related the fierce response from the resident after the private gardening notice: ‘Why I can’t do that? Growing vegetables is better than leaving lots empty. The soil won’t get dry’. Moreover, in this private garden case, the strong negotiation by insisting on using a common courtyard to grow one’s own plants also transfer to her neighbours, which is evidenced in two of her informal notice papers aimed toward the residents who took lemons from her garden (Figure 3.47). Briefly, those hostile and rude words are ‘Don’t be a thief!! Lemons grown in my garden are gone. Damn thief! You and your family will be poor and starve’.



**Figure 3.47 The informal notice paper to a lemon thief attached at the private garden fence
Photograph taken by the author at a Suburbville common courtyard, July 2019**

The nonverbal communication and the conflict over the common areas use

The last type of communication that BEA management uses to direct the residents on how to conduct their activities in common areas is nonverbal communication. In this study, nonverbal communication refers to an action aimed to stop the use of common areas that do not comply with the rules. It is noted that most of those uses of common areas are unbounded nature of space or using BEA common areas for personal activities and belongings. However, the management does not use nonverbal communication to all practices of unbounded space. This type of communication is used for the practices of unbounded space that the management views as life-threatening and harmful to residents' health and common property damage. Also, nonverbal communication is normally made after verbal communication cannot stop unbounded use of space. One good example of a serious unbounded use of space related by MNG3 (2019) is keeping an unused and stained mattress at the fire exit stairwells and bees using it to construct beehives. Another example is demonstrated by MNG2 whose supervisor asked her to chop down the trees which residents grew near underground water pipes and building walls.

The consequence of nonverbal communication is a hostile response from BEA residents and a serious conflict between the management and residents. In the case of the mattress, an antagonistic feeling among neighbours arose. Also, verbal arguing, including yelling, between the mattress owner and the management occurred (MNG3, 2019). Similarly, felling unauthorised trees in all BEA complex areas triggered a protest. In the middle of the tree chopping, up to 100 BEA residents approached the management office to protest while yelling abuse and sticking papers with rude messages on the office's properties. Moreover, the protesters carried some pieces of the chopped trees to her supervisor's office which was located outside the BEA (MNG2, 2019).

To conclude, the design of BEA common areas is based on NHA values, which are dominated by the Thailand Condominium Act. This legal framework leads to a clear division of common area and personal unit, or the front and back regions, in the physicality of BEA development. For residents, elements of the BEA design signal them to use common areas differently from the NHA intentions. Therefore, many elements of common area design serve their domestic activities. Additionally, Communication of rules by the BEA managements also bases on legal framework and NHA value. Residents anticipate and negotiate this communication which is conducted in written, oral and non-verbal forms. Anticipation of communication leads to conflict among residents whereas negotiation related to it results in conflict between the management and residents. Both conflicts are reflected via clashes over common area uses.

CHAPTER FOUR

BEA AUTHORITIES' IMAGINATION AND UNDERSTANDING OF BEA COMMON AREA USE

Introduction

BEA is managed by the NHA and the BEA management companies who give precedence to legal frameworks. Consequently, common areas of BEA developments are the space of negotiation between the BEA authorities and residents' everyday practices. Negotiation from authorities is explored via the design of BEA common areas and the communication of the rules in Chapter 3. This chapter further examines those negotiations from the authorities' side by analysing the perception of BEA authorities on common area use in terms of appearance of common areas and residents' activities. The concepts of 'the front and the back regions' and 'unbounded' space are employed to investigate the interview transcriptions of eight BEA housing authorities who formulate the policies for BEA management and adopt those policies to manage BEA.

This chapter starts with analysing the management of BEA flat development with operations by several parties. Afterwards, I utilise the concepts of the front region to analyse BEA legal documents. In the last section, I investigate the imagination and the understanding of BEA housing authorities on common area use with the back and front regions (Goffman, 1956: 75) and the unbounded space (Nopparatnaraporn and King 2007: 77). Imagination and understanding on BEA common areas' appearance and residents' activities in these areas are examined. Additionally, the conditions that enable the understanding of the BEA authorities are discussed.

The management of BEA flat development: NHA, management companies and BEA committees

NHA is not only responsible for the construction and sale of the BEA low-priced units but also manages each housing development (NHA committee 2003b: 4.5) which the NHA calls a 'community' (PLC1, 2019). The NHA's management duty is undertaken only at the beginning of the BEA development. Afterwards, NHA transfers this duty to the private companies and the BEA committees. The management of BEA is divided into two schemes, depending on the stage of BEA development.

The first scheme was applied during an integration stage, around 2005 (NHA committee minutes 2005: 16), when the first group of residents moved in. This stage lasted for five years (PLC1, MNG1, 2019). The NHA hired private companies to manage BEA developments and their procedures had to meet NHA-imposed standards in five aspects such as physicality and environment, and

residents' quality of life and cultural values (Unit for Communities' Policies and Standards, n.d.a.: 5, 7, 8).

The second management scheme is used after the BEA housing developments registered as a legal person, or a juristic person, according to the Thailand Condominium Act (MNG1; MNG3, 2019). In the period of juristic person, each BEA has the status of a condominium juristic person and can hire a management company. The income to manage the BEA property and to pay for the management companies' services collected from BEA residents is at 250 Baht per month plus the profit from selling tap water to residents. Although the BEA juristic person can select the management companies which do not have any relationship to the NHA, I found that the management companies of Suburbville, Busy-town, and Outskirt-village have some connection with the NHA such as being run by retired NHA staff and being NHA subsidiary companies (PLC4; MNG1, 2019). Therefore, the NHA management style and policy are adopted to these three BEA developments. In this period, the management companies work with the BEA committees, which are voted in by residents who own BEA units (PLC1; MNG1, 2019). Due to the expertise of the management companies, the companies regularly advise the committee members on how to manage the BEA. This practice is different from the BEA regulations which specify that the management companies work under the advisory of BEA committees (MNG1; MNG3, 2019; body corporate by-laws of Suburbville 2014: 4). In my research, NHA and the BEA management companies who dominate BEA management are chosen to be interviewees and are called BEA authorities.

From the law to the rules of BEA sites: the sources of imagination and understanding

BEA development is registered under the 'Thai Condominium⁸ Act' (B.E.2522-B.E.2551) (Aoumpuang 2009: 1) which applies to all high-rise accommodation developed for selling purpose. NHA undoubtedly adopts the Act in the written documents to manage the BEA (PLC2; MNG1, 2019), named the body corporate by-laws, the NHA guidelines, and the rules.

The body corporate by-laws of BEA development are the legal document made by the management and submitted to the Department of Land (the body corporate by-laws of Suburbville 2014). Each BEA site and BEA juristic person has its own document; however, their content is mostly the same. For example, section 4 of the Act calls a common area as a common property (Aoumpuang 2009: 2). The listed common areas are the free space between buildings, the roads, parking space, common courtyards, and the fire exit stairwells (the body corporate by-laws of Suburbville 2014: 71-72). Also, sections 33 and 36 of the Thailand Condominium Act is brought to formulate the body corporate by-laws of Suburbville section 2 (27) and the 3 (30). Consequently, the BEA management

⁸ In Thai society, a condominium is called 'ar-kan-chut', which means a set of buildings and it is only used for accommodation context. To be more specific, condominium means 'the building that can be separated into units for individual ownership which include personal and common properties'. Therefore, a condominium in Thailand is the same as an apartment in Australia.

has a responsibility for maintaining security and taking care of common properties of development. The responsibilities include administrating the common properties, providing a security system as well as controlling and regulating common area use (Aoumpuang 2009: 28, 32; the body corporate by-laws of Suburbville 2014: 7-8).

The guidelines made by the NHA advice the management on how to control common areas. To help NHA regulate the BEA common areas under its policy, the NHA, via Unit for Communities' Policies and Standards, made regulations which were more specific to the BEA context and wrote them in the guideline for the management companies. At this stage, the imagination of NHA on common area use is passed to the management companies. In the guideline, the management responsibilities are maintaining the cleanliness of common areas, decorating common courtyards, trimming trees, monitoring and preventing common area invasion, e.g. placing belongings in corridors, and prohibiting motorcycle parking in the building entrance. Also, the NHA requires the management companies to make the common areas tidy and clean (Unit for Communities' Policies and Standards, n.d.b.: 4). The NHA requirement matches Goffman's notion of the front region, which is defined as '...part of the individual's performance which regularly functions in a general and fixed fashion to define the situation for those who observe the performance' (Goffman 1956: 13). The BEA common area is seen as the front region where residents perform under the expectation of the housing authorities (NHA and the management companies). Of course, resident performances are observed by the management staff due to the responsibilities that management has committed to the NHA.

The BEA rules are the document for directing residents on what activities are allowed and prohibited at a BEA development. Each BEA uses its own rules written by their management companies. These rules are advertised at the management office. Some management also advertise these rules at the entrance of a building and distribute them at the resident meetings. Although Suburbville, Busy-town and Outskirt-village use different rules, the number and content of rules are similar. For example, all of them prohibit any structural addition on building exteriors and placing anything in the common areas. The similarity is because they are applied from the same Condominium Act and NHA guideline (MNG1; MNG4, 2019). These rules stand on the old version made by the NHA during an integration management period (MNG2; MNG4, 2019).

The rules can be adjusted by the opinion of management and the BEA resident meeting. For example, the prohibition of pets is emphasized when the management notice the increasing number of pets in Suburbville (MNG2, 2019). Interestingly, the comparison of the Suburbville old and current version of rules shows that the impractical rule of 'the unit shall not be used for commercial activities, for instance, shop and salon' is removed. This disappearance is coherent with the management statement that the current committee member, who ideally conforms to the BEA rules,

runs the gaming shop in her unit and residents enjoy the convenience of having minimart shops in the buildings (MNG2, 2019).

It is noted that the rules applied in BEA management are mainly developed from the formal written document under the bureaucratic system. The regulation and guidance are drawn from the Condominium Act and the working procedure of the NHA and the management companies' staff. The process of the BEA rulemaking can be seen as a top-down approach due to the exclusion of BEA residents' viewpoints. This approach is the fundamental principle for regulating BEA common areas used by the NHA and the management companies' employees (PLC2; MNG1, 2019). The imagination and understanding of BEA common areas and residents that are unavoidably influenced by the top-down perspective will be examined in the next section.

BEA authorities' imagination on the BEA common areas and residents

Imagination of space, or meaning given to space (Thurnell-Read 2012: 809), has been widely studied by sociologists and anthropologists (Hee 2017: 10; Street & Coleman 2012: 10). Within the sociology of space perspective, imagination of various 'semi-public' (Thurnell-Read 2012: 807) space is examined. For instance, imagination of tourist bar space is a space of 'fun, playfulness, and release from social constraint', and meaning of hospital space is hope for a better future (Street & Coleman 2012: 10, Thurnell-Read 2012: 816).

BEA flat development is a 'private-own and exclusive private access' (White 1996: 46) public space⁹ where its accessibility and use are restricted to its residents. Therefore, the BEA common area is a semi-public space. Constructed by the state enterprise, the meaning of space involving legal frameworks (Hee 2017: 10) is given to the BEA common area. This section investigates the meaning of BEA common areas given by housing authorities. The imagination of common areas by BEA authorities (employees of NHA and the management companies) is analysed in two aspects: BEA common areas and BEA residents. As such, the imagination of BEA common areas is defined as the expectation of what common areas should be and how residents should behave, although in fact common area use and residents' behavior do not exist or sometimes exist.

BEA authorities' imagination of the BEA common areas

Overall, the NHA and the management companies have the imagination of BEA common areas and its residents in the same line with the written legal documents. In the BEA authorities' view, the Thailand Condominium Act is the 'bible' (PLC2; MNG1, 2019) for dealing with BEA

⁹ In principle, BEA is a closed community which only residents and their visitors are allowed to access. The accessibility is restricted by the security guards and parking access control system at the entrances of a development. In reality, due to a huge number of residents and vehicles, those security measures cannot operate, and I can enter the BEA and park my car without permission from the guards.

management. With this view, a BEA common area is a common property governed by the law, not the space that serves residents' everyday practices. Consequently, the imagination of BEA common areas is in the same direction as section 33 in the Condominium Act (Aoumpuang 2009: 29). The common area is imagined as the property that needs caring and maintenance from the management.

