Breaking Barriers:

Investigating Urban Gating Proliferation and Sustainable Solutions for Bangkok

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Abstract

The rapid proliferation of urban gated communities in Bangkok posed significant challenges to the city's walkability, accessibility, and equitable development. The existing policy framework, including the Bangkok Masterplan 2024, lacked effective strategies to address the negative impacts of urban gating. This research investigated the root causes and effects of urban gating in Bangkok, focusing on the Lumpini area as a case study. By examining the physical manifestations of urban gating, understanding the perspectives of citizens, and analyzing the policy landscape through a socio-technical framework and ethnographic methods, this study aimed to bridge the gap between policy intentions and the lived experiences of residents, providing insights for more equitable and effective urban planning policies.

The research underscored the need for a more nuanced and comprehensive approach to urban planning in Bangkok, one that integrated the social, cultural, and psychological dimensions of urban gating alongside physical and economic factors. The study recommended the development of design guidelines that prioritize inclusivity and community well-being, as well as the implementation of effective communication strategies to foster public understanding and support for open and accessible urban environments. By addressing these critical areas, policymakers could create a more equitable and sustainable urban landscape in Bangkok, where the benefits of urban development are shared by all residents.

Keywords: urban gating, sociotechnical, governmentality, Bangkok, policy instrument

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PART 1: Introduction

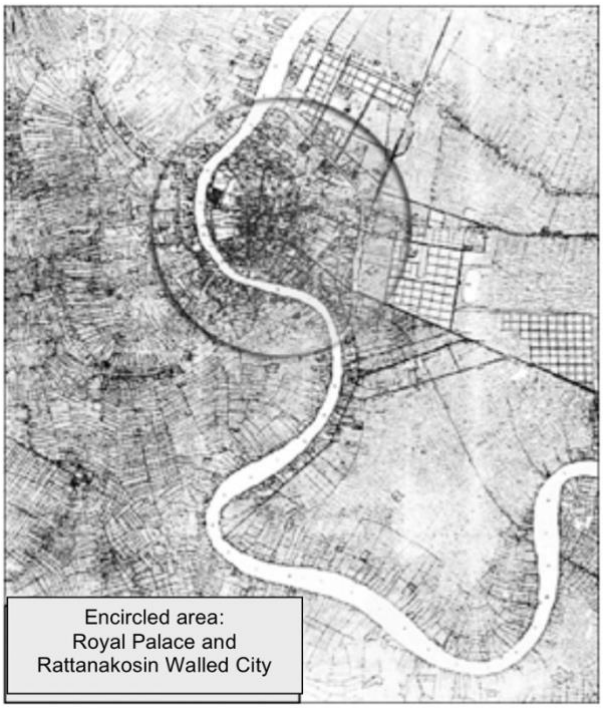
The rapid proliferation of urban gated communities within the Bangkok metropolitan area presents significant challenges to the walkability and accessibility of spaces in the city. The impact of urban gated communities is arguably negative on the city's environment, society, and economy. They limit the growth of accessible green spaces, contribute to social polarization, and hinder equitable economic distribution (Blakely & Snyder, 1997; Boonjubun, 2019; Marcuse, 1997; Webster et al., 2002). While the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA) intends to mitigate these challenges, the ongoing efforts within the current policy of Bangkok's master plan and the upcoming plan of 2024 lack compelling and aligning strategies to encourage stakeholders to follow (Akbar et al., 2023).

This research sought to bridge the gap between policymakers' and citizens' perceptions of urban gating in Bangkok by investigating the root causes and effects of this phenomenon. Despite existing research, a significant gap remained in understanding the regional and local dimensions of urban gating, particularly the disconnect between policy intentions and the lived experiences of residents. This study aimed to address this gap by examining diverse stakeholder perspectives and juxtaposing them with the existing policy landscape, thereby uncovering the underlying dynamics that perpetuated urban gating and identifying potential pathways toward more equitable urban planning. The research employed a socio-technical framework and ethnographic research methods to provide a comprehensive analysis, focusing specifically on the Lumpini area as a case study. The Lumpini area, with its diverse mix of land uses and socioeconomic demographics, was chosen to reflect the broader urban landscape of Bangkok and to provide insights that could be potentially generalizable to other contexts within the city. By examining the physical manifestations of urban gating, understanding the perspectives of citizens, and analyzing the policy landscape, this research aimed to provide policymakers with insights to improve the effectiveness of urban planning policies, ensure alignment with community needs, and achieve the desired outcomes of an accessible urban environment.

1.1 The gated Bangkok

Figure 1

Built up area of Bangkok



Note. From Royal Survey Division, Army Survey Department, Royal Thai Army map in Sternstein (1982: 88).

Founded in 1782 as Rattanakosin (later known as Bangkok), the city emerged under the absolute monarchy of Siam. This system concentrated land ownership and control in the hands of the king and royal family. Land served as a key instrument of power, distributed as rewards to loyal officials and military generals within the feudal hierarchy. The 1932 revolution ushered in a significant shift, transforming Siam into a constitutional monarchy known as Thailand. This transition not only reformed the political landscape but also opened avenues for the emergence of new social classes, including elites and merchants. This burgeoning middle class

began to exert increasing influence, and land ownership patterns gradually began to reflect this changing social order. Notably, the practice of fortifying private residences, previously restricted to palaces and temples, became more widespread, signifying a growing desire for territorial demarcation among this new social stratum (Amen et al., 2006).

Bangkok's cityscape reflects its historical evolution from an agrarian landscape. Early urban development repurposed agricultural land shape, with streets and infrastructure following waterways that primarily served rice cultivation. This resulted in an organic, unplanned city layout characterized by a low street-to-lot ratio and large, irregular blocks (**Figure 1**). Only in 1952 did Bangkok adopt its first master plan. Consequently, the city grapples with the legacy of over a century of unplanned growth, necessitating ongoing efforts to address urban challenges. The most notable was the city's notorious traffic congestion.

Figure 2

Fortified walls of a residential and a polo club

Note. An own image of an urban landscape, which gates and walls are commonly found in an inner area of Bangkok.

The majority of Bangkok's cityscape is dominated by a mix of skyscrapers, shop houses, informal settlements, and fortified walls. Gated communities originally designed for low-rise sub-urban residential purposes originated in the United States (Webster et al., 2002), and is now expanding beyond their intended boundaries to both private and public properties in a dense metropolitan context known as urban gated (Low, 2001). The proliferation of enclosed urban spaces, including gated communities, urban villages, exclusive recreational facilities, and prime office towers, reflects a global trend towards enclave urbanism (Atkinson & Blandy, 2013). Bangkok, without an exception, exemplifies this phenomenon (**Figure 2**).

1.2 The dilemmas of walls

Urban gating, the practice of enclosing land plots with walls or fences and controlling access points, has become a global phenomenon. While often promoted as a solution to safety concerns, urban gating presents a complex social issue with far-reaching consequences.

Socially, in line with the research of Blakely and Snyder (1997), numerous studies have explored the social impacts of gated communities, viewing them as responses to desires for safety, security, lifestyle, or status. Moreover, gated communities have been criticized for isolating residents from neighbors beyond their confines and diminishing social interactions both within the community and with individuals from different socioeconomic backgrounds (Atkinson, 2008; Atkinson & Blandy, 2005; Webster et al., 2002).

Environmentally, with the construction of fortified enclaves, the character of public space changes, as does citizen participation in public life (Caldeira, 2008). Urban gated has led to the encroachment of narrow streets devoid of pedestrian infrastructure, exacerbating the challenges of mobility and accessibility to open space within the city. It compelled residents and street commuters to take detours on their daily journeys in every mode of transportation.