In BEA authorities' imagination, a common area is expected to be an 'orderly' and 'clean' (Unit for Communities' policies and standards n.d.b: 4; PLC2; PLC4: 2019) space. This appearance of purified space is in coherence with the concept of a 'well-decorated' and 'tidy' space which is called the front region (Goffman 1956: 75). The front region appearance of the BEA common areas is expressed in the imagination of the NHA and the management companies' staff. Therefore, the staff imagines that personal belongings and activities should not be placed and arranged in this space. Clearly, large objects that are easily visible, such as washing machines, water dispensers, and chicken coop, are not expected to be placed at corridors and courtyards (MNG1; PLC3, 2019). Also, objects and plants give an untidiness appearance, such as crates, unused mattresses, unused furniture, and messy trees, to the BEA common areas (PLC3; PLC4; MNG4, 2019). Moreover, small objects that serve residents' everyday activities, e.g. shoe shelves, shoe cabinets, and benches, are also not included in authorities' imagination of common areas (PLC4; MNG2, 2019). With this imagination, only outdoor spaces designed for parking—parking space at streets and concrete floors next to building—are expected to be used for car, motorcycle and bicycle parking and common areas in the building or indoor space must be free from any vehicles.



Figure 4.1 Designed parking space at a BEA development street
Photograph taken by the author at Suburbville, 2019



Figure 4.2 Concrete floor adjoined to the building allocated for two-wheel vehicles. Photograph taken by the author at Busy-town, 2019

The clear division between the front and back regions, which allow domestic activities to be arranged at personal units, is the imagination of BEA authorities. The separation between private unit space and public common areas can be seen in the guideline of BEA management for the management companies which uses the word ‘invasion’ for the action of using the common areas for placing belongings (Unit for Communities’ Policies and Standards, n.d.b: 4). The imagination of this separation of regions is shown in the explanation of the balcony designed by NHA employees (2019) that ‘we design the balcony [in a personal unit] to be open-air space, [and] we expect that residents will dry their laundries there’. Additionally, some of the NHA staff believe that the space in the personal unit is adequate and enough to serve the residents’ living. Therefore, using only their personal unit for domestic or personal activities, e.g. placing and wearing shoes, is within the realms of possibility (PLC1, 2019).

The imagination of space that reacts to the front region is shown in the exterior of a BEA building. Physically, the exterior of a BEA building is more visible than its interior; therefore, the imagination of being a front region is greater. This can be seen via the strong attempt of NHA staff and the effort of the management companies to control the objects that extend from the personal units such as satellite dishes and air conditioning condensers (PLC4; MNG2; MNG4, 2019). MNG4 described his action on the satellite dish installation:

Satellite dishes were at the buildings before we came to Outskirt-village.
What we can do from now is control their number. Our staff closely
monitor them and do monthly reports to the committee.

In the same manner, MNG2 expressed that:

Our lawyer normally sent the notice letters to the residents who placed the condensers out of their unit. If they don't take them out, the juristic authority will prosecute the resident. But the prosecution rarely happened; the letters make the residents scared and they took it out.

The authorities imagine a BEA common area as the place to serve only residential purposes; therefore, it is not supposed to be used for commercial activities. The commercial activities are allowed only at the community market managed by the NHA (Unit for Communities' policies and standards n.d.b.: 6). This management of space is congruent with Noparatnaraporn's (2004: 212) argument of Bangkok space which normally serves several functions and one space can be used for various activities. With the effect of urbanisation, Bangkok space is allocated under an explicit system, where space is imposed to use for one function. For example, space in a department store is utilised only for commercial activities and the area in a housing complex is used for dwelling. As evidence, the management of Outskirt-village refused to give permission to run a shop in a residential unit and the management of Busy-town and Suburbville prohibited the residents and outsiders from being street vendors at BEA streets and footpaths (MNG1; MNG2; MNG4, 2009).

BEA authorities' imagination on the BEA residents

Managing under the Condominium Act, the BEA regulation, the guideline for BEA authorities' staff shapes the BEA authorities' imagination of residents. BEA residents are perceived as the followers of rules and regulations. Moreover, obeying rules is viewed as the way to participate in their BEA communities (MNG4). More importantly, they are expected to be better residents who acknowledge and comply more with BEA rules and regulations (MNG1; MNG4, 2019). Some BEA authorities believe that this improvement is the result of an adaptation from living in low-rise and up-country communities and moving into high-rise BEA flat buildings (PLC1; MNG4, 2019). It can be concluded that the top-down approach is employed in the process of image-making that expects residents to conform to the rules and regulations developed by the NHA and the management side.

Viewing common areas like the front region, residents are expected to display formal manners (Goffman 1956: 78). In support of this expectation, PLC2 and MNG1 (2019) are not tolerant of the informal manners of residents at common areas, such as alcohol drinking at courtyards, picnics with streetside kitchen, and washing clothes at common courtyards. The formal manner at BEA common areas also includes respecting the informal rules of space sharing. For instance, residents are expected to leave their car's handbrake off when they do double parking and to not reserve parking space. As evidenced, PLC1 expressed his discontent with residents verbally abusing other residents,

or even damaging other residents' cars, when other residents park in what is perceived to be their own reserved parking space.

Moreover, BEA residents are expected to be mindful individuals while using common areas. BEA authorities hope that they care for the peacefulness of communities and do not disturb other residents. A sample of the behavior that residents are supposed not to engage in are yelling from a common courtyard to call residents on an upper level (PLC1, 2019), having a picnic with loud music at a common courtyard (PLC4, 2019) and leaving dog or cat droppings at a corridor or common backyard (MNG4, 2019).

The management has a higher expectation for the residents who are committee members of their BEA development. The imagination of the committee by BEA authorities is to be role models, in term of obeying the rules, to other residents. With this imagination, MNG2 (2019) praised the committee member who committed herself to all rules and said to her that 'I never place even one shoe in front of my unit [corridor area]'. The imagination of BEA authorities sometimes contrasts with the expectation of BEA residents who hope that the committee is a leader helping them negotiate with the NHA and the management. The disagreement in a committee role can be noticed from PLC3's (2019) action at a resident meeting where she suppressed one committee member who asked for residents' voices to support the placing of belongings at common areas.

BEA authorities' understanding of the BEA common areas and its residents

Although BEA common areas and its residents are expected to follow the NHA legal framework, both of them do not fully comply with those expectations. This reality enables BEA authorities to create a new image of common areas and residents which better matches with the situation of BEA. In other words, their images of common areas and residents are based on their working experience rather than on the NHA standards written in the Condominium Act, the BEA regulation and rules. My study considers these viewpoints as an understanding of common areas and residents. In this section, common areas' appearance and residents' activities in common areas as understood by the BEA authorities are investigated.

BEA authorities' understanding of the BEA common areas

According to the Suburbville management, clean and orderly organised objects that serve residents' everyday activities can be placed in the common areas, such as clean shoes in a corridor (MNG2, 2019). This example shows how the management understanding of the tolerable use of the common area allows for aspects of the front region of BEA developments to be used by residents in an unbounded way. Additionally, the management of Suburbville and Busy-town view that temporary

use of the common area for personal activities, such as drying laundries on a common courtyard, is an acceptable behaviour (MNG1; MNG2, 2019). Therefore, understanding of common area use under the concept of unbounded space depends on the duration of an activity.

The BEA authorities have practical views on the use of common areas because they understand the limitation of unit space and lifestyle of residents. This understanding allows them to accept the uses of common areas for personal activities that cause an untidy appearance of the common areas. Conceptually speaking, the unbounded space and the back region are employed into BEA common areas. As evidence, MNG2 showed her understanding on the limitation of balcony space that ‘they [residents] use balconies for cooking and washing; there is no space left for drying the laundries’ and PLC3 reflected the reality of living in BEA that ‘they live in square boxes, and the playground is far away from their building. How can they find space for feeding their kids?’ With this view, the BEA authorities understand the using of corridors for drying laundries and permanently placing outdoor furniture at common courtyards. For residents’ lifestyle, the authorities accept ‘untidy’ and ‘undecorated’ appearances of common areas because home-grown vegetables (e.g. lemongrass, kaffir lime, basil, and chilli) are accepted as a typical manner of ‘villagers¹⁰’ and natural habit when humans reside in the place (MNG4, 2019).

BEA authorities’ understanding of common areas regarding commercial and residential zoning is different from their imagination. In reality, the ‘explicit zoning’ system (Noparatnaraporn 2004: 212), or using space for one function, does not fully apply to the space in personal units. Many BEA authorities accept commercial activities arranged at residential units, which is called ‘unboundedness reigns’ in Noparatnaraporn and King’s (2007: 77) term. However, BEA views commercial activities that go beyond unit boundaries as unacceptable behaviour. As PLC3 states, ‘we do not prohibit them from running the shop, but ask them not to use the exteriority of units, ice-cream [advertisement] stickers and Lipo [energy drink brand] banners at building walls which are not o.k.’. The reasons for this authorities’ understanding are developed from various sources. The first source is residents’ economic status. As PLC1 described, ‘running a shop helps them [residents] to have money for paying a BEA house mortgage’. It is noted that residents’ class influences the BEA authorities’ understanding of common area use by relaxing the zoning control in BEA developments. This issue will be examined in Chapter 5. The second one is the spaciousness of BEA units. Regarding an NHA employee’s observation, the BEA units, which are 33 square metres and are embedded with two rooms, are big enough for residents to use the units for residential and commercial purposes. Lastly, convenience to other residents, which MNG3 explained that a shop located in the unit serves residents’ convenience: ‘The shops benefit them; they like to have a shop around their units’. When

¹⁰ Villager is the word that the Busy-town manager calls residents.

various sources shape authorities' understanding, commercial spaces in personal units are acceptable and the 'unboundness reigns' way is often found in BEA.

BEA authorities' understanding of the BEA residents

The imagination of BEA common areas gives a fixed image of residents as a group of people living in the same community under the same rules. However, BEA authorities' understanding of residents differs from their imagination. BEA authorities understand the differences of residents' backgrounds and their responses to the rules (PLC3; PLC4; MNG4, 2019). In the authorities' understanding, residents are 'anyone who can afford BEA' including 'old people watching over the house, infants and children, up-country people, villagers, constructors, company employees, and workers living hand-to-mouth (PLC3; MNG2; MNG4, 2019). With those differences, BEA authorities understand that different responses of residents to the rules is a possible situation.

Understanding the variety of residents can be described in terms of the following groups of obedience to the BEA rules: disobedient, innocent disobedient, and obedient residents. The disobedient residents perceived by BEA authorities are that they acknowledge the BEA rules but do not comply with them (PLC1; PLC4; MNG2; MNG3, 2019). The authorities described the disobedience of residents with the following statements: 'most residents know what is right [and] what is wrong, but they don't care', 'they do whatever they want to do' and 'they only focus on happiness, they care nothing' (PLC1; MNG3, 2019). Some BEA authorities view those residents as 'terrible' and 'ignorant' residents and understand that those behaviours are caused by careless personality and lacking a sense of belonging to the BEA community (PLC1; MNG3, 2019). In Goffman's notion, disobedient residents are intentionally against the rules, and break the division of the front (common area) and back regions (personal unit), for instance, building a shelter for alcohol drinking activity on a common courtyard. Importantly, this negative understanding of residents more often applies to renters rather than owners (PLC4, 2019). As MNG3 and MNG4 (2019) said, 'the renters develop more trouble' and 'we still cannot completely manage the residents' behaviours; it changes from time to time, especially the renter behaviours'.

Another viewpoint on residents is an innocent disobedient. Innocent resident refers to residents who break the rules because they do not know condominium law, condominium juristic person, and BEA rule (PLC1; PLC3; MNG1; MNG4, 2019). BEA authorities have a more positive view of this kind of resident than a disobedient one. The authorities expressed their understanding of these residents: 'If I tell them that they [their activities] bother the neighbours, they stop doing that, they are mindful people' and 'they dump the unused things at common area because they think that a garbage collecting service is included in the condominium fee', and a resident stopped doing handyman work at a common courtyard after the Busy-town manager told them about the

condominium law (MNG1; MNG4, 2019). In BEA authorities' understanding, innocent disobedient residents unintentionally break the boundaries of front and back regions so they could not be seen as terrible and ignorant residents.

Obedient residents, or residents who acknowledge and conform to BEA rules, is a positive viewpoint on BEA residents. In the BEA authorities' eyes, an obedient resident is admirable as authorities described them as residents who 'follow the rules', 'listen to us' and 'do as we advise' (PLC3; MNG4, 2019). Furthermore, understanding of obedient residents is developed from their experiences of working with the 'partner' (MNG4, 2019) residents who report their defiant neighbours and the 'cheer-up' (MNG4, 2019) residents who support them when they enforce the rules (MNG1; MNG4, 2019).