Economically, the proliferation of gated communities can exacerbate existing economic segregation within cities. By creating exclusive enclaves with privatized amenities and services, these communities foster a self-sufficient micro-economy that often operates in isolation from the broader urban context. This insularity limited opportunities for economic interaction and exchange, contributing to a stark contrast between the affluent "citadels" and the marginalized "ghettos" that existed in close proximity. This created "enclaves" that represented a fragmentation of the urban fabric, hindering social cohesion and perpetuating inequality (Marcuse, 1997). The concentration of wealth and resources within these citadels can lead to a decreased flow of capital and investment into the wider community, potentially hindering economic development and perpetuating the cycle of poverty in less affluent areas. Moreover, the reliance on private services within gated communities can contribute to the decline of public infrastructure and services, further disadvantaging those who cannot afford to live within these exclusive enclaves. In contrast, residents of ghettos often struggle to access even basic amenities, highlighting the deep-rooted economic inequalities that gated communities can perpetuate.

1.3 The main-stream hypothesis

According to Cséfalvay & Webster (2012), the proliferation of urban gating can be examined through critical reflections on four major causal hypotheses of the phenomenon.

1.3.1 Crime drives the market

This hypothesis posits that the perceived need for increased security is a major driver of urban gating. Residents in some areas may feel vulnerable to crime, drug activity, or even traffic accidents. In response to these concerns, they seek gated communities equipped with features like imposing walls, controlled access through gates, and private security patrols. These enhancements offer a sense of safety and control for residents, potentially improving their quality of life. However, critics argue that this approach can create a false sense of security, pushing crime to other areas, and exacerbate social divisions within the city(Grant & Mittelsteadt, 2004), (Caldeira, 2008),(Mubi Brighenti & Kärrholm, 2019).

1.3.2 Secession of the successful

This hypothesis explores the link between social stratification and urban gating. It suggests that growing social and economic inequalities within cities can lead to the creation of gated communities for the wealthy. Gating can concentrate wealth and privilege, offering amenities and services, and creating a physical separation between different social classes. Additionally, the physical barriers associated with gates can reinforce social divisions within the city structure. Residents of gated communities may have limited interaction with those outside their enclave, potentially hindering social cohesion. Gated communities not only reflect existing inequalities but can also exacerbate them by concentrating wealth and resources within a limited space, further marginalizing those who cannot afford to live within these secure enclaves (Cséfalvay & Webster, 2012).

1.3.3 Flight from blight

This hypothesis focuses on the dissatisfaction residents may feel with public services and government processes. If residents perceive that public authorities are unable to adequately protect their neighborhoods from unwanted activities or undesirable residents, they may turn to gated communities as a solution. This can be motivated by a lack of faith in the ability of public services to maintain order, leading residents to seek private solutions within gated communities that offer a sense of control over their immediate environment. Additionally, residents may desire a more homogenous and orderly environment than what they perceive is

offered in the broader urban context. Gated communities can provide this by regulating access and limiting the types of activities allowed within the enclave. However, this approach can have negative consequences. Gated communities may further strain public resources by shifting the responsibility for security and maintenance to private entities, potentially exacerbating existing inequalities within the city(Christensen, 2012; Low, 2001; Stone, 1995).

1.3.4 Riding the private wave

The "Riding the Private Wave" hypothesis proposed that gated communities were primarily established by high-income individuals seeking to enhance their security and create their own amenities and services, rather than relying on public provisions. While these communities may have exhibited characteristics of voluntary self-segregation among the affluent, the core motivation, as highlighted by Marcuse (1997), was less about social exclusion and more about a preference for privatized solutions and control over their living environment. This distinction differentiated gated communities from ethnic enclaves like Chinatowns, which were often formed as a response to social exclusion or to preserve cultural identity.

Although gated communities may have fostered strong internal bonds and offered exclusive amenities, they could have inadvertently contributed to social stratification by concentrating wealth and resources within a select group. The desire for self-reliance and privatized services, while understandable, may have led to further fragmentation of the urban landscape and perpetuated existing inequalities (Marcuse, 1997).

1.4 The Challenge to Bangkok's Goals

The proliferation of walls and urban gates in Bangkok is raising barriers and impeding the city's progress toward achieving its sustainability goals of carbon neutrality in 2050 and net zero emissions in 2065. Following the UN Sustainable Development Cooperation Framework 2022-2026 (United Nations Thailand, 2021) and The Thirtieth National Economic and Social Development Plan 2023-2027 (Office of the National Economic and Social Development Council, Office of the Prime Minister, 2023), The Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA) is currently formulating the new Bangkok master plan 2024. The master plan aims to transition the city toward a non-car-centric model with a concept of Transit Oriented Development (TOD) (Carlton, 2009). This initiative aims to promote the use of public transportation and encourage citizens to adopt sustainable modes of commuting for first and last-mile travel, including walking, biking, and shared mobility options. Furthermore, the city intends to increase citizen's welfare by creating more accessible amenities such as public green areas, hospitals, and educational facilities within the neighborhood level (C40 cities, 2020).

However, the fragmented urban landscape created by the proliferation of gated communities, with their limited access points and internal road networks, poses a significant challenge to these ambitious plans. The restricted connectivity and reduced public space within these communities hinder the development of efficient public transportation routes and walkable neighborhoods, undermining the core principles of TOD. Addressing this challenge will require innovative solutions that balance the desire for security and exclusivity within gated communities with the broader needs of a sustainable and inclusive urban environment.

1.5 The absence of empirical local study

The academic landscape dedicated to understanding the rise of gated communities was constantly growing. Yet, a fundamental question persisted: why did some cities experience a dramatic transformation due to the spread of gated developments, while others remained relatively unaffected?

While major cities like Tokyo and Paris saw few instances of urban gating, Southeast Asian and Chinese metropolises faced a rampant proliferation of walls(Cséfalvay & Webster, 2012). This disparity hinted at a more nuanced story than simply replicating the Western model of gated communities. Scholars like Webster et al. (2002) suggested the answer might lie in the interplay between domestic benefits, participant preferences, and the specific economic and social context of a city. Furthermore, Boonjubun (2019) argued that the Western concept of "gated communities" needed to be re-evaluated and contextualized when applied to cities in the Global South, where factors like security concerns, social status signaling, and limited access to public infrastructure might play a significant role.

Effective policymaking thrived on a deep understanding of the complex issues it sought to address. However, relying solely on broad statistics or national trends could often overlook the nuanced realities on the ground. As Head and Alford (2015) pointed out in their exploration of "wicked problems" in public policy and management, national trends and broad statistics often fail to capture the intricate and context-dependent nature of many societal issues. These "wicked problems" resisted easy solutions due to their interconnectedness, constantly evolving nature, and the presence of diverse stakeholder values. Furthermore, the gap between scientific data and societal values could further hinder effective policymaking (Lavis et al., 2004). National trends often represented a scientific understanding of an issue, but these trends might not have accounted for the social, cultural, and ethical considerations held by the communities most affected by policy decisions. Cash et al. (2003) emphasized the importance of integrating local knowledge systems with scientific research. By incorporating the lived experiences and perspectives of local communities, policymakers gained a more holistic understanding of the issue at hand. This allowed for the development of policy solutions that were not only evidence-based but also culturally sensitive and ethically grounded.

This was where the value of focusing this research on a specific study area became crucial. By delving deeper into the local context, this research could gain a richer understanding of the lived experiences, social dynamics, and specific challenges faced by a particular community. This nuanced knowledge, combined with a strong foundation in scientific research and an awareness of local values, was essential for crafting targeted and effective policy recommendations that addressed the root causes of complex issues.

1.6 Research Aim and Questions

The Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA) intended to enhance city connectivity by painting road markings to designate secondary walkways and bicycle paths, aiming to improve mobility and accessibility to the city's infrastructure. The BMA also endeavored to create more green spaces within a 15-minute reach, promoting the well-being of neighborhood residents. However, the ongoing efforts within the current framework of Bangkok's master plan and the upcoming plan of 2024 lacked compelling strategies to encourage stakeholder compliance. Moreover, the target audience for these policies and campaigns primarily comprised larger-scale land developers, often overlooking bottom-up and citizen-level concerns.