BEA committee members are understood in a similar way as that of residents. The understanding of BEA committee members can be categorised into two groups: deficient and perfect. Firstly, the deficit committee member is the way BEA authorities see the committee members as individuals who do not understand the condominium law and the BEA regulations and rules (MNG1, 2019). This understanding includes BEA committee members who encourage other residents to fight against rule enforcement. (PLC, 2019). As a result, they are perceived as the ones who please residents rather than help the NHA and the managements enforce the rules (PLC1, 2019). PLC3 (2019) expressed her view toward the BEA committee members that 'they are not 100 percent good' and how they work should be watched and guided by the NHA. In Noparatnaraporn and King's (2007) term, the 'deficit' BEA committee members could be seen as those who introduce the unbounded nature of space that matches their every life activity to manage the BEA development.

Secondly, a perfect committee member is the way the BEA authorities perceive a committee member who understands and complies with law, regulations and rules. The BEA management gains this understanding from their experiences working with the committee members who disagree with defiant residents (MNG2; MNG4, 2019). MNG4 (2019) proudly described that 'our committees often disagree with residents omitting the rules, if residents ask [the committee] to relax the rules, sometimes [the committee] asks us, sometimes [the committee] refuses [the residents] by [the residents'] own decision'. Using the lens of the front and back region, the perfect committee members are the ones complying with the written document that is in coherence with the distinction between back and front regions and the purified common areas.

In conclusion, imagination and understanding of housing authorities of BEA common areas and residents are both developed from the Thailand Condominium Law, the NHA guideline, the BEA regulations, and the BEA rules. The imagination strictly adheres to those legal and ruling documents and focuses on purification of common areas and utmost obedience of residents. In contrast, the understanding of the housing authorities is the result of the relaxation of rules to serve the reality of

common area use and BEA residents. In this manner, common areas are understood as space under the NHA legal framework that serves residents' everyday life activities. Residents are viewed as encompassing a wider range of people, and disobedient residents and deficient committee members are included in authorities' understanding. The differences between the BEA authorities' imagination and understanding reflect how top-down common area management policy negotiates with residents' everyday practices. Understanding is developed to help the authorities bridge their imagination in contrast to the reality of BEA common area uses.

CHAPTER FIVE

SPATIAL ORDERING: ANALYSIS OF RESIDENTS' HABITUS AND REGULATION BY BEA AUTHORITIES

Introduction

Spatial ordering of BEA common areas is not only generated from a legal framework but also resident practices. Those two aspects are not compatible with each other. While the legal framework is supported by middle-class values, everyday life practices are based on BEA residents' low-income background. Therefore, enforcing the BEA rules and regulations often reflects the structural conflict between BEA authorities and low-income residents. This chapter analyses residents' class background and effect of its class background on the spatial ordering of common area use.

I begin the chapter by examining BEA residents' social class through the lens of 'habitus'. I then move to investigate the confrontation between regulating from the BEA authorities and the practices of the residents due to their habitus by using the concepts of the 'front and back regions' and 'unbounded' space. The regulation from BEA authorities through the BEA design and the communication of the rules (in Chapter 3) as well as their imagination and understanding of common areas (in Chapter 4) are analysed. This chapter reveals how BEA authorities include the residents' class background into BEA common area use management, and how the use of common areas depends on both BEA regulations and residents' practices.

BEA resident social class and habitus

My study considers BEA residents as lower-class people by examining their position in the BEA housing market and their characteristic of lower-class people judged by BEA authorities. At the beginning of this program (2003), the buyers were required to be people who have less than 13,000 Baht monthly household income, disadvantaged people, or low-income government officers (NHA n.d.). After that announcement, BEA development faced an oversupply of units problem (PLC1, 2019). Then the BEA program raised the monthly household income criterion to 17,500 Baht in 2005, 22,000 Baht in 2006, 30,000 Baht in 2008 and recently no minimum income criterion to include a wider group of buyers (Khanchong 2008: 80, PLC1, 2019; NHA n.d.). Therefore, BEA units are currently not only sold to low-income people but also middle-income people. Besides buyers, renters are another group of BEA resident. The rental fee of units in Suburbville, Busy-town, and Outskirt-village ranges from 2,000 to 3,500 Baht, as advertised in Figure 5.1. This price is similar to a typical low-income housing rental fee in Bangkok (Punyasakulvong and Panitchpakdi 2019: 618). Hence, units in BEA flats attract low-income people. Recently, the number of low-income renters is increasing (MNG2, MNG4: 2019) because some units' owners can afford accommodation in other

housing developments and move out of BEA, with the reason that ‘they do not want to stay in the low-class society’ (PLC1, 2019). With those reasons, current BEA residents are the lower-class people.



**Figure 5.1 Leaflet of BEA unit for rent which costs 3,200 Baht per month.
Photograph taken by the author at Suburbville, 2019.**

Based on BEA authorities’ judgement, BEA residents are lower-class people because of their attitude toward government welfare and their manners while interacting with authorities. Those manners are excessively expecting welfare from the government, respecting managers in the same way as they treat heads of villages in upcountry society, attending the annual residents meeting while being drunk, and using vulgar language when they are dissatisfied with the BEA rules enforcement (PLC1; MNG2; MNG3, MNG4, 2019). Based on the similarity of residents due to the out-migration of owners and the incoming residents’ characteristics as perceived by BEA authorities, it can be concluded that BEA residents are lower-class people. This study considers BEA residents as low-income people.

The habitus concept proposed by Pierre Bourdieu (1990) is employed to understand the relations between the social class of BEA residents and the common area use which does not conform to the NHA legal standard as analysed in Chapter 4.

The habitus – embodied history, internalized as a second nature and so forgotten as history – is the active presence of the whole past of which it is the product. (Bourdieu 1990: 56)

Based on the above definition, using the common area in an unbounded way (e.g. untidy space and ignoring zoning) can be seen as the residents’ active presence of their past lower-class life

condition including any pre-BEA housing circumstances. BEA authorities agree that many BEA residents originally lived in low-rise accommodations which authorities view as low-income class housing circumstances, such as houses in urban low-income and up-country communities, and squatters on other people's land (PLC1; PLC2; PLC3, 2019). Those housing circumstances allowed residents previously to live in accommodations which were much closer to 'unbounded' space. According to Bourdieu (1990: 59), an individual who is 'the product of the same objective conditions' has the same habitus. BEA residents can be seen as those who share the habitus of living in informal housing whose physicality allows using space in an unbounded way.

BEA middle-class design and low-income habitus

The design of BEA flat development represents a clear distinction between common areas and personal units which I view as the separation between the front and back regions. In a BEA advertisement leaflet (Figure 5.2), the outlines of units imply that the residents' (private) space is within the boundaries of the units (illustrated with thick black lines) and does not include the space in the white area which are assigned as common (public) corridors.



Figure 5.2 Outline of units in a BEA flat development in an advertisement leaflet, NHA, 2019

This clear distinction of spaces guides BEA residents, who tend to manage activities beyond the personal units' boundaries, to keep common areas orderly and empty to reflect the appearance of the front region. The front region suggested by Goffman (1956: 78) involves space under observation by outsiders; therefore, the front region requires a 'tone of formality' which necessitates users to keep the space in an arranged and orderly appearance. Conversely, the back region or backstage tends to be used in a visually unattractive appearing informal manner (Goffman 1956: 75, 77). Also, the line separating the front region from the back region does not exist in 'lower-class homes' (Goffman 1956: 75) according to his analysis of the living rooms of middle-class houses. I derive his purpose and suggest that the presence of a line between a private unit and common area in a BEA flat is compatible with the practices of 'lower-class' (Goffman: 1956: 75) residents. While the BEA authorities emphasise the existence of this line, residents negotiate its existence via their activities on BEA

common areas. For example, the management of Outskirt-village arranges a big cleaning day¹¹ to remind residents of their ‘invasion’ (MNG4, 2019) of corridors and building entrances spaces. The result of these activities is that residents move their belongings from common areas into their units on that day, then they place it at the common area again in a few days.

Another example is the BEA resident who stood in front of their jackfruit tree grown at the common courtyard to stop the felling of that tree by the management (MNG3, 2019). The residents’ habitus, which closes to use of space in ‘unbounded’ way, reflects embodied practices of space that do not match the intent of the BEA design. Therefore, this study shows that the common area of BEA is the space of conflict between middle-class values and the practices of low-income residents. Moreover, this conflict illustrates how the BEA common area is used under the formal regulation and informal resident practices, which this thesis calls the spatial ordering of BEA common area use.

Confrontation between communication of BEA authorities and residents’ negotiation

Communication of the rules and the regulations by BEA housing authorities involves middle-class values about residential space. This communication helps transfer the middle-class values to low-income residents which aims to transform them to behave in the same or similar way as middle-class residents. The process is called ‘habitus transformation’, termed by Lehmann (2013: 1) for studying working-class students who increase the distance from their family culture to assimilate themselves to middle-class university society. In my study, habitus transformation occurs when BEA residents adapt themselves to the BEA rules by not performing activities that reflect their low-income habitus from their previous housing environment.

Class transformation in BEA arises via the implementing of the the Thailand Condominium Act to BEA. Implementing this Act can be seen as a top-down management approach as the NHA enjoy its authority to select legal standards for common area use and require the management company and BEA residents to comply with this standard without concern for their everyday uses of the space of BEA residents. As PLC2 (2019) stated, ‘the Act applies to every condominium no matter whether it is valued at 100 million Baht or 300,000 Baht’. The determination of the NHA to use this law is expressed in an NHA employee’s statement that the ‘NHA put tough effort to educate the [BEA residents about their responsibilities under] the Condominium Act. Especially paying the condominium fee’ and ‘without regulations and rules, a bunch of people in BEA will do whatever they want’ (PLC1, 2019). The strategies of educating the residents on this legal standard are orientations and distributions of the NHA flat living guideline before moving in and during annual residents’

¹¹ The big cleaning day is arranged around once a month for cleaning the flat building’s common area. The cleaning is conducted by Outskirt-village management’s cleaners. Before the cleaning day, the management announces to residents to move their belongings and to accept any damage of their belongings from cleaning activities if they still leave them in the common area.

meetings (PLC2; MNG1, 2019). Moreover, the NHA determination to regulate BEA common areas under the Condominium Act is shown in the implementation of the law via the outsourcing management company as PLC1 (2019) stated, 'we [NHA] hire management companies to solve invasion of public space in BEA'.

Nevertheless, class transformation embedding legal frameworks often fails to apply to BEA residents as demonstrated by the conversation of BEA authorities: 'law cannot truly apply to the BEA villagers' (PLC1, 2019). Class transformation leads to negotiation from residents. This negotiation sometimes results in conflict over common area use between the BEA authorities and residents' practices, and between BEA residents who transformed themselves and other residents. Minor conflicts between BEA authorities and low-income residents are expressed in the viewpoint of BEA authorities that 'We [Busy-town management company] use the same Act with condominiums, but BEA villagers don't know that' (PLC4; PLC3; MNG1; MNG3, 2019). The serious conflicts between authorities and residents are evidenced via residents' negative responses to rule enforcement by coming to the management office and 'yelling' and being 'insulting' to management employees, and by the BEA authorities' expression on aggressive action from residents that 'if we rigidly enforce the rules, the management staff don't feel safe' (PLC1; MHG2; MNG3; MNG4, 2016). The conflict between the practices of lower-class habitus and transformed practices arises when residents express their dissatisfaction or report their neighbours who act against the BEA rules of common area use. For example, the alcohol drinker resident aggressively yelled at the neighbour, who reported him to the BEA management (MNG3, 2019). This conflict can be seen as a confrontation between a resident who adopts middle-class habitus and a resident who still uses the lower-class habitus from the previous housing to live in BEA.

BEA residents' habitus in authorities' imagination and understanding of common area use

BEA residents' habitus influences the BEA authorities' imagination and understanding of common area use. Imagination means their expectation on common area use which is based on the legal framework and middle-class values. Whereas, understanding refers to their realistic perception of common area use based on the BEA residents' everyday life. As such, a BEA common area is the space where middle-class standards encounter lower-class habitus via BEA authorities' imagination and understanding of common area use.

Imagination of BEA authorities on common area use is generated from two factors: legal standard and lack of understanding of the everyday needs and requirement of residents. Legal standard of common areas involves the Thailand Condominium Act, the BEA regulations, the BEA management guideline for the NHA and the management staff, and the BEA rules. The Act comprises fundamental principles issued by the Thai government with support from the NHA (Rakpoungchon

1986: 17) and used by all levels of residential buildings (MNG2; MNG4, 2019) while the regulation of each BEA development is drafted by the BEA management. The Act and the regulations contain abstract content of common area use; for instance, ‘the manager of the condominium juristic person has a responsibility to solve conflict among residents’ (MNG4, 2019). It is noted that the Act content itself is not related to middle-class values of residential space. Rather, the middle-class values exist in the guideline made by the NHA which specifies both the responsibilities of the management and prohibited activities on common areas as mentioned in statement 1.2.2 (Unit for Communities’ Policies and Standards, NHA n.d.a.: 4), which includes the protection of common property and prevention of public space ‘invasion’ such as drying laundries and placing personal belongings on pathways. The management employs the middle class-based values of purified common areas for creating BEA development rules more concretely. Two samples of those rules are ‘do not place any material, equipment, construction material, unused objects or shoes outside units’ boundaries which includes corridors, common balconies, or other common areas’ and ‘do not dry or hang any objects on balcony handrails and outside units’ (Suburbville management n.d.).

Although the guideline and rules involve middle-class values, BEA authorities do not seem to be aware of a social class issue in their imagination. As the authorities stated, ‘BEA space is under the rules and regulations. It is not a rented house’ (MNG1, 2019) and ‘I put my effort to explain to them [residents] what a common area is and what personal space is. You cannot place your stuff in corridors’ (PLC1, 2019). By this, BEA authorities believe in a legal standard to regulate common areas rather than being concerned with residents’ practices based on their different social class.

The BEA authorities’ imagination of purified BEA common areas is often based on middle-class values, not everyday needs and requirement of residents. These values can be seen in the reasons why the authorities intend to purify a common area. Some BEA authorities believe that a clean and tidy common area creates a ‘liveable’ environment for BEA (MNG2, 2019). Also, the emptiness of BEA common areas helps improve their ‘quality of life’ and ordered space increases the units’ price (PLC2, 2019). Of course, common areas in BEA authorities’ imagination are not space for activities that express residents’ low-income habitus, especially objects that are related to residents’ occupations, such as storing recycling waste and construction equipment, and repairing electrical equipment.

In contrast, common area use in BEA authorities’s understanding takes the low-income residents’ everyday needs and practices into their consideration. This understanding is illustrated by the terms used for BEA housing itself. The NHA and the management employees do not describe BEA developments as ‘condominiums’ (MNG1, 2019). Thai people perceive this word as a residential building for middle class and wealthy people because ‘BEA is not luxurious enough to be called condo’ (PLC3, 2019). The NHA and management also describe BEA development with the term that does

not relate to middle-class people such as ‘ar-kan-chut’, which means ‘set of buildings’, and ‘Baan Euay’, which is the short name of Baan Euay-Arthorn (BEA)¹² (PLC3; MNG1, 2019). Additionally, BEA developments are also understood as communities of people moving from up-country, small towns and village communities where the role of ‘village head’ is continued to be recognised by managers (MNG1, 2019).

BEA authorities’ understanding of low-income resident practices helps them relax the BEA rules regarding the zoning of commercial area and residential space, which on paper do not allow BEA residents to use their residential unit for merchant activities. As a result of rule relaxation, the residential units are actually be used for running shops, which Noparatnaraporn and King (2007: 77) term a unbounded ‘use of land’. As the authorities reflect, a negotiated spatial order thus emerges that bridges contradictions between rules and practices: ‘it is Baan Euay-Arthorn, and selling in a house is a typical thing for this kind of community’ (PLC3, 2019) and ‘I want to prohibit them [residents] from running a shop in units, but that is where their incomes come from’ (PLC1). The residents’ practices, deeply connected their economic status and residential habitus, are included in BEA authorities’ emerging understanding of common area use.

Changes in understandings of common area use are also developed from authorities’ concern about the limitation of BEA space to serve low-income residents’ daily activities. This understanding is illustrated in MNG2’s (2019) reflection about the suitability of BEA for low-income people: ‘a BEA flat is a small house that fits residents’ budgets, but not their lifestyles’. Also, the explanation of the common area use as unbounded space by residents from the Busy-town and Outskirt-village managements reveals how this access to space outside their private dwellings is tolerated if related to employment or existing cultural practices: ‘residents usually place objects they use for their construction worker job at common areas’ (MNG4, 2019) and ‘residents like to grow lemongrass and chilli at common courtyards, it is their villagers’ habit’ (MNG1, 2019). These quotes express how authorities’ understanding of the functions of the area is shaped by low-income residents’ practices.

Understanding of common area use for resident’s daily life activities is also understood by BEA authorities as including place-based practices from where residents lived before moving to BEA. Bourdieu (1990: 54) suggested that ‘the habitus, a product of history, produces individual and collective practices – more history – in accordance with the schemes generated by history’. In the case of BEA authorities, the experiences of living in a rented house (or room) and up-country village is ‘a product of history’ (Bourdieu 1990: 54) that produces the practice of using common areas in an unbounded way (PLC1; PLC2; MNG4, 2019). Some residents recognise their house owner status as ‘higher’ than the renter status they occupied in the past. With higher status, they are supposed to gain

¹² The meaning of Baan Euay-Arthorn is ‘home with care’ (Mekintharangur 2004: 126) which refers to the housing from the caring government.

a better advantage over BEA space than the space of their old communities. This thought enables residents to claim the space surrounding their units, especially the corridor in front of their units, to place belongings (MNG4, 2019). Also, 'plenty of them [residents] were born in rural areas and countryside villages' (PLC1, 2019) where the common areas in communities are not controlled by strict rules. BEA authorities understand that common area use is the consequences of residents' past experiences of living in a similar type of accommodation and habitation. Conceptually speaking, in BEA authorities' understanding, using a common area as an unbounded space is the consequence of BEA residents' dwelling history or residential habitus.

To conclude, due to migration trends and residents' characteristics, BEA residents are perceived by BEA authorities as lower-class people. I suggest that BEA residents' habitus influence how common areas are used by using common areas in an 'unbounded' way to negotiate with the middle-class design in BEA development. Their low-income background also conflicts with the BEA authorities' communication of the rules and their imagination of purified common areas based on legal framework and middle-class values. However, resident class background is included in the authorities' understanding of common area use and results in the relaxation of rule enforcement. This chapter proposes that spatial ordering of BEA not only consists of regulation from authorities but also practices of low-income residents.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION, DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This final chapter assembles the key findings from this thesis and suggests areas for further research. Key findings from the research are addressed and discussed. As explored in Chapter 3, although the design of BEA common areas aims to ensure ‘purified’ space with clear divisions between units and common areas, residents strive to use common areas in ‘unbounded’ ways to serve their everyday activities. Also, communication of rules by BEA authorities are the method to transform lower-income people to be middle-class residents. This communication often leads to conflict between the management and residents, and among residents. As demonstrated in Chapter 4, while the use of BEA common areas in BEA authorities’ imagination can be seen as ‘the front regions’, common areas viewed through their understanding are considered as ‘unbounded’ space. As examined in Chapter 5, the conflict between legal aspects and residents’ low-income habitus reflects in conflict over BEA common areas. Therefore, this conflict is generated from both norm and social class factors and those factors are closely related to each other.

According to these key findings, this chapter argues that the BEA authorities create informal strategies to bridge the contradiction between the legal framework and everyday practices in the BEA common area management, namely ‘negotiated outcomes’. I then propose to include the negotiated outcomes in the formal procedures of BEA management. In the last section, I suggest areas requiring further research.

BEA common areas’ design and unbounded way of their use

Although BEA common areas are designed under the land ownership principle which emphasises a clear line between personal unit and common area, residents regularly use common areas for their belongings and domestic activities, instead of leaving them empty as the authorities intend via the BEA design. Regarding Goffman’s definition, a region is ‘any place that is bounded to some degree by barriers to perception’ (Goffman 1956: 66). Also, the region is an area within human sight (1963, 1971 cited in Brighenti 2010: 56). To specify it as a subset of Goffman’s notion of ‘regions’ in general, the back region of BEA units can be extended to the surrounding areas which residents can observe. For this reason, the common areas next to or close to units are more untidy than other areas. My study found that the common areas which are visible to residents living in units, such as corridor and common backyard, normally have the appearance of a back region.

Negotiation and anticipation of habitus transformation via the BEA rules

To enforce the BEA rules, the BEA authorities communicate them to residents. This communication can be considered as a habitus transformation or process of transforming BEA low-income people to be middle-class residents. The communication activates the structural conflicts between middle-class values in the BEA rules and everyday practices of low-income residents displayed in common area use; this conflict occurs when residents negotiate with the rules advised by the managements or other residents who anticipate with those rules. In other words, in the process of habitus transforming via the rules communication, BEA residents who do not transform to middle-class residents seem to have conflict with authorities and middle-class transformed residents. In the BEA context where the NHA and the management companies do not have absolute power over residents (MNG3, 2019), residents tend to directly express their disagreement against the authorities. The most serious response was the protest against the authority who ordered tree felling, as explored in Chapter 3. This response illustrates how residents exercise their power to counter the authorities' communication of the rules. The resistance of rule communication in Singapore public housing seems to be less than that in BEA. According to the Hee (2017: 85) study, Singaporean residents resist the communication of rule, or 'act of defiance against the rules' in his term, by using the strategy of not leaving a personal mark on a space such as unruly play in void decks. Unlike growing trees in BEA common courtyards, unwitty play does not give evidence to locate the residents who did the play. Then the confrontation between the authorities and residents that leads to a strong response is considerably less likely to occur in Singapore public housing.

Imagination and understanding of BEA common area use

Purified space is the imagination of BEA authorities applied to BEA common areas. This imagination can be seen as 'the front regions' in Goffman's (1956: 13) term. BEA authorities' imagination of common area use and appearance does not match with residents who are low-income people and lived in a village residential environment. However, the residents' lower class and villager backgrounds are included in the BEA authorities' understanding of common area use. For example, the authorities allow temporary laundry drying and vegetables planting at common courtyards. This understanding leads the authorities to relax the purified common area policy and obedience expectation. In this manner, the 'unbounded' space (Noparatnaporn and King 2007: 77), which blurs front and back regions, applied by BEA residents on common areas is acceptable to the authorities.

My study also adds to the body of knowledge about the survival of 'unbounded' space in Thai society (Noparatnaporn 2004: 214). As Noparatnaporn (2004: 210, 213-214) suggested, 'unbounded' space, which has long existed in Thai society, is currently minimized due to 'restricted space' under the land legitimacy principle. She addressed that unbounded space is not obviously seen

in recent land use, but it survives in ‘a relaxing and flexible way of life’ of Thai people. I would argue that unbounded use of space in Thailand still survives in low-income residential areas as I found in BEA flat developments, which is in coherence with common area use in Singapore public housing (Hee 2009: 83). However, the survival of unbounded space in BEA is now challenged by the legal framework and middle-class values via BEA rule enforcement.

Interconnection between norm-based and class-based conflicts over BEA common areas

Conflict over BEA common area use is a complex phenomenon. My research reveals that conflict at BEA common areas does not fit the argument of norm-based or class-based conflict, which I reviewed in Chapter 1. Importantly, conflict over BEA common areas is the surface manifestation of both norm- and class-based conflict. Under the top-down approach, the NHA and the management companies’ employees who enforce the rules have an antagonistic relationship with residents who are expected to be passive rule-obedient residents. For class-based conflict, the BEA rules generate from the NHA’s middle-class viewpoint contesting with the reality of residents’ activities that reflect their low-income habitus. Norm-based conflict interconnects with class-based conflict in the BEA common area management. As such, the BEA rules based on middle-class residential values are enforced via top-down management procedures designed by the NHA. The conflict between space controller and users and different residential values is reflected in inconsistent ways of common area use, where the conflict over common areas displays in BEA developments as a surface manifestation of the interconnection between norm- and class-based conflict.

Negotiated outcomes: management of BEA common area use among structural conflict

The key finding reveals that a BEA common area is the space which embeds structural contradiction between BEA rules and residents’ practices. This contradiction creates tension between BEA authorities and residents. Therefore, BEA authorities and residents unavoidably engage in this conflict over common area use which is evidenced in the expression of the management after performing her role that ‘warning upsets the [rule-breaking] residents. Of course, they are hostile to us [the management]’ (MNG3, 2019).

More importantly, BEA authorities and residents adapt themselves to this unavoidable conflict by creating the informal process named negotiated outcomes. As Outskirtville management stated, ‘I use many techniques to manage Outskirt-village; otherwise, the management fail’ (MHG4, 2019). The four main negotiated outcomes used for compromising middle-class legal aspects and

low-income everyday practices will be discussed below: 1) overlooking of infractions of rules; 2) redefining BEA rules; 3) compromising rules enforcement, and 4) friendly warning.