Understanding the origins of physical and psychological barriers associated with urban gating presents a crucial opportunity for the city to untangle Bangkok's mobility and find its lost spaces (Trancik, 1986). There is still a notable gap in empirical research regarding the regional and local aspects of the walling phenomenon (Cséfalvay & Webster, 2012; Webster et al., 2002). While some Bangkok-based studies focus on specific domains such as condominiums (Boonjubun, 2019) and sub-urban housings (Wissink & Hazelzet, 2016), there are gaps in comprehensive studies between stakeholders that share benefits and drawbacks of urban gating. Area-specific research would illuminate conflicts and discrepancies in gating perceptions among stakeholders and the professional responses in policymaking involved.

The primary objective of this research is to delve into a sociotechnical systems approach (Sorrell, 2018) to provide a better understanding of the complex urban gating phenomenon and analyze the shifted interest between citizens and policymakers in order to inform the optimized and effective insight for policymaking . First, this study aims to examine the physical appearance of urban gating in the Lumpini area to identify its characteristics and ownership. Second, it intends to thoroughly study stakeholders' concerns, motivations, and experiences with urban gating. The viewpoints of residents, street users, and landowners will be considered. Third, it aspires to investigate the formal and informal rules and policies that influence the practice of urban gating, and the professional responses from the policy maker. Last, the research aspires to leverage these insights to develop targeted policy recommendations and campaign strategies. By distilling the investigated socio-technical system of urban gating and the possibility of intervention and development into actionable strategy, addressing the shifted position and alignment between urban planners and the residents, and fostering a more inclusive approach. The dissemination of these recommendations will take the form of policy briefs, to effectively communicate key insights and proposals to policymakers with a comprehensive regime in the upcoming Bangkok's 2024 masterplan.

Research question

How can the Bangkok Masterplan 2024's strategies in urban gating mitigation be improved by aligning perspectives between citizen viewpoints and professional responses in policymaking? A case study of Lumpini, Bangkok.

Sub questions

1) What are the main characteristics of urban gates in Lumpini area in term of type, size/height, ownership, and technology?

2) How do Lumpini's residents perceive the presence of urban gates, and how the phenomenon influences their experiences and interpretations of mobility, accessibility, and safety within the neighborhood?

3) What policy instruments are used to manage the practice of urban gating in the city and how do policymakers perceive urban gating mitigation?

1.7 Scope of work

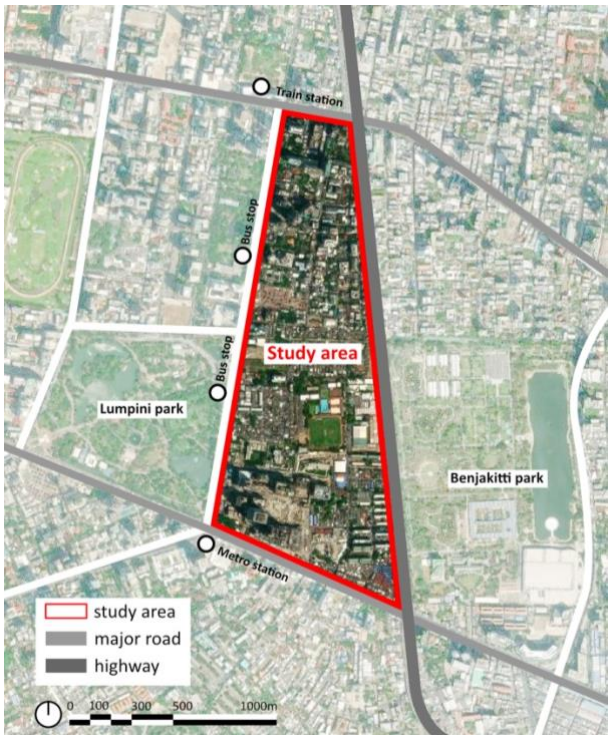
The research selected the Lumpini block as a study area of urban gating practices (**Figure 3**). Situated between Lumpini Park and Benjakitti Park, this superblock underwent a significant redevelopment driven by both private and public sectors. Like many Bangkok neighborhoods, Lumpini grappled with the growing phenomenon of urban gating amidst high-density development and limited access to public green spaces and transportation nodes.

Encompassing approximately 0.71 square kilometers with a population of 17,000, the area boasted a diverse mix of buildings and land uses, ranging from informal settlements

to luxurious mixed-use complexes. This rich tapestry offered a comprehensive perspective on urban gating and made Lumpini a valuable resource for research with potential for wider application. In essence, the Lumpini area functioned as a microcosm, reflecting the complex interplay between urban walls, policymaking, and their social consequences in Bangkok. By focusing on this specific area, the research aimed to generate rich and nuanced qualitative data that could inform local policy decisions and contribute to a broader understanding in the global phenomenon of urban gating.

Figure 3

Study area of Lumpini, Bangkok



Note. Own image. A map of the Lumpini block showing the adjacent major park with the transportation hub located only at the edge of the area.

This research adopted a qualitative approach, grounded in social science, to explore resident experiences, perceptions, and perspectives on the phenomenon of urban gating. The study examined policies and governance practices related to urban gating within the context of the BMA, focusing on the incentive instruments within the Bangkok Masterplan 2024 framework.

PART 2: Theoretical Framework

This research adopted a socio-technical framework as its primary lens. This framework acknowledged the interconnectedness of social factors (resident needs, perceptions), technical aspects (design, infrastructure of gated communities), and the institutional environment (policies, regulations) that shaped urban gating practices. Furthermore, the research integrated governmentality theory to analyze how citizens experiences of urban gating compared to the perspectives and approaches of Bangkok's governance actors. This combined approach enabled a deeper understanding of the power dynamics and knowledge production processes that shaped policy justifications for urban gating, and how these justifications might have aligned or diverged from residents' lived experiences.

2.1 Socio-technical system framework

Sociotechnical systems has been widely used to analyze the complex interactions between humans and technology, in this case, urban gates (Walker, Stanton, Salmon, & Jenkins, 2008)(Jenkins & Great Britain, 2009). The definition of sociotechnical lies in the combination of ‘Socio’ (of people and society) and ‘Technical’ (of machines and technology). Sociotechnical system theory is grounded in two primary principles. Firstly, it posits that the interplay between social and technical elements shapes the effectiveness (or ineffectiveness) of system performance. These interactions encompass both linear cause-and-effect relationships (Walker et al., 2008). In the context of urban gating, a linear cause-and-effect relationship could be observed in the direct impact of technical elements like walls

and fences on the physical accessibility of an area. However, the sociotechnical framework highlights that the effectiveness of such measures is not solely dependent on their physical presence but is also influenced by social factors such as perceptions of safety, community dynamics, and cultural norms surrounding privacy and exclusion. Secondly, the optimization of either social or technical aspects tends to increase not only the number of non-linear relationships but also those relationships that are detrimental to the system's performance. Therefore, sociotechnical theory focuses on achieving a joint optimization of the system.

Urban gating emerged from the interaction of 'Technology' (urban gated character), 'Actors' (people's beliefs and experiences), and 'Institutions' (policy and governance). This research delved into the shifting perspectives between citizens and policymakers regarding urban gating practices. By analyzing these interactions, the researcher aimed to achieve a more nuanced understanding of the phenomenon, its social and spatial implications, and the underlying motivations of both citizens and policymakers. This deeper understanding was deemed valuable for informing the development of new urban planning approaches that were effective, equitable, and responsive to the needs of all stakeholders.

2.2 Governmentality

Michel Foucault's concept of governmentality (Foucault et al., 1991) offers lens for delving deeper into the puzzle of urban gating practices in Bangkok. Rather than simply analyzing formal policies or resident demographics, governmentality allows a research to explore the complex interplay between policy justifications, resident experiences, and the built environment of urban gating. A crucial element of this approach involves analyzing the policy discussions surrounding urban gating, particularly those focused on security, accessibility, and mobility, as a means of generating knowledge and understanding about the issue (Rose, 1999). By analyzing these pronouncements (policy discourses surrounding urban gating), the research can explore how they act as a form of knowledge production, shaping residents' perceptions of urban safety and potentially influencing their decisions to reside within these urban barriers. Furthermore, these pronouncements influence how residents navigate these spaces on a daily basis, shaping their interactions with security personnel, utilization of amenities, and even potentially leading to self-regulation of behavior to align with the promoted sense of order and security. This includes examining how they interact with security personnel, utilize amenities within the gated area, and potentially regulate their own behavior in response to the promoted sense of order and security.

Finally, the design and management practices of gated communities themselves (walls, security checkpoints) contribute to a specific spatial environment that can foster a sense of self-governance among residents (Foucault et al., 1991; Scott, 2020). By analyzing these features through the lens of governmentality, the research can explore how the built environment intersects with policy discourses to shape residents' sense of security and potentially encourage them to internalize certain behavioral norms within the gated space. In essence, this combined approach of socio-technical and governmentality frameworks allows for a more nuanced understanding of how urban gating practices in Bangkok are not just constructed and managed, but also experienced by both residents and policymakers.

Rationalities of Government: This refers to the ways in which knowledge production and justifications are used to legitimize governing practices. It explores how specific forms of knowledge (e.g., scientific studies, economic

reports) are used to shape how populations are governed.

Technologies of Government: This category focuses on the specific tools and techniques used to implement governing practices. It examines different mechanisms like disciplinary techniques (schools, workplaces), biopolitical techniques (healthcare systems, population control), and security techniques (surveillance, crime control) to understand how individuals and populations are shaped and managed.

Resistance and Transformation: This section acknowledges that governmentality is not a one-way street. It explores how individuals and groups might resist imposed governing practices. This includes potential for non-compliance, alternative practices, and the emergence of "sites of contestation" like social movements or counter-narratives that challenge the established order.

PART 3: Research Methodology

This chapter outlined the methodology employed to explore the social and policy dimensions of urban gating in Bangkok. A socio-technical framework guided the investigation, acknowledging the interplay between the characteristics, the residents' experiences and the policy structures that shaped gated communities. To gain a nuanced understanding, the research adopted a multi-method approach (**Figure 4**). Ethnographic research focused on the perspectives of residents in Lumpini, a key area experiencing urban gating, through walk-along method, and visual documentation. Policy analysis was then conducted by reviewing relevant documents and interviewing key policymakers involved. A multi-vocal approach was employed through constructive juxtaposition to analyze these findings. By focusing on Lumpini as a case study, this research provided a multifaceted analysis of the perspectives on urban gating in Bangkok, considering both residents' experiences and the policy environment.

3.1. Visual documentation

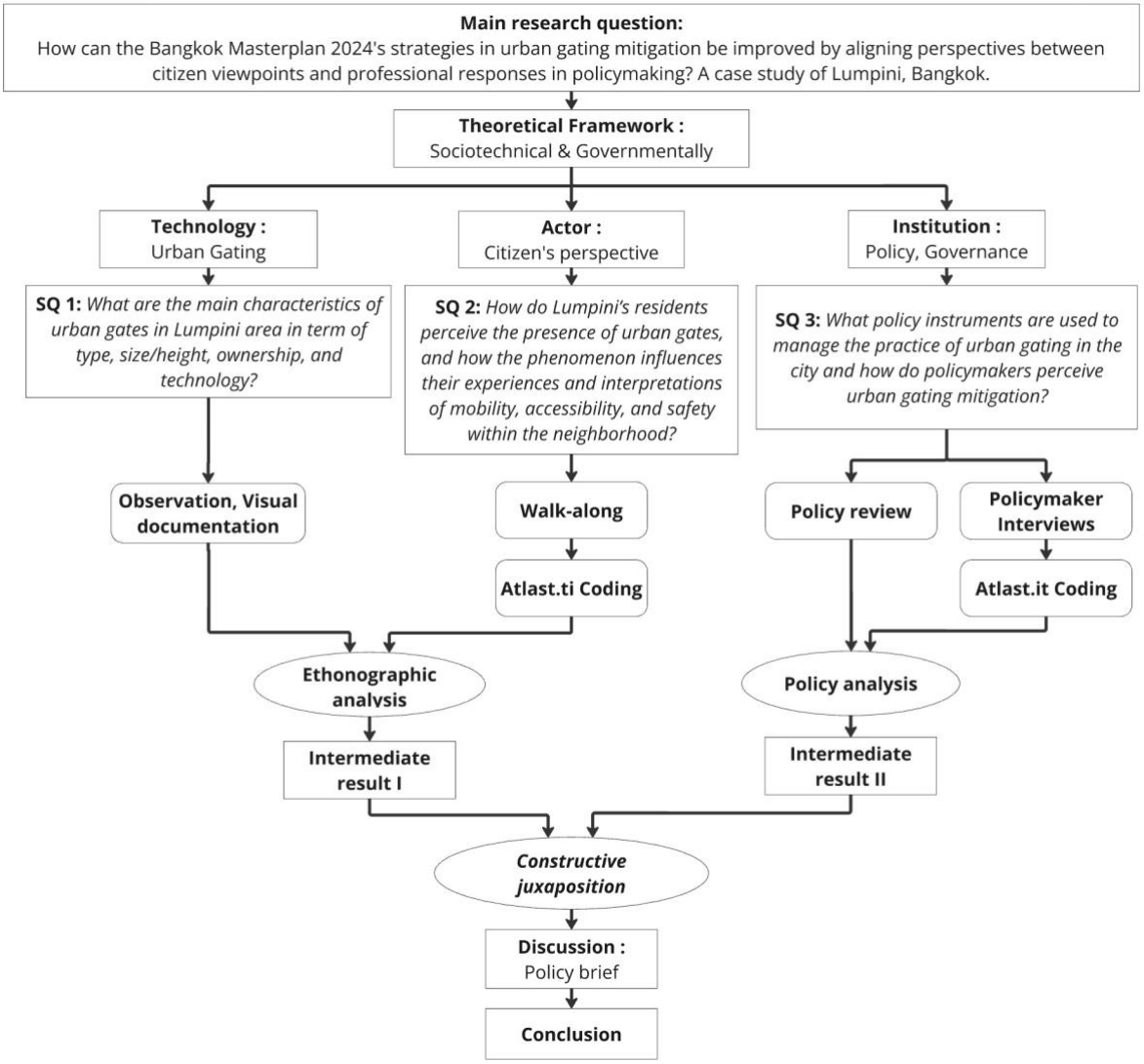
To address the first sub-question, "What are the main characteristics of urban gates in the Lumpini area in terms of type, size/height, ownership, and technology?", visual documentation was employed. These observation included walls, fences, security checkpoints, signage, and architectural elements that contribute to the physical characteristics of the gated spaces. (**Appendix A**).

To gather comprehensive data on the characteristics of gated spaces within the Lumpini area, this research employed a systematic data collection approach. This involved traversing the study area on foot and conducting on-site observations. Key features of the gated spaces, such as walls, fences, security checkpoints, and signage, were documented through photographs. Additionally, relevant details were captured in tables to facilitate further analysis. Determining the location and ownership of each gated space involved a combined effort. On-site observations of any available signage were combined with information gleaned from Google Maps. This ensured accuracy and provided a comprehensive picture of the ownership structure within the study area.

The researcher utilized a matrix developed by Jenkins et al. (2009) to classify the type of each gated space. This matrix provided a consistent framework for analyzing the various types of gating present in the Lumpini area. For height, on-site observation by the researcher provided an estimation in meters. This combination of data collection methods ensured a comprehensive understanding of the key characteristics of the gated spaces within the study area.

Figure 4

Research flow diagram



3.2. Walk-along

To examine the second sub-question, "How do Lumpini's residents perceive the presence of urban gates, and how the phenomenon influences their experiences and interpretations of mobility, accessibility, and safety within the neighborhood?", this research incorporated a walk-along method, a qualitative data collection technique in ethnographic research (Kusenbach, 2003). Walk-along (on foot) is the most common and practical modes of go-along method developed by Kusenbach(2003) with an intentionally aim at capturing the stream of perceptions, emotions and interpretations that informants usually keep to themselves. Unlike the traditional sit-in interviews, walk-along could sensitize ethnographers to the idiosyncratic sets of relevance that govern their informants' environmental experiences by an informal conversation along participant's usual routes within Lumpini area.