Overlooking of infractions of rules is the most common negotiated outcome used when other residents do not complain. As the BEA management stated, they usually ‘turn a blind eye’ to BEA rule-breaking activities on common areas and take action only on activities that are formally complained about via a written document (MNG2; MNG3, 2019). This management strategy can be noted in the reflection of the management: ‘To be honest, I can’t remember the BEA rules advertised on the poster; what I do is solve the problems when residents are troubled with their neighbours’ behaviour¹³’ (MNG1; MNG2, 2019). The activities on common areas that the managements often overlook are drying laundries at a common courtyard as well as selling food and running grocery shops in flat buildings. The reason for this negotiated outcome is that prohibiting every rule-breaking interrupts the BEA living atmosphere, where minor rule-breaking residents compromisingly live with their neighbours (MNG4; 2019). Another reason is that precedence regarding prior arrivals is claimed. Some residents had moved into BEA sites and used common areas before the management company came to BEA. Prohibiting residents from what they used to do easily leads to confrontation between the management and residents (MNG2; MNG3; MNG4, 2019).

Redefining rules is the way BEA housing authorities change their viewpoints on the BEA rules from general definition to practical ones. Instead of viewing BEA rules as principles that govern human activities, the authorities perceive the other function of BEA rules — invoking righteousness to punish rule-breaking residents. BEA housing authorities agree that ‘rules cannot stop them from doing the wrong things or defiant behaviours’ (PLC3; MNG3, 2019). However, the BEA rules enable residents to accept punishment due to their infractions of the rules (MNG2; MNG3, 2019). With this viewpoint, compelling residents to strictly comply with rulings is lessened and conflicts due to contradictions between rules and practices rarely occur.

Compromising the enforcement is the technique BEA management persuades residents to follow the rules. This technique encourages gradual and sensible rules enforcement practices such as postponing a punishment and offering an alternative option. For example, the management asked the residents to remove their belongings from common areas by letting them propose the removal time that suits their convenience (MNG3, 2019). Finding another option to replace the rule-breaking activities was used for prohibiting the installation of satellite dishes that extended beyond unit boundaries. The management researched alternative television signal providers which offered a lower price and then asked the residents to remove the dishes. This negotiated outcome is effective

¹³ The BEA rules posters are always attached at the management office of BEA to advise residents.

as MNG4 (2019) described that ‘if we prohibit and do not give them the solution, they resist our prohibition’.

Lastly, a friendly warning is a negotiated outcome to cope with enforcing the BEA rules that contradict low-income residents’ practices because a direct and straightforward warning causes risks to management employees as evidenced in the expression ‘if I suddenly stop them [residents] drinking liquor, they may throw a bottle at me’ (MNG4, 2019). The management officer blended with the residents and made an interpersonal relationship before giving the management warning. The busy-town manager shared how he successfully warned alcohol drinkers playing loud music at a common backyard that he gave them a big smile and cordially talked to them, and sometimes he accepted liquor and cigarettes they gave to show that he was their friend (MNG1, 2019). After that, he said ‘there are elders and babies in units near you, they are quite sensitive to noise’ (MNG1, 2019), which are indirect words for gently warning against those annoying behaviours.

Recommendation on the negotiated outcomes

Despite these four negotiated outcomes being widely used by BEA housing authorities, the authorities frequently feel a reluctance to apply these negotiated outcomes, especially the overlooking of infraction of rules and redefining the rules. Several management employees revealed how situations of BEA common area use and its residents forced them to ignore some infraction of rules (MNG1; MNG2; MNG4, 2019) via conversations like ‘I don’t want to turn a blind eye, [but] I have no choice when most of the residents do not follow the rules’ (MNG3, 2019). Also, unwillingness to define the BEA rules as the tool to support their right to punish residents is observed via their desire and fervent hope to use the BEA rules as the tool to prohibit residents’ defiant behaviours. For instance, the unrealistic practice to fine residents whose selling activities invade corridors and common backyards, and the will to increase the enforcement of the rules on residents, the favourable viewpoint on keeping all of the current BEA rules (MNG1; MNG2; MNG3; MNG4, 2019).

BEA authorities are unwilling to overlook infractions of rules and redefine the rules because those negotiated outcomes can be considered as refrain from performing duties, which are specified in legal documents and the BEA management guidelines for NHA and management staff. The duties of management companies specified in the legal documents are that the manager shall have the duties to maintain peace and order within the development and manage the common properties. Due to the contradiction with the duties in those documents, BEA authorities use overlooking of infractions of rules and redefining rules involuntarily. Therefore, this thesis recommends that the negotiated outcome should be formalized as a solution for dealing with the conflicts over common area use which arise from contestation of middle-class values and everyday activities of residents. By this, the NHA

and the management companies should understand the role of the negotiated outcomes and include them in the formal process of BEA management.

Recommendations for future research

As stated in Chapter 2, the limitations of my thesis are the difficulties to arrange interviews overseas and gain ethics approval for extensive fieldwork with residents within the short time-frame of MRes research (January, 10 to October 20, 2019). As a result, the short-term period of fieldwork in Thailand which I conducted from June, 20 to July 5, 2019 engaged only with unobtrusive methods at the sites themselves, and stakeholder interviews with management. This research unavoidably excludes the imagination and understanding of common area use from BEA residents themselves, further research would add the viewpoints of BEA dwellers, which includes residents and committee members. Apart from in-depth interviews, informed consent for observation of residents' everyday use of common area space and BEA residents' meetings could be utilised to gain a better understanding of resident's habitus and their rationale of common area use. Also, observation would help check the validity of interview data. With data from all parties, further research would give more practical and more effective conflict-lessened recommendations for improving the management of BEA common areas.

I plan to extend the analysis of spatial ordering of low-income flat common areas use in a further PhD study. The future study would be comparative research, in which other low-income flat developments will be compared with BEA. The potential research site could be another NHA housing program, named 'New Bangkok's Din-Daeng Flat' (NDD) (Wongprawmas 2019: 56). NDD is different from BEA in several aspects such as a tailor-made design to serve relocated residents from demolished government flats, an inner city location, and a high-density building of 28 levels. Participation of low-income BEA and NDD residents in face-to-face interview sessions would gain insight into conditions that affect the spatial ordering of common areas, apart from the residents' social class. As such, the thesis would reveal how residential background and density of dwellers as well as the design and location of the flat building create different appearances of and everyday activities on common areas. Moreover, the future study, which includes the voice of BEA and DNN's residents and housing authorities, would provide well-round understanding on negotiated outcomes of common area use due to the compromise between residents' everyday activities and management under different low-income flat environment.

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Appendix 1: Ethic Clearance Authorisation letter

02/05/2019

Dear Dr Lloyd,

Reference No: 5201949578431

Project ID: 4957

Title: Spatial ordering of public housing common area use

Thank you for submitting the above application for ethical review. The Arts Subcommittee has considered your application.

I am pleased to advise that ethical approval has been granted for this project to be conducted by Dr Justine Lloyd, and other personnel: Miss Amata Jantarangsee.

This research meets the requirements set out in the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research 2007, (updated July 2018).

Standard Conditions of Approval:

1. Continuing compliance with the requirements of the National Statement, available from the following website:
<https://nhmrc.gov.au/about-us/publications/national-statement-ethical-conduct-human-research-2007-updated-2018>.
2. This approval is valid for five (5) years, subject to the submission of annual reports. Please submit your reports on the anniversary of the approval for this protocol. You will be sent an automatic reminder email one week from the due date to remind you of your reporting responsibilities.
3. All adverse events, including unforeseen events, which might affect the continued ethical acceptability of the project, must be reported to the subcommittee within 72 hours.
4. All proposed changes to the project and associated documents must be submitted to the subcommittee for review and approval before implementation. Changes can be made via the [Human Research Ethics Management System](#).

The HREC Terms of Reference and Standard Operating Procedures are available from the Research Services website:

<https://www.mq.edu.au/research/ethics-integrity-and-policies/ethics/human-ethics>.

It is the responsibility of the Chief Investigator to retain a copy of all documentation related to this project and to forward a copy of this approval letter to all personnel listed on the project.

Should you have any queries regarding your project, please contact the [Faculty Ethics Officer](#).

The Arts Subcommittee wishes you every success in your research.

Yours sincerely,

Dr Mianna Lotz

Chair, Arts Subcommittee

The Faculty Ethics Subcommittees at Macquarie University operate in accordance with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research 2007, (updated July 2018), [Section 5.2.22].

Information about this form:

1. This document is a mandatory component of the Humanities and Social Science (HASS) human research ethics application form.
2. The purpose of a project description is to provide information that will assist the ethics review body to assess the merit of the research project.
3. Section headings represent a desired structure for the presentation of information about a research project that meets the needs of an ethics review body.
4. The project description must be a **maximum (2) pages**, and approximately **1,000-1,500 words**. Please note that scholarly references are not included in the word count.
5. Please use non-technical language to ensure comprehension by a lay audience.

Research Aims and Rationale

Refer to Section 1.1 of the [National Statement](#) on Research Merit and Integrity.

Please include the following in your response:

- Provide five (5) to seven (7) scholarly references from the current literature.
- Describe how the research will fill any gaps; contribute to knowledge and understanding, improve social welfare and individual wellbeing, etc.
- Outline the research questions, aims, objectives, and/or hypotheses and expected outcomes of the research.

The use of public space depends on a spatial ordering which is structured by social class (Low 2005, p.112,117-125; Askew 2002, p.171-173; Hee 2009, p. 83,88). Different social groups need unique rules that relate to their life activities. Therefore, enforcing the same regulation for all users of public space causes significant problems such as conflict among users, and increasingly punitive regulation as a response. These problems are typically found in public housing designed for lower-income communities where residents' lifestyles are unable to match the rules and authorities who enforce them. This social phenomenon has recently manifest in urban Thailand within the Baan Euay Arthorn (BEA) (literally 'home with care') project, a housing scheme started by the National Housing Authority of Thailand (NHA) in 2003 to build and finance 600,000 units of medium-rise housing for the poor (Sintusingha et al., p. 72; Mekintharangur 2004, pp. 126-7).

This research proposes to examine the spatial ordering of common areas (i.e. publicly accessible areas which are located within the property boundaries of BEA condominiums such as courtyards and entranceways) in Bangkok, the capital city of Thailand. The purposes of this project are 1) to understand conflicts over residents' uses of common areas within public housing developments through a lens of class transformation and 2) to identify how these areas are managed and regulated both formally by the NHA and its associated companies, as well as the residents themselves. The BEA condominium complex named 'Baan Euay Arthorn Raminthra (Khu Bon)' in Eastern Bangkok will be used as a research site.

To analyse the use and management of these spaces, one architectural and three sociological concepts are employed. The architectural concept is 'unbound space' (Noparatnaraporn and King 2007, p. 77) which refer to 'uncontrolled and disordered' space or space where zoning of public and private are not seriously considered. The first sociological concept is 'habitus' (Bourdieu 1990, 1977, 1993 cited in Swartz, 2003, p. 100-8) which refers to people's patterns of behaviour and lifestyle which they learn from their family members and/or friends who are in the same social class. Other concepts are 'front region' and 'back region' (Goffman 2007, p.14, 66, 69,75). To illustrate, 'front region' means a place for tidy and formal manners since it is under public observation while 'back region' perceived as a place for performing incomplete and informal activities.

The findings will help understand how spatial ordering is negotiated by public housing residents and contribute to improvements in the the way housing authorities regulate and resolve conflicts over common spaces. The research will add to the body of knowledge of the relationship between social class and contested spatial ordering of shared space and broader social change in Thai society. Moreover, it will provide knowledge that important for dealing with the problems of living in an increasingly urbanised society and overcoming social stratification.

- Askew, M 2002, *Bangkok: Place, practice and Representation*, Routledge, London.
- Bourdieu, P 1977, *Outline of Theory of Practice*, translated by R. Nice, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- _____ 1990, *The Logic of Practice*. Stanford University Press, Stanford.
- _____ 1993, *Sociology in Question*, translated by R. Nice, Thousand Oak, California.
- Goffman, E 2007, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday life*. University of Edinburgh, Social Sciences Research Centre, Edinburgh.
- Hee, L 2009, 'Singapore's public housing spaces: Alter-"native" spaces in transition' in M Butcher & S Velayutham (ed). *Dissent and cultural resistance in Asia's cities*. Routledge, New York, pp. 86-105.
- Low, S M 2005, 'Spatializing Culture: The Social Production and Social Construction of Public Space in Costa Rica' in SM Low (ed.). *Theorizing the city*. Rutgers University Press: New Brunswick, pp. 111-37.
- Mekintharanggur T 2004, *Usage of Outdoor Space in Low Income Residential Community: The case study of Baan Eur Ah-Torn Project, Rangsit Klong Sam* (Unpublished dissertation). Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok. (in Thai)
- Noparatnaraporn C and King R 2007, 'Memory or Nostalgia: The Imagining of Everyday Bangkok'. *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, Vol. 22, no 1, pp.57-82.
- Sintusingha, S Dhabhalabutr, K and Natakun, B. 'Thai democratisation and low-income housing: Baan Eua-Arthorn and Baan Mankong'. *RIMA: Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs*, Vol. 44, No. 2, 2010, pp. 69-87
- Swartz, D (1998). *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*. Chicago: The University of Chicago.

Project Design

Refer to Section 1.1(b) of the [National Statement](#) on Research Merit and Integrity.

This section is the main body of the project description. Please include the following in your response:

- Explain how the proposed methodology is appropriate for achieving the research aims.

- Describe what are participants being asked to do and the level of participant commitment.
- Describe any consequences of withdrawing from the research project.

The study is a qualitative research project which employs non-participant observation and interview research methods. Public housing common areas will be documented to identify how residents currently use these spaces and how they place their belongings within them. This data will be recorded by sketching and taking photos of common areas. No residents will be photographed in this process, only physical details of the areas, such as posters and signs about rules for using the spaces and the physical placement of objects in the space. These observations will take place in common areas which can be normally accessed by members of the public within BEA housing. NHA staff and associated management will be interviewed about how authorities currently regulate BEA common spaces and deal with conflict over these spaces. The interviews will be conducted at the National Housing Authority offices, BEA management offices on site and/or other public spaces.

Participants will be contacted via the NHA, who have given in-principle agreement for their staff to participate. Participants, once nominated by the NHA, will be contacted by the Co-Investigator directly. Informed consent will be acquired before conducting the interviews via a Thai version of the Participant Information and Consent Form (PICF) and verbal explanation from the Co-Investigator. Participants' voluntary participation and right to withdraw at any time without consequences will be emphasised in all communications.

Data Collection and Analysis

Refer to Section 1.1(b) of the [National Statement](#) on Research Merit and Integrity.

Please include the following in your response:

- Describe the research data that will be collected directly from participants and detail how it will be obtained. This includes the discovery and/or disclosure of information from participants or records that are of a personal, private or sensitive nature.
- Detail how your data will be analysed. This includes identifying matching and sampling strategies, accounting for potential bias, confounding factors and missing information, planned or anticipated data linkage/s.

In the non-participant observation research method, the use of BEA common spaces will be observed and collected in form of visual documents (i.e. mapping, sketching and photography), for example, maps or diagrams of the common back yard area occupied with personal furniture. These visual documents will be read, interpreted and analysed to explain the ways residents use space in their everyday life and whether these uses are in accordance with BEA rules and regulations.

As for interview method, data about the management and regulation of common areas will be collected from a semi-structured interview with at least five participants from two groups of housing authority: policy sector (National Housing Authority's staff) and the management (the BEA management company staff). The participants from the first group will provide data on how the authorities currently regulate BEA common spaces. The latter will reveal how the authorities deal with the conflict over use of common areas of this public housing. The conversation will be digitally audio recorded and detailed notes taken. The transcription will be analysed in order to understand how the rules and regulations issued have developed over time as well as how well they are working on managing common spaces. Publicly available documents such as statutory

regulations and BEA policies, as well as relevant grey and academic literature will be gathered and analysed to triangulate with the data gained from interviews.

After that, these three sources of data will be analysed together for finding gaps and inconsistencies that can lead to more efficient management on common space. In this process, all interview and observation participants will be de-identified by giving pseudonyms. No participant will be able to be identified through their job title or other identifying information.

Appendix 3: Participant Information and Consent Form in English

Department of Sociology
Faculty of Arts
MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY NSW 2109



Phone: +61 (0)2 9850 8708
Email: sociology@mq.edu.au

Chief Investigator's/Supervisor's Name & Title: Dr. Justine Lloyd

Participant Information and Consent Form

Name of Project: Spatial Ordering of Public Housing Common Area Use

INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

I _____ agree to be interviewed by Amata Jantarangsee for the study she is undertaking as a part of her Masters of Research degree at Macquarie University. Her thesis aims to study the use and management of Baan Euay-Arthorn common areas.

I understand that the interview will take around 1 hour, and will be recorded by detailed note taking, as well as audio recorded under my permission and that a transcription of the interview will be made. Direct quotes from the interview will be used in published material including the Co-Investigator's Masters of Research thesis. I also understand that I will be deidentified during the research process through use of pseudonym instead of my name and position, and no publication of the results will identify me by name.

I understand that there are no perceived risks or disadvantages to taking part in this research, however, the researchers acknowledge that they will be asking me about current government policies. Therefore, I understand that the interview will not ask me to disclose anything specific about any sensitive areas of my work nor voice personal opinions about policies. If during the interview, I do not wish to answer a question, I may skip it and go to the next question, or I may request that the interview stop immediately.

I am aware that I can request a copy of the transcript, and that the transcript and interview will not be used for any purpose other than the completion of Amata Jantarangsee's thesis, subsequent PhD, or peer reviewed academic journal articles.

If at any time I have any concerns about the interview, the research or this process, I understand that I can contact Amata Jantarangsee's supervisor Dr. Justine Lloyd and/or local contact person Dr. Siyanee Hirunsaree¹ to address my concerns. If I have further concerns I can contact the Macquarie University through the Director, Research Ethics & Integrity (phone: +61 (0)2 9850 7854, email: ethics@mq.edu.au) which will treat my complaint in confidence.²

I agree to participate in this study voluntarily and understand that I have the right to withdraw at any time without having to give a reason and without any adverse consequences.

I have been given a signed copy of this consent form to keep.

_____/_____/_____ Interviewee's signature
Date

_____/_____/_____ Interviewer's/Witness's
signature

¹ Dr. Justine Lloyd /

Dr. Siyanee Hirunsaree/

² The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Ethics Review Committee (Human Research)

Appendix 4: Participant Information and Consent Form in Thai

(ฉบับแปล)

ภาควิชาสังคมวิทยา คณะศิลปศาสตร์
มหาวิทยาลัยแมคควอรี รัฐนิวเซาท์เวลส์ 2109

โทรศัพท์: +61 (0)2 9850 8708
อีเมล: sociology@mq.edu.au



ชื่อและตำแหน่งของหัวหน้าทีมวิจัย/อาจารย์ที่ปรึกษา: ดร.จัสติน ลอยด์

Participant Information and Consent Form ข้อมูลสำหรับผู้เข้าร่วมวิจัยและเอกสารแสดงความยินยอมเข้าร่วมวิจัย

ชื่องานวิจัย: วัฒนธรรมการใช้พื้นที่และการบริหารจัดการพื้นที่ส่วนกลางของคอนโดมิเนียมผู้มีรายได้ต่ำ

ข้าพเจ้า _____ ยินดีเข้าร่วมการสัมภาษณ์เพื่อให้ข้อมูลและแลกเปลี่ยนความคิดเห็นกับนางสาวอมต จันทรัมย์ เพื่อเป็นประโยชน์ต่อการทำวิทยานิพนธ์ของการศึกษาตามหลักสูตรบัณฑิตศึกษา มหาวิทยาลัยแมคควอรี ประเทศออสเตรเลีย โดยรับทราบว่า การวิจัยดังกล่าวเป็นประโยชน์ต่อการสร้างองค์ความรู้เกี่ยวกับวัฒนธรรมการใช้พื้นที่ส่วนกลางและการบริหารจัดการพื้นที่ส่วนกลางของบ้านเอื้ออาทร

ข้าพเจ้าได้รับแจ้งจากผู้วิจัยว่า ผู้วิจัยจะใช้เวลาสัมภาษณ์ประมาณ 1 ชั่วโมงและบันทึกคำให้สัมภาษณ์ของข้าพเจ้าด้วยการจดบันทึก การบันทึกเสียงสามารถทำได้เมื่อข้าพเจ้าให้ความยินยอม ข้าพเจ้ารับทราบว่า ผู้วิจัยจะปกปิดตัวตนของผู้ให้สัมภาษณ์โดยไม่เปิดเผยชื่อและตำแหน่งของข้าพเจ้า การเผยแพร่ในรูปแบบของการใส่เครื่องหมายคำพูดในวิทยานิพนธ์และเอกสารเผยแพร่อื่น ๆ สามารถทำได้เมื่อปกปิดตัวตนผู้ให้สัมภาษณ์เท่านั้น

ข้าพเจ้ารับทราบว่า การเข้าร่วมสัมภาษณ์จะไม่ส่งผลกระทบต่อทางลบหรือสร้างความเสียหายแก่ข้าพเจ้า ผู้วิจัยได้แจ้งข้าพเจ้าว่า ข้อคำถามเกี่ยวกับนโยบายของรัฐบาลเป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการสัมภาษณ์ หากข้าพเจ้าไม่ต้องการให้สัมภาษณ์ในประเด็นดังกล่าว ข้าพเจ้าสามารถขอข้ามไปยังข้อคำถามอื่นหรือขอหยุดการให้สัมภาษณ์ได้

ข้าพเจ้ารับทราบว่า ข้าพเจ้าสามารถขอบันทึกการสัมภาษณ์จากนักวิจัย รวมทั้งข้อมูลจากการสัมภาษณ์จะถูกนำไปใช้เพื่อการศึกษา ซึ่งได้แก่ การทำวิทยานิพนธ์ในระดับบัณฑิตศึกษาและดุษฎีบัณฑิต และบทความวิชาการที่เผยแพร่ในวารสารทางวิชาการเท่านั้น

ข้าพเจ้าได้รับแจ้งว่า หากมีข้อสงสัยหรือความกังวลเกี่ยวกับการสัมภาษณ์หรืองานวิจัย ข้าพเจ้าสามารถติดต่ออาจารย์ที่ปรึกษาของนางสาวอมต จันทรัมย์ซึ่งได้แก่ ดร.จัสติน ลอยด์ และ ผู้ติดต่อในประเทศไทยซึ่งได้แก่ ดร.ศิริภาณี หิรัญสาส์ได้ทันที นอกจากนี้ ข้าพเจ้ายังสามารถปรึกษาหรือส่งข้อร้องเรียนไปยังผู้อำนวยการสำนักจริยธรรมการวิจัยและคุณธรรมในการวิจัยของมหาวิทยาลัยแมคควอรี² ทางหมายเลขโทรศัพท์ +61(0)2 9850 7854 และอีเมล ethics@mq.edu.au เพื่อนำข้อร้องเรียนของข้าพเจ้าไปวินิจฉัยทางลับ

การเข้าร่วมวิจัยครั้งนี้เกิดขึ้นโดยความสมัครใจ ข้าพเจ้ารับทราบว่า ถึงแม้ว่าข้าพเจ้าได้ตัดสินใจเข้าร่วมในการวิจัยครั้งนี้แล้ว ข้าพเจ้ามีสิทธิโดยชอบธรรมที่จะถอนตัวจากการวิจัยครั้งนี้ได้ตลอดเวลาโดยไม่มีผลบังคับที่จะต้องให้เหตุผลกับผู้วิจัยและการถอนตัวจากการวิจัยจะไม่มีผลกระทบใด ๆ ตามมา

ข้าพเจ้าได้อ่านเอกสารฉบับนี้และได้รับคำอธิบายจากผู้วิจัยจนเป็นที่พอใจ ข้าพเจ้ายินยอมเข้าร่วมวิจัยในการวิจัยครั้งนี้

ลายเซ็นของผู้เข้าร่วมวิจัย

_____/_____/_____
วันที่

ลายเซ็นของนักวิจัย

_____/_____/_____
วันที่

¹ ดร.จัสติน ลอยด์ / , ดร.ศิริภาณี หิรัญสาส์ /

² ประเด็นทางจริยธรรมที่เกี่ยวข้องกับงานวิจัยชิ้นนี้ได้รับอนุมัติอย่างเป็นทางการจากคณะกรรมการจริยธรรมการวิจัยในคนแห่งมหาวิทยาลัยแมคควอรี (Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee)

Appendix 5: Interview Schedule in English

Sample of semi-structure questions

1. What are the different between NHA and the management roles in term of setting the regulations and managing common space of Euay Arthorn house?
2. How does the NHA set the regulation and manage common space of Euay Arthorn house?
3. How does the management of lower class condominium set the regulation and manage shared space of Euay Arthorn house?
4. Have any of regulations for common space adopted from other kinds of condominium?
5. Can you give me the example of problem of using or enforcing the rules and regulations?
6. How NHA or management deals with the problems mention in question 5?
7. Are the penalties effective for dealing with the problems of common area use?
8. Are these rules and regulations of Euay-Arthorn house updated?
9. If you could change the rules and regulations of Euay-Arthorn house, what rule you would change? Why?