Ethnographic studies of public spaces traditionally rely on the solitary and transient observer. This method capitalizes on the anonymity characteristic of public spaces , streets and the phenomenon of urban gating, where interactions are governed by broad categories rather than personal connections.

Walk-alongs offer a distinct advantage for a deeper understanding of social dynamics. By accompanying participants in public settings, researchers gain a more intimate perspective on interactions compared to other methods. These insights, gleaned from live experiences in public spaces, can then be applied to reconstruct the dynamics of more private and communal realms including Perception , Spatial Practices, Biographies, Social Architecture and Social Realms (Kusenbach, 2003).

The researcher, initially an outsider, spent two months conducting frequent visits during the day and night. This immersion allowed the researcher to experience the place firsthand and build a relationship of mutual understanding and trust between a rearcher and the community of Lumpini. The researcher actively engaged with various stakeholders, including residents, street vendors, security officers, children, and community leaders. Through these interactions, the researcher gradually integrated into the community and identified potential participants using a snowball sampling method. The researcher provided each participant with a brief of the walk-along process and a consent form adapted from the TU Delft guidelines on participant data collection and protection processes. Participants were asked to sign the form before proceeding.

During the walk-alongs, the researcher accompanied participants for 30-60 minutes on their daily commutes within the neighborhood. The researcher engaged conversations in Thai, focused on participants' biographies, experiences, and practices as they unfolded in real-time and space. The walks included occasional stops at specific locations to gather more detailed narratives.

These conversations were audio-recorded using wireless microphones and the MEMO app. The recordings were then transcribed verbatim into English using a Transkriptor software. To ensure accuracy, the researcher proofread the transcripts. Finally, thematic analysis will be employed using ATLAS.ti software. Complete transcripts are available upon request. Please contact the author at t.sangkharom@student.tudelft.nl or sangkharom.t@gmail.com for access. This approach allows for the systematic identification, organization, and interpretation of recurring themes within the data. Thematic analysis will focus on residents' lived experiences and perspectives on urban gating within their usual context. Participants involved in the walk-along were shown in **Table 1**.

Table 1

List of walk-along participants

No	Occupation	Sex/Age	Actor type
1	A housewife (ex-security guard)	Female (34)	Area dweller
2	A school security guard	Female (55)	Non-area dweller
3	A polo-club member	Male (36)	Non-area dweller
4	An office worker (One Bangkok employee)	Male (33)	Non-area dweller
5	A street food vender	Male (55)	Area dweller
6	A Office worker	Male (33)	Area dweller

3.3 Policy Analysis

To answer the last sub-question “What policy instruments are used to manage the practice of urban gating in the city? and how do policymakers reflect the priorities and values

regarding urban gating mitigation?", the following methodologies were used.

3.3.1 Policy review

This research employed a systematic review approach to analyze relevant policy documents related to urban gating in Bangkok. By examining this broad spectrum of policy tools, the research aimed to identify the full range of factors currently shaping the practice of urban gating within the city. This analysis encompassed both formal and informal instruments relevant to Bangkok metropolitan area (BMA). The list of policies then classified with types of policy instrument legal and regulator, economic and financial, social and cultural tools.
The research then focused on the Masterplan 2024 on floor area ratio bonus (FAR) as the scope of the search.

3.3.2 Policymaker interview

To gain deeper insights into policymakers' perspectives on urban gating mitigation, semi-structured interviews were be conducted with policymakers involved in developing Bangkok's new master plan and relevant officers within the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA). The interviewee list could be found in **Table 2**.

Interviewee were informed and signed a consent form of data protection and recording agreement before the interview started. The interviews were conducted online and offline, depending on participant availability. The interview ere conducted in Thai. Each interview lasted between 1-3 hours started with a short presentation of the topic by a researcher. At the conclusion of the interviews, each policymaker was asked to rank their prioritization of the Bangkok Masterplan 2024's objectives. This ranking exercise was facilitated using MIRO, a virtual dashboard platform. Contents were recorded and transcribe in Thai text with MSteam then got translate with Transkriptor software. This translation was subsequently proofread by the researcher to ensure accuracy. Complete transcripts are available upon request. Please contact the author at t.sangkharom@student.tudelft.nl or sangkharom.t@gmail.com for access.

A thematic analysis approach will be employed using ATLAS.ti software to identify recurring themes and patterns in the qualitative data collected from these interviews.

Table 2

List of interviewees

No	Name	Role
1	Asst. Prof. Dr. Nopanant Tapananont	Head of Bangkok masterplan 2024
2	Thanicha Niyomwan	Consultant Bangkok masterplan 2024
3	Asst. Prof. Dr. Nattapong Punnoi	Consultant for Bangkok masterplan 2024
4	Kasempun Trakulkajornsak	Consultant for Bangkok masterplan 2024

3.4 Constructive juxtaposition data analysis

This research will employ a constructive juxtaposition approach (Aceska, 2023) to analyze the multifaceted perspectives of urban gating in Bangkok, unpacking aspects of a policy assemblage – the interplay between actors, institutions, and discourses in the processes of implementation in BMA's plan. By putting ethnographic and policy analysis data side by side, this analysis will utilize the theoretical lens of governmentality to examine how power relations, ideas, and experiences are constructed and communicated.

By juxtaposing ethnographic data with policy analysis, this research will explore the alignment or misalignment between residents' experiences and the ideas embedded within policy instruments for urban gating. Identifying these alignments and misalignments will provide valuable insights for optimizing the effectiveness of policy instruments. For instance, if residents express feelings of isolation within gated communities despite policies promoting social cohesion, this highlights a potential gap that policymakers can address through revised strategies or complementary initiatives. By understanding these discrepancies, the research can ultimately contribute to the development of more informed and socially responsible urban planning approaches in Bangkok.

PART 4: Result

4.1 Characteristics of urban gating in Lumpini area

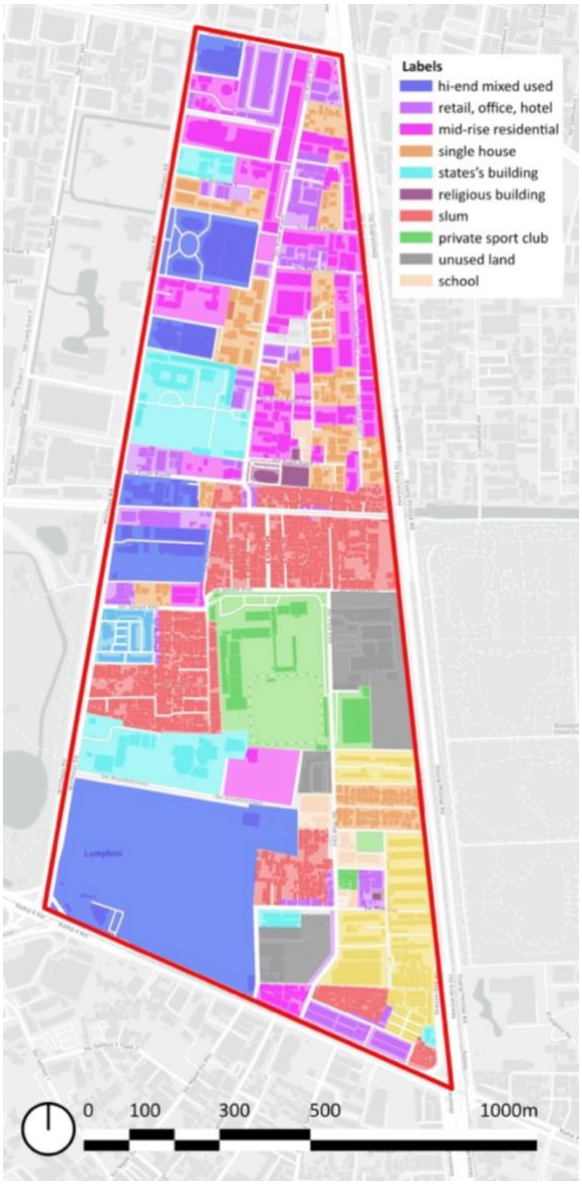
Lumpini area is filled with a very diverse in term of land-use and user. There were residents of the area as well as people who come to the area to work or other business. While the majority of the lands were owned by the Crown Property Bureau (CPB), the land then got long term rented to low-income housings hi-rise developments.