Appendix 6: Interview Schedule in Thai

แนวคำถามสำหรับการเคหะแห่งชาติ

1. โดยปกติแล้ว การกำหนดกฎระเบียบในการอยู่อาศัยของลูกบ้านเคหะบ้านเอื้ออาทรเป็นอำนาจหน้าที่ของหน่วยงานใด การเคหะแห่งชาติ หรือนิติบุคคลของแต่ละ โครงการบ้านเอื้ออาทร
2. การเคหะแห่งชาติมีวิธีการในการออกกฎระเบียบและบริหารจัดการพื้นที่ส่วนกลางของบ้านเอื้ออาทรอย่างไร
3. กฎระเบียบที่ใช้ในการบริหารพื้นที่ส่วนกลางข้อใดที่การเคหะแห่งชาติสร้างขึ้นจากการดัดแปลงจากกฎระเบียบของ คอนโดมิเนียมหรือที่อยู่อาศัยลักษณะอื่น
4. การเคหะแห่งชาติพบปัญหาในการบริหารจัดการพื้นที่ส่วนกลางของบ้านเอื้ออาทรหรือไม่ ปัญหาดังกล่าวคืออะไร
5. การเคหะแห่งชาติจัดการหรือรับมือกับปัญหาดังกล่าวอย่างไร
6. การลงโทษผู้อยู่อาศัยที่ฝ่าฝืนกฎระเบียบของบ้านเอื้ออาทรช่วยแก้ปัญหาเรื่องการใช้พื้นที่ส่วนกลางได้หรือไม่ อย่างไร
7. กฎระเบียบที่ผู้สัมภาษณ์รวบรวมไว้เป็นกฎระเบียบที่การเคหะแห่งชาติยังบังคับใช้อยู่หรือไม่ มีกฎเกณฑ์ข้อใดที่ยกเลิกหรือไม่ได้รวบรวมไว้หรือไม่ เพราะเหตุใดกฎระเบียบดังกล่าวจึงถูกยกเลิก
8. ท่านคิดว่ากฎระเบียบของลูกบ้านเอื้ออาทรข้อใดที่ควรได้รับการปรับปรุง เพราะอะไร

แนวคำถามสำหรับนิติบุคคลบ้านเอื้ออาทร

1. โดยปกติแล้ว การกำหนดกฎระเบียบในการอยู่อาศัยของลูกบ้านเอื้ออาทรเป็นอำนาจหน้าที่ของหน่วยงานใด การเคหะแห่งชาติ หรือนิติบุคคลของแต่ละ โครงการบ้านเอื้ออาทร
2. นิติบุคคลของโครงการบ้านเอื้ออาทรมีวิธีการในการบริหารจัดการพื้นที่ส่วนกลางของบ้านเอื้ออาทรอย่างไร
3. นิติบุคคลพบปัญหาในการบริหารจัดการพื้นที่ส่วนกลางหรือไม่ ปัญหาดังกล่าวคืออะไร
4. นิติบุคคลจัดการหรือรับมือกับปัญหาดังกล่าวอย่างไร
5. การลงโทษผู้อยู่อาศัยที่ฝ่าฝืนกฎระเบียบของบ้านเอื้ออาทรช่วยแก้ปัญหาเรื่องการใช้พื้นที่ส่วนกลางได้หรือไม่ อย่างไร
6. กฎระเบียบที่ผู้สัมภาษณ์รวบรวมไว้เป็นกฎระเบียบที่ยังบังคับใช้อยู่หรือไม่ มีกฎเกณฑ์ข้อใดที่ยกเลิกหรือไม่ได้รวบรวมไว้หรือไม่ เพราะเหตุใดกฎระเบียบดังกล่าวจึงถูกยกเลิก
7. ท่านคิดว่ากฎระเบียบของลูกบ้านเอื้ออาทรข้อใดที่ควรได้รับการปรับปรุง เพราะอะไร

Appendix 7: Participant Invitation Letter in English

Invitation to participate in a research project

Dear NHA employees and the associate companies,

Attached documents: document 1 draft of interview questions

document 2 Participant Information and Consent Form (PICF)

National Housing Authority is a leading organisation that provide the housing for Thai low-income people. NHA and the association companies have the considerable experiences in managing the Eua Arthorn condominium project. These experiences are valuable for understanding the use and management of Baan Euay Arthorn common areas. This topic is the research that I conduct to meet requirement of Master of Arts at Macquarie University.

As a knowledgeable employee who manages Baan Euay Arthorn project, I would like to invite you to be the interviewee. The interview will ask you to share information and your view on how Baan Euay Arthorn residents use common area and how NHA or your company manages these areas.

Participation in this study is voluntary. Your decision to not participate will be not disclosed and will not bring any adverse consequences. I have attached the draft of interview questions and the Participant Information and Consent Form (PICF) as information for making decision to participate. If you decide to participate, I will contact you via e-mail or another channel convenient for you. The interview will last approximately one hour and will be held during May to July 2019.

Your consideration will be very appreciated.

Your sincerely,

Amata Jantarangsee

Research student

Department of Sociology,

Faculty of Arts, Macquarie University

Appendix 8: Participant Invitation Letter in Thai

เรื่อง ขออนุญาตทำการสัมภาษณ์เพื่อการวิจัย

เรียน บุคลากรและบริษัทที่เกี่ยวข้องด้านการบริหารจัดการโครงการบ้านเอื้ออาทร

สิ่งที่ส่งมาด้วย เอกสารแนบหมายเลข 1 แนวคำถามสำหรับการสัมภาษณ์

เอกสารแนบหมายเลข 2 ข้อมูลสำหรับผู้เข้าร่วมวิจัยและเอกสารแสดงความยินยอมเข้าร่วมวิจัย

การเคหะแห่งชาติเป็นหน่วยงานชั้นนำในการจัดหาที่อยู่อาศัยให้แก่ผู้มีรายได้น้อยในประเทศไทย การเคหะแห่งชาติและบริษัทนิติบุคคลเป็นผู้มีประสบการณ์และความเชี่ยวชาญในการบริหารจัดการโครงการบ้านเอื้ออาทรอย่างยาวนาน ความรู้ดังกล่าวมีความสำคัญเป็นอย่างมากต่อการความเข้าใจวัฒนธรรมการใช้พื้นที่ส่วนกลางของผู้อยู่อาศัยซึ่งเป็นผู้มีรายได้น้อยและการบริหารพื้นที่ส่วนกลางของบ้านเอื้ออาทรซึ่งเป็นหัวข้อวิจัยในวิทยานิพนธ์ระดับบัณฑิตศึกษาของมหาวิทยาลัยแมคควอรี (Macquarie University) ประเทศออสเตรเลียซึ่งข้าพเจ้าศึกษาอยู่

ในฐานะที่ท่านเป็นบุคลากรผู้มีความรู้และประสบการณ์การทำงานด้านการบริหารจัดการบ้านเอื้ออาทร ข้าพเจ้าขออนุญาตทำการสัมภาษณ์ท่านเพื่อขอข้อมูลและความคิดเห็นเกี่ยวกับวัฒนธรรมการใช้พื้นที่ส่วนกลางและการบริหารจัดการพื้นที่ดังกล่าว

การเข้าร่วมในการวิจัยครั้งนี้เป็นการขอให้ท่านเข้าร่วมโดยสมัครใจ การตัดสินใจเข้าร่วมหรือไม่เข้าร่วมจะถูกเก็บเป็นความลับและไม่ส่งผลกระทบต่อตัวท่าน ทั้งนี้ท่านสามารถตรวจสอบแนวคำถามและข้อมูลสำหรับผู้ร่วมวิจัยและเอกสารแสดงความยินยอมเข้าร่วมวิจัยเพื่อการตัดสินใจเข้าร่วมในเอกสารแนบหมายเลข 1 และหมายเลข 2 ที่ได้แนบมานี้

หากท่านยินดีให้ความอนุเคราะห์การสัมภาษณ์ ข้าพเจ้าจะทำการนัดหมายสัมภาษณ์ผ่านอีเมลหรือช่องทางที่ท่านสะดวก โดยใช้เวลาในการสัมภาษณ์ประมาณหนึ่งชั่วโมง ระหว่างเดือนพฤษภาคมถึงกรกฎาคมปี พ.ศ. 2562

จึงเรียนมาเพื่อโปรดพิจารณาและขอขอบคุณมา ณ โอกาสนี้

นางสาวอมต จันทังษ์

นักศึกษาปริญญาโท สาขาสังคมวิทยา

คณะศิลปศาสตร์

มหาวิทยาลัยแมคควอรี ประเทศออสเตรเลีย

Appendix 9: Request for Permission to Conduct Interview and Assistance in Identifying the Participant Letter in English

Dear the governor of National Housing Authority

Attached documents: document 1 draft of interview questions

document 2 Participant Information and Consent Form (PICF)

My name is Amata Jantarangsee and I am a graduate student at Department of Sociology, Macquarie University, Australia. The research I wish to conduct for my Master of Research's thesis involves the use and management of Euay-Arthorn house's common areas. This project will be conducted under the supervision of Dr. Justine Lloyd of Department of Sociology, Macquarie University.

As National Housing Authority is a leading organisation that provide the housing for Thai low-income people, I am hereby seeking your permission to interview the staff in your organisation and your assistance to identify the potential interviewees who acknowledge in policies and management of Euay-Arthorn house's common area. Please kindly find of the interview questions in attached document 1. These questions will be used for interview by myself during May to July 2019.

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Ethics Review Committee (Human Research). The interviewees will be deidentified during the research process by using of pseudonym instead of name and position as specify in attached document 2.

Your assistance and consideration in this matter will be very appreciated.

Your Sincerely,

Amata Jantarangsee

Research student

Department of Sociology,

Faculty of Arts, Macquarie University

Appendix 10: Request for Permission to Conduct Interview and Assistance in Identifying the Participant Letter and Attached Documents in Thai

เรื่อง ขออนุญาตสัมภาษณ์และขอความอนุเคราะห์แนะนำบุคคลากรเข้าสัมภาษณ์

เรียน ผู้อำนวยการการเคหะแห่งชาติ

สิ่งที่ส่งมาด้วย เอกสารแนบหมายเลข 1 แนวคำถามสำหรับการสัมภาษณ์

เอกสารแนบหมายเลข 2 ข้อมูลสำหรับผู้เข้าร่วมวิจัยและเอกสารแสดงความยินยอมเข้าร่วมวิจัย

ข้าพเจ้า นางสาวอมต จันทรังษี นักศึกษาปริญญาโท ภาควิชาสังคมวิทยา มหาวิทยาลัยแมคควอร์รี ประเทศออสเตรเลีย ได้ทำการวิจัยเรื่องวัฒนธรรมการใช้พื้นที่และการบริหารจัดการพื้นที่ส่วนกลางของคนโตมิเนียมนิวมีรายได้น้อย เพื่อจัดทำวิทยานิพนธ์ระดับบัณฑิตศึกษา โดยงานวิจัยดังกล่าวอยู่ภายใต้การควบคุมของ ดร.จัสติน ลอยด์ (Dr. Justine Lloyd) อาจารย์ประจำภาควิชาสังคมวิทยา คณะศิลปศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยแมคควอร์รี งานวิจัยชิ้นนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อทำความเข้าใจวัฒนธรรมการใช้พื้นที่ส่วนกลางของบ้านเอื้ออาทรของผู้อยู่อาศัยซึ่งเป็นผู้มีรายได้น้อยและการบริหารจัดการการใช้พื้นที่ส่วนกลางของบ้านเอื้ออาทรเพื่อตอบสนองความต้องการของผู้อยู่อาศัย