Social housing, also named as Bon-Kai, have no walls and gated. In densely populated neighborhoods, houses are often tightly packed together, sometimes even back-to-back. However, those with better means often construct walls and fences around their homes, creating a sense of seclusion and privacy.

However, the new coming new renter of the area by high-end developers have changed the whole landscape of the area as highlighted in blue on **Figure 5**. This newer development of a high-rise mixed used building adopted a more modern idea of opening up public spaces and creating a non-gated area. The characteristic of urban gating in Lumpini area could be categorized according to the land and building use in three main categories; 1) residential-use, 2) commercial-use, and 3) governmental institutes, public utility and amenity.

Figure 5

A Lumpini block's land-use map



Note. Own image. A map of the Lumpini block illustrating the diverse land use within the area.

4.1.1 Residential-use

The urban landscape reflects social class divisions through the presence or absence, and the specific characteristics, of gates and walls surrounding various housing types.

Luxury Housing: Security reigns supreme in luxury developments, typically high-rise condominiums, luxury apartments, and mansions (**Figure 6**). These gated communities often employ perimeter walls made of concrete, brick, or high-security fencing. Unlike walls in other areas, these are typically tall and completely opaque, creating a physical barrier that obstructs any view into or out of the community. Gated entrances are imposing and heavily secured, with a constant presence of security guards. Access control is strict, requiring residents and authorized visitors to undergo rigorous procedures, such as keycard or car sticker verification, before gaining entry. Single Houses: Gating practices in single-house neighborhoods vary significantly. Some neighborhoods might have no walls or gates at all, relying on community-wide security measures for protection. However, individual homeowners often choose to construct fences or walls around their property lines. These walls are typically shorter than those surrounding luxury housing and may be made of various materials like wood, metal, or brick. The level of opacity also varies depending on the homeowner's preference for privacy or openness. For added security and privacy, some individual homeowners might install gated driveways or access points with keypad entry or intercom systems.

Informal Settlements and Social Housing: Informal settlements, typically located on the fringes of cities, often lack the resources for extensive gating. Dwellings in these areas might have no walls or fences surrounding them, or they might have makeshift barriers constructed from readily available materials like wood scraps or corrugated metal (**Figure 7**). These barriers, if present, are primarily for basic privacy or security against petty theft. Formal gates are typically absent in these areas. Social housing, on the other hand, takes a different approach. Designed from the outset without perimeter walls or fences, social housing prioritizes creating a sense of community and open space. This variation in the physical characteristics of gates and walls across different social classes highlights the influence of social and economic factors on how people define security and community within their living spaces.

Figure 6

A gated condominium in Lumpini area

Note. Own image. A secure entrance to a high-rise condominium, featuring tall fences, manicured hedges, and a staffed security guard post with an access control.

Figure 7

A polo club neighborhood

Note. Own image. An informal settlement with a narrow street that was inaccessible to cars.

Table 3.1

Characteristic of urban gating: Residential-use

No	Image	location	use	ownership	type	visibility	height (m)	technology
1		Polo park	Condo-minium	private-owned land	Restricted entry bounded areas	Complete Solid	3	Brick wall, security post, swing arm, cctv
2		Athenee resident	Condo-minium	private-owned land	Walled subdivision	Complete Solid	3	brick wall, tree camera, security guard
3		Athenee resident	Condo-minium	private-owned land	Walled subdivision	Complete Solid	2.5	brick wall, tree camera, security guard
4		Siri Apart-ment	Apartment	Rental, private-owned land	Restricted entry bounded areas	Complete Solid	3	brick wall, shrub, gate, cctv
5		Siri Apart-ment	Apartment	Rental, private-owned land	Restricted entry bounded areas	Complete Solid	3	brick wall, security post, swing arm, cctv

Note. Image taken by the author between May and June 2024.

Table 3.2

Characteristic of urban gating: Residential-use

No	Image	location	use	ownership	type	visibility	height (m)	technology
6		Sutavong Place	Apartment	Rental, National Housing Authority	Restricted entry bounded areas	Partialy open	2.5	Brick wall
7		Wireless road 1	Townhouse	Private-owned land	Fully gated	Complete Solid	2.2	Brick wall
8		Wireless road 1	Single house	Private-owned land	Fully gated	Highly open	2.5	Openwork metal fence, gate
9		Sanam Khli alley	Single house	Private-owned land	Fully gated	Complete Solid	3	Brick wall, gate, cctv
10		Bonkai Social housing	Social housing	Rental, National Housing Authority	Partially gated	Partialy open	2.6	metal fence, security guard post, swing arm

Note. Image taken by the author between May and June 2024.

Table 3.3

Characteristic of urban gating: Residential-use

No	Image	location	use	ownership	type	visibility	height (m)	technology
11		Food Land housing	Employee housing	Private-owned land	Restricted entry bounded areas	Partially Open	3	Brick wall, gate
12		Royal resident park	Apartment	Private-owned land	Restricted entry bounded areas	Complete solid	2.8	Brick wall, security post, cctv
13		Ake building	Single house	Private-owned land	Fully gated	Partially open	2.5	Dense shrub
14		Ruam-rudee house	Apartment	Private-owned land	Restricted entry bounded areas	Complete solid	3	Brick wall, gate, cctv
15		polo neighbor-hood	informal sattlement	Rental, The Crown Property Bureau	Fully gated	Complete Solid	4.4	Brick wall

Note. Image taken by the author between May and June 2024.

Table 3.4

Characteristic of urban gating: Residential-use

No	Image	location	use	ownership	type	visibility	height (m)	technology
16		polo neighbor-hood	Single house	Rental, The Crown Property Bureau	Fully gated	Complete solid	2.5	Brick wall, gate
17		Pluk chit neighbor-hood	Single house	Rental, The Crown Property Bureau	Fully gated	Partially open	2.8	Brick wall, spike, gate
18		Pluk chit neighbor-hood	Single house	Rental, The Crown Property Bureau	Fully gated	Partially open	2.5	Brick wall, spike, gate
19		Pluk chit neighbor-hood	Single house	Rental, The Crown Property Bureau	Fully gated	Partially open	2.5	Brick wall, spike, gate
20		Bonkai Social housing	Social housing	Rental, National Housing Authority	Non-gated	Fully open	-	-

Note. Image taken by the author between May and June 2024.

Table 3.5

Characteristic of urban gating: Residential-use

No	Image	location	use	ownership	type	visibility	height (m)	technology
21		Ruam-rudee Mansion	Apartment	Private-owned land	Fully gated	Complete solid	3	Brick wall, gate, cctv
22		La Maison Ruam-rudee	Apartment	Private-owned land	Fully gated	Partially open	3	Brick wall, gate, security guard, cctv
23		Ruam-rudee Tower	Apartment	Private-owned land	Fully gated	Complete solid	3	Brick wall, shrub, gate, security post, security guard, cctv
24		Baan Pleonchit	Apartment	Private-owned land	Fully gated	Complete solid	3	Brick wall, dense shrub, gate, security post, security guard, cctv
25		The Aetas Bangkok	Apartment	Private-owned land	Fully gated	Complete solid	3	Brick wall, gate, security post, security guard, cctv

Note. Image taken by the author between May and June 2024.

4.1.2 Commercial-use

An analysis of walls and gates documented in **Tables 4.1** to **Table 4.4** revealed three distinct categories characterizing commercial buildings within the Lumpini area.

The first category comprised high-end developments typically found near major roads like Sukhumvit Road, Wireless Road, and Rama IV Road. These newer establishments housed offices, hotels, and mixed-use complexes. Unlike older establishments, they prioritized open spaces in front of the buildings for public access, with security guards managing vehicular entry. Without fortified walls and territorial gates, access control shifted to building entrances or lobbies. However, the remaining subdivision walls remained opaque, completely severing connections between plots, impeding both car and pedestrian movement (**Figure 8**).

The second category consisted of commercial stores located on secondary roads within Lumpini's superblocks. These stores primarily resulted from the transformation of existing residential buildings. Existing walls were either retained or modified to suit new functions. Previously fully gated establishments became partially open during operating hours. These buildings relied on main roads for accessibility, some of which lacked safe pedestrian access due to obstructions or the absence of pathways, forcing pedestrians to share the road with cars and motorcycles (**Figure 9**).

The last category encompassed a vibrant array of small-scale food stalls and street vendors. These predominantly informal businesses often operated in a resourceful manner, transforming residences into makeshift shops or ingeniously utilizing vacant spaces and sidewalks. In some instances, they even incorporated the exterior walls of neighboring properties as part of their own setups, creating obstacles to the public sidewalk (**Figure 10**).

Figure 8

One Bangkok, mixed-use complex

Note. A non-gated area found in commercial-use.

Figure 9

Repurpose of residential units

Note. A semi-gated area found in commercial use.

Figure 10

Informal food stands

Note. A shade attached to a community center's wall

Table 4.1

Characteristic of urban gating: Commercial-use

No	Image	location	use	ownership	type	visibility	height (m)	technology
1		Novotel	Hotel	private-owned land	Ornamen-tal gating	Partially open	0.5,2	Ornament, shrub, reflextive pond
2		Novotel	Hotel	private-owned land	Walled subdivision	Complete Solid	3	Brick wall, lath
3		Mahatun plaza	Mixed-use	private-owned land	Ornamen-tal gating	Partially open	2.5	Bench, concrete planter
4		Park Venture	Office	private-owned land	Ornamen-tal gating	Fully open	1.5	Public space, planter, steps
5		Park Venture	Office	private-owned land	Walled subdivision	Complete Solid	1.5, 3	Brick wall, security, shrub, concrete planter

Note. Image taken by the author between May and June 2024.

Table 4.2

Characteristic of urban gating: Commercial-use

No	Image	location	use	ownership	type	visibility	height (m)	technology
6		Veerasu Building	Office, retail	private-owned land	Walled subdivision	Partially open	1.5	Shrub, step
7		Indigo Hotel (front)	Hotel	private-owned land	Ornamen-tal gating	Fully open	1.2	step, security guard, shrub, concrete planter
8		Indigo Hotel (side)	Hotel	private-owned land	Walled subdivision	Complete Solid	2.2	brick wall, cctv
9		All season place	Mixed-use complex	private-owned land	Walled subdivision	Complete Solid	2.6	brick wall, shrub, gate, cctv
10		All season place	Mixed-use complex	private-owned land	Walled subdivision	Complete Solid	2.6	brick wall, cctv

Note. Image taken by the author between May and June 2024.

Table 4.3

Characteristic of urban gating: Commercial-use

No	Image	location	use	ownership	type	visibility	height (m)	technology
11		Behind Lumpini's police flat	Food vendor	private-owned land	Walled subdivision	Partially open	1.5	Shrub, step
12		Indigo Hotel (front)	Hotel	private-owned land	Ornamen-tal gating	Fully open	1.2	step, security guard, shrub, concrete planter
13		Indigo Hotel (side)	Hotel	private-owned land	Walled subdivision	Complete Solid	2.2	brick wall, cctv
14		All season place	Mixed-use complex	private-owned land	Walled subdivision	Complete Solid	2.6	brick wall, shrub, gate, cctv
15		All season place	Mixed-use complex	private-owned land	Walled subdivision	Complete Solid	2.6	brick wall, cctv

Note. Image taken by the author between May and June 2024.

Table 4.4

Characteristic of urban gating: Commercial-use

No	Image	location	use	ownership	type	visibility	height (m)	technology
16		One Bangkok (street side)	Mix-use complex	Long-term lease from The Crown Property Bureau, Joint venture	Non-gated	Fully open	-	step, shrub, concrete planter, security guard, cctv
17		One Bangkok (street side)	Mix-use complex	Long-term lease from The Crown Property Bureau, Joint venture	Non-gated	Fully open	-	step, shrub, concrete planter, security guard, cctv
18		One Bangkok (street side)	Mix-use complex	Long-term lease from The Crown Property Bureau, Joint venture	Non-gated	Fully open	-	step, shrub, concrete planter, security guard, cctv
19		One Bangkok (Inner plaza, 1 floor above ground)	Mix-use complex	Long-term lease from The Crown Property Bureau, Joint venture	Non-gated	Fully open	-	step, shrub, concrete planter, security guard, cctv
20		One Bangkok (under construct , to be opened)	Mix-use complex	Long-term lease from The Crown Property Bureau, Joint venture	Non-gated	Fully open	-	step, shrub, concrete planter, security guard, cctv

Note. Image taken by the author between May and June 2024.

4.1.3 Government agencies, public utilities, and amenities

An analysis of walls and gates documented in **Tables 5.1** to **Table 5.3** revealed three distinct categories characterizing commercial buildings within the Lumpini area. Government-owned public service buildings, like community recreation centers and health clinics, were intended to be welcoming and accessible to everyone. However, these facilities often presented a curious paradox: designed for openness yet physically separated from the surrounding area by fences (**Figure 11**). These fences served a specific purpose, demarcating the boundaries of the property. They provided clarity on where the public space began and ended, which could be helpful for both security and maintenance purposes. Additionally, clear fencing could help prevent accidental trespassing or misuse of the property outside of operational hours. The presence of fences could also create a psychological barrier. It could subtly convey a sense of exclusion, even though the intention was the opposite. This challenge of limited accessibility was observed in several critical functions within the area, impacting institutions such as schools and healthcare facilities. In contrast, police stations and fire departments, while still partially gated, exhibited a more open approach, suggesting a conscious effort to create a more welcoming environment.

The Lumpini area, particularly its western side, housed a concentration of embassies, including those of the United States, Japan, Vietnam, and Australia. While maintaining the highest level of security, embassies occupied large areas of the Lumpini superblock, creating a substantial physical barrier within the area (**Figure 12**). Their walls were typically solid and taller than those found elsewhere in the neighborhood. CCTVs and security guards were stationed throughout the embassy grounds. Due to these adjoined walls, pedestrians and cars were forced to navigate numerous detours around its perimeter. Furthermore, due to its permanent location in an area designated for dense and highly mixed use, the development has created challenges in improving accessibility to the surrounding area.

The Polo Club, an exclusive members-only facility, is heavily fortified with high, solid walls and strict access controls. This creates a physical and visual barrier, limiting not only access for non-members but also the overall openness of the surrounding Lumpini neighborhood. Its expansive grounds, the club further isolates itself, potentially fostering a sense of exclusivity and detachment from the local community.

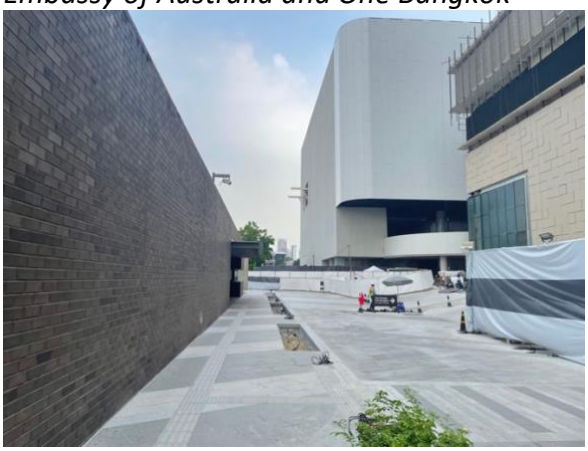
Figure 11

Bon Kai youth center

Note. Own image. A partially gated sport facilities including fitness, football, and basketball courts.

Figure 12

Embassy of Australia and One Bangkok



Note. Own image. A highly fortified wall surrounds the Australian embassy, located next to a public shopping mall development.

Table 5.1

Characteristic of urban gating: Government agencies, public utilities, and amenities

No	Image	location	use	ownership	type	visibility	height (m)	technology
1		Bon-Kai fire station	Public utility	Govern-mental	Walled subdivision	Partially open	0.8	Shrub, low fence
2		Lumpini police station	Public utility	Govern-mental	Non-gated	Fully open	-	cctv
3		Embassy of Japan	Embassy	private-owned land	Restricted entry, guarded areas	Complete Solid	4	brick wall, spike, gate, security post, security guard, cctv
4		Embassy of Vietnam	Embassy	private-owned land	Restricted entry, guarded areas	Complete Solid	3.5	brick wall, spike, gate, security post, security guard, cctv
5		Embassy of the United States of America	Embassy	private-owned land	Restricted entry, guarded areas	Complete Solid	4	brick wall, spike, gate, security post, security guard, cctv

Note. Image taken by the author between May and June 2024.

Table 5.2

Characteristic of urban gating: Government agencies, public utilities, and amenities

No	Image	location	use	ownership	type	visibility	height (m)	technology
6		Bon-Kai fire station	Public utility	Department of Education BMA, Govern-mental	Fully gated	Complete Solid	2.5	brick wall, gate, security guard
7		Holy redeem-er church	Church	Religious building, Private-owned land	Partially gated	Complete Solid	2	brick wall, gate, security post, security guard, cctv
8		Police officers' flat (front side)	Officer resident	Govern-mental	Non-gated	Fully open	-	-
9		Bon Kai youth center	Sport facility	Govern-mental	Partially gated	Complete Solid	10	brick wall, gate, wire mesh fence
10		Sunee Pittaya	Elementary school	private-owned land	Fully gated	Complete Solid	2.6	brick wall, gate, cctv

Note. Image taken by the author between May and June 2024.

Table 5.3

Characteristic of urban gating: Government agencies, public utilities, and amenities

No	Image	location	use	ownership	type	visibility	height (m)	technology
11		Polo Club Entrance	Sport club	Long term lease from The Crown Property Bureau	Restricted entry bounded areas	Complete solid	3	Brick wall, gate, security guard, security post, cctv
12		Polo Club	Sport club	Long term lease from The Crown Property Bureau	Restricted entry bounded areas	Complete solid	3	Brick wall, gate, security guard, security post, cctv
13		Polo Club	Sport club	Long term lease from The Crown Property Bureau	Restricted entry bounded areas	Complete solid	3	Brick wall, gate, security guard, security post, cctv
14		Polo football park	Sport club	Long term lease from The Crown Property Bureau	Partially gated	Fully open	-	step, shrub, concrete planter, security guard, cctv

Note. Image taken by the author between May and June 2024.

4.1.4 Reflections on Lumpini's gating

The observations of walls and fences in the Lumpini area revealed that:

I. The Paradox of Security: The pursuit of security often leads to increased isolation. While tall walls and guarded gates may offer protection, they also risk creating enclaves detached from the wider community. This is evident in both luxury housing and government facilities, where physical barriers can create a psychological distance.

II. Barriers as Socioeconomic Markers: The type and grandeur of barriers often reflect socioeconomic status. Elaborate gated communities stand in stark contrast to the makeshift fences of informal settlements. This physical divide highlights the unequal distribution of resources and reinforces social stratification.

III. Barriers in Flux: The urban landscape is not static. Walls and gates are repurposed and adapted as needs change. Commercial areas exemplify this, with older structures modifying existing barriers and newer developments opting for open spaces with controlled access points. This illustrates the dynamic nature of security concerns in evolving cities.

IV. Openness vs. Control: Public spaces face a unique dilemma. While intended to be open and accessible, they often employ barriers for practical purposes. This creates a tension between fostering a welcoming environment and maintaining security and order. Striking the right balance is crucial to ensure that public spaces truly serve the community.

4.2 Lived Experiences of the Citizens

This study examined the complex relationship between urban gates and Lumpini residents' experiences, revealing the profound impact gates have on mobility, accessibility, and safety perceptions within the neighborhood. Findings highlight the nuanced ways in which physical barriers interact with social and personal factors, shaping how residents navigate and experience their environment. While some view gates as enhancing safety and exclusivity, others perceive them as obstacles that limit their daily routines and contribute to feelings of anxiety and restriction. This research delves into the diverse perspectives of Lumpini residents, exploring how age, gender, socioeconomic status, and length of residency influence their interpretations of mobility, accessibility, and safety in the context of urban gates.

4.2.1 The perceives of walls and gates

While urban gating serves various purposes, insights from those directly impacted by these barriers reveal a more nuanced reality. Although certain groups may benefit from gating, it simultaneously creates consequences for those on the other side. This section delves into the intricate cause-and-effect relationship of urban gating, exploring the interpretations and experiences of walls and fences from the diverse perspectives of those who encounter them in their daily lives.

A prime example was the Polo Club, a membership-only sports facility located in the southern part of Lumpini block. This exclusive establishment occupied a vast area, enclosed by 3-meter-high concrete walls on all sides. Each gate was equipped with guard posts, strictly regulating entry and reinforcing the club's exclusivity. Referred to join the club by his father at a young age, Participant 3, a 34-year-old male polo club member, regularly visited the club to use the gym and other facilities after work. He currently lived outside the Lumpini area and primarily commuted to the club via a 15-20 minute drive. While guiding a researcher inside the gated and guarded area of a polo club that had remained unchanged since its establishment, the polo club member offered his opinion on the fortified walls, stating that:

“…They wouldn't want other people to trespass and walk in and out like that. And members wouldn't like it either, for various reasons, like they paid for it, so why can anyone just come in?” (Participant-3:
a Polo club’s member, walk-along communication, Jun 12, 2024)

The member's primary concern appeared to be privacy of the club. The presence of the wall was seen as a deterrent to trespassing and unwanted access. This highlighted the perceived benefit of gated communities in providing a safe and controlled environment for residents and members. The statement "they paid for it" hinted at a sense of entitlement and exclusivity associated with the gated community. The perceived value of membership seemed tied to the restricted access and controlled environment created by the wall. The discomfort with "anyone just coming in" reinforced this notion, suggesting that exclusivity added a layer of value to the membership.

The notion of segregation and alienation is also found in the participant-3's conversation, as evidenced by their description of the physical environment.

"I feel like with the surroundings, once you pass through the fence, you're entering another world. Outside, it's a very dense, run-down neighborhood. But inside, it looks like it's for very wealthy people. I feel like the environments are so different. Alienating, maybe?"(Participant-3:
a Polo club’s member, walk-along communication, Jun 12, 2024)

The presence of a fence clearly demarcated two distinct worlds, symbolizing a physical and social divide. The stark contrast between the "dense, run-down neighborhood" outside and the affluent interior highlighted the socio-economic segregation between the two areas. The speaker's feeling of being in "another world" when crossing the fence underscored the complete disconnect between these spaces, suggesting that the people on either side lived vastly different lives with limited interaction or understanding of each other's realities. The participant's use of the word "alienating" indicated a sense of isolation and discomfort, likely stemming from witnessing the stark inequality and being reminded of their own position relative to the privileged world behind the fence. Overall, the statement revealed a deep-seated awareness of social and economic disparities and their potential to create feelings of resentment, division, and social unrest.

Furthermore, insights from Participant-3 revealed a conflict between security concerns and the desire for privacy within the gated community. While a see-through fence could have addressed safety issues, it challenged the exclusivity and privacy valued by long-time members. It also suggested a potential compromise: a higher, more secure fence that maintained privacy while deterring intrusions. This highlighted the complex negotiations and trade-offs involved in designing and maintaining gated communities, balancing the needs