การเคหะในฐานะที่เป็นหน่วยงานชั้นนำในการจัดหาที่อยู่อาศัยให้ผู้มีรายได้น้อย รวมทั้งมีประสบการณ์และความเชี่ยวชาญในการบริหารจัดการโครงการบ้านเอื้ออาทรอย่างยาวนานจึงเป็นหน่วยงานที่สังคมนักวิจัยอื่นเป็นประโยชน์ต่อการโครงการวิจัยนี้เป็นอย่างมาก เพื่อให้การจัดทำวิทยานิพนธ์เป็นไปอย่างราบรื่น จึงขออนุญาตเข้าสัมภาษณ์บุคคลากรในหน่วยงานของท่าน รวมทั้งขอความอนุเคราะห์แนะนำบุคคลากรที่เกี่ยวข้องกับงานนโยบายและการบริหารบ้านเอื้ออาทรที่เหมาะสมแก่การให้สัมภาษณ์ดังแนวคำถามที่ปรากฏในเอกสารแนบหมายเลข 1 โดยผู้วิจัยจะเรียนเชิญบุคคลากรเข้าร่วมสัมภาษณ์และทำสัมภาษณ์ด้วยตนเองในเดือนพฤษภาคมถึงกรกฎาคม ปี พ.ศ. 2561

งานวิจัยชิ้นนี้ได้รับการควบคุมจากคณะกรรมการจริยธรรมการวิจัยและคุณธรรมในการวิจัยของมหาวิทยาลัยแมคควอร์รีซึ่งคำนึงถึงการปกป้องผู้เข้าร่วมการสัมภาษณ์ ผู้เข้าร่วมสัมภาษณ์จะได้รับการปกปิดตัวตนและตำแหน่งงาน รวมถึงการห้ามผู้วิจัยคัดลอกคำพูดโดยตรง (quote) รายละเอียดดังเอกสารแนบหมายเลข 2

จึงเรียนมาเพื่อโปรดพิจารณา หวังเป็นอย่างยิ่งว่าจะได้รับความอนุเคราะห์จากท่านด้วยดี และขอขอบคุณมา ณ โอกาสนี้

อมต จันทรังษี

นักศึกษาระดับปริญญาโท คณะศิลปศาสตร์

มหาวิทยาลัยแมคควอร์รี

แนวคำถามสำหรับการเคหะแห่งชาติ

1. โดยปกติแล้ว การกำหนดกฎระเบียบในการอยู่อาศัยของลูกบ้านเคหะอาหารเป็นอำนาจหน้าที่ของหน่วยงานใด การเคหะแห่งชาติหรือนิติบุคคลของแต่ละโครงการบ้านเคหะอาหาร
2. การเคหะแห่งชาติมีวิธีการในการออกกฎระเบียบและบริหารจัดการพื้นที่ส่วนกลางของบ้านเคหะอาหารอย่างไร
3. กฎระเบียบที่ใช้ในการบริหารพื้นที่ส่วนกลางข้อใดที่การเคหะแห่งชาติสร้างขึ้นจากการดัดแปลงจากกฎระเบียบของคอนโดมิเนียมหรือที่อยู่อาศัยลักษณะอื่น
4. การเคหะแห่งชาติพบปัญหาในการบริหารจัดการพื้นที่ส่วนกลางของบ้านเคหะอาหารหรือไม่ ปัญหาดังกล่าวคืออะไร
5. การเคหะแห่งชาติจัดการหรือรับมือกับปัญหาดังกล่าวอย่างไร
6. การลงโทษผู้อยู่อาศัยที่ฝ่าฝืนกฎระเบียบของบ้านเคหะอาหารช่วยแก้ปัญหาเรื่องการใช้พื้นที่ส่วนกลางได้หรือไม่ อย่างไร
7. กฎระเบียบที่ผู้สัมภาษณ์รวบรวมไว้เป็นกฎระเบียบที่การเคหะชาติยังบังคับใช้หรือไม่ มีกฎเกณฑ์ข้อใดที่ยกเลิกหรือไม่ได้รวบรวมไว้หรือไม่ เพราะเหตุใดกฎระเบียบดังกล่าวจึงถูกยกเลิก
8. ท่านคิดว่ากฎระเบียบของลูกบ้านเคหะอาหารข้อใดที่ควรได้รับการปรับปรุง เพราะอะไร

แนวคำถามสำหรับนิติบุคคลบ้านเคหะอาหาร

1. โดยปกติแล้ว การกำหนดกฎระเบียบในการอยู่อาศัยของลูกบ้านเคหะอาหารเป็นอำนาจหน้าที่ของหน่วยงานใด การเคหะแห่งชาติหรือนิติบุคคลของแต่ละโครงการบ้านเคหะอาหาร
2. นิติบุคคลของโครงการบ้านเคหะอาหารมีวิธีการในการบริหารจัดการพื้นที่ส่วนกลางของบ้านเคหะอาหารอย่างไร
3. นิติบุคคลพบปัญหาในการบริหารจัดการพื้นที่ส่วนกลางหรือไม่ ปัญหาดังกล่าวคืออะไร
4. นิติบุคคลจัดการหรือรับมือกับปัญหาดังกล่าวอย่างไร
5. การลงโทษผู้อยู่อาศัยที่ฝ่าฝืนกฎระเบียบของบ้านเคหะอาหารช่วยแก้ปัญหาเรื่องการใช้พื้นที่ส่วนกลางได้หรือไม่ อย่างไร
6. กฎระเบียบที่ผู้สัมภาษณ์รวบรวมไว้เป็นกฎระเบียบที่ยังบังคับใช้หรือไม่ มีกฎเกณฑ์ข้อใดที่ยกเลิกหรือไม่ได้รวบรวมไว้หรือไม่ เพราะเหตุใดกฎระเบียบดังกล่าวจึงถูกยกเลิก
7. ท่านคิดว่ากฎระเบียบของลูกบ้านเคหะอาหารข้อใดที่ควรได้รับการปรับปรุง เพราะอะไร

ภาควิชาสังคมวิทยา คณะศิลปศาสตร์
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Participant Information and Consent Form

ข้อมูลสำหรับผู้เข้าร่วมวิจัยและเอกสารแสดงความยินยอมเข้าร่วมวิจัย

ชื่องานวิจัย: วัฒนธรรมการใช้พื้นที่และการบริหารจัดการพื้นที่ส่วนกลางของคอนโดมิเนียมผู้มีรายได้น้อย

ข้าพเจ้า _____ ยินดีเข้าร่วมการสัมภาษณ์เพื่อให้ข้อมูลและแลกเปลี่ยนความคิดเห็นกับนางสาวอมต จันทรงศรี เพื่อเป็นประโยชน์ต่อการทำวิทยานิพนธ์ของการศึกษาด้านหลักสูตรบัณฑิตศึกษา มหาวิทยาลัยแมคควอรี ประเทศออสเตรเลีย โดยรับทราบว่าการวิจัยดังกล่าวเป็นประโยชน์ต่อการสร้างองค์ความรู้เกี่ยวกับวัฒนธรรมการใช้พื้นที่ส่วนกลางและการบริหารจัดการพื้นที่ส่วนกลางของบ้านเอื้ออาทร

ข้าพเจ้าได้รับแจ้งจากผู้วิจัยว่า ผู้วิจัยจะใช้เวลาสัมภาษณ์ประมาณ 1 ชั่วโมงและบันทึกคำให้สัมภาษณ์ของข้าพเจ้าด้วยการจดบันทึก การบันทึกเสียงสามารถกระทำได้เมื่อข้าพเจ้าให้ความยินยอม ข้าพเจ้ารับทราบว่า ผู้วิจัยจะปกปิดตัวตนของผู้ให้สัมภาษณ์โดยไม่เปิดเผยชื่อและตำแหน่งของข้าพเจ้า การเผยแพร่ในรูปแบบของการใส่เครื่องหมายคำพูดในวิทยานิพนธ์และเอกสารเผยแพร่อื่น ๆ สามารถกระทำได้เมื่อปกปิดตัวตนผู้ให้สัมภาษณ์เท่านั้น

ข้าพเจ้ารับทราบว่าการเข้าร่วมสัมภาษณ์จะไม่ส่งผลกระทบทางลบหรือสร้างความเสียหายแก่ข้าพเจ้า ผู้วิจัยได้แจ้งข้าพเจ้าว่าข้อคำถามเกี่ยวกับนโยบายของรัฐบาลเป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการสัมภาษณ์ หากข้าพเจ้าไม่ต้องการให้สัมภาษณ์ในประเด็นดังกล่าว ข้าพเจ้าสามารถขอข้ามไปยังข้อคำถามอื่นหรือขอหยุดการให้สัมภาษณ์ได้

ข้าพเจ้ารับทราบว่าข้าพเจ้าสามารถขอบันทึกการสัมภาษณ์จากนักวิจัย รวมทั้งข้อมูลจากการสัมภาษณ์จะถูกนำไปใช้เพื่อการศึกษา ซึ่งได้แก่ การทำวิทยานิพนธ์ในระดับบัณฑิตศึกษาและดุษฎีบัณฑิต และบทความวิชาการที่เผยแพร่ในวารสารทางวิชาการเท่านั้น

ข้าพเจ้าได้รับแจ้งว่า หากมีข้อสงสัยหรือความกังวลใจเกี่ยวกับการสัมภาษณ์หรืองานวิจัย ข้าพเจ้าสามารถติดต่ออาจารย์ที่ปรึกษาของนางสาวอมต จันทรงศรีซึ่งได้แก่ ดร.จัสติน ลอยด์ และ ผู้ติดต่อในประเทศไทยซึ่งได้แก่ ดร.ศิริณี หิรัญสาส์ได้ทันที นอกจากนี้ข้าพเจ้ายังสามารถปรึกษาหรือส่งข้อร้องเรียนไปยังผู้อำนวยการสำนักจริยธรรมการวิจัยและคุณธรรมในการวิจัยของมหาวิทยาลัยแมคควอรี² ทางหมายเลขโทรศัพท์ +61(0)2 9850 7854 และอีเมล ethics@mq.edu.au เพื่อนำข้อร้องเรียนของข้าพเจ้าไปวินิจฉัยทางลับ

การเข้าร่วมวิจัยครั้งนี้เกิดขึ้นด้วยความสมัครใจ ข้าพเจ้ารับทราบว่า ถึงแม้ว่าข้าพเจ้าได้ตัดสินใจเข้าร่วมในการวิจัยครั้งนี้แล้ว ข้าพเจ้ามีสิทธิโดยชอบธรรมที่จะถอนตัวจากการวิจัยครั้งนี้ได้ตลอดเวลาโดยไม่มีผลบังคับที่จะต้องให้เหตุผลกับผู้วิจัยและการถอนตัวจากการวิจัยจะไม่มีผลกระทบใด ๆ ตามมา

ข้าพเจ้าได้อ่านเอกสารฉบับนี้และได้รับคำอธิบายจากผู้วิจัยจนเป็นที่พอใจ ข้าพเจ้ายินยอมเข้าร่วมวิจัยในการวิจัยครั้งนี้

ลายเซ็นของผู้เข้าร่วมวิจัย

วันที่

ลายเซ็นของนักวิจัย

วันที่

¹ ดร.จัสติน ลอยด์ / ดร.ศิริณี หิรัญสาส์ /

² ประเด็นทางจริยธรรมที่เกี่ยวข้องกับงานวิจัยชิ้นนี้ได้รับอนุมัติอย่างเป็นทางการจากคณะกรรมการจริยธรรมการวิจัยในคนแห่งมหาวิทยาลัยแมคควอรี (Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee)

Appendix 11: Example of BEA rules in the General Rule Poster

The BEA rules in the general rules' poster

(Only the rules involving common area use are translated)

- Invading common property by placing objects at common areas and extending objects beyond units' boundaries is prohibited.
- Petting any animals in buildings is prohibited.
- Messing common corridors by sprinkling water, throwing garbage and sweeping dust is prohibited.
- Unit shall be no use for commercial or business activities.
- Air condenser shall be installed as NHA advice, at personal balconies.

Appendix 12: Comparison of Thailand and the Australian currency*

Price	Page reference	Thai Baht	Australian Dollar
BEA buyers' monthly household income criterion	2	22,000	1,073
Management companies' service fee	50	250	12
BEA buyers' monthly household income criterion on 2003	61	13,000	634
BEA buyers' monthly household income criterion on 2005	61	17,500	854
BEA buyers' monthly household income criterion on 2006	61	22,000	1,073
BEA buyers' monthly household income criterion on 2008	61	30,000	1,463
Rental fee of units in Suburbville, Busy-town, and Outskirt-village	61	2,000	98
		3,500	108
Rental fee advertised in leaflet	62 (Figure 5.1)	3,200	156
Approximate price of high- and low-income condominiums in Thailand	64	100,000,000	4,878,049
		300,000	14,634

* The amount of Thai Baht and Australian dollar in this table is calculated from the currency rate as of 13 September 2019, which is in the data analysis period, at 20.5 Baht per 1 Australian dollar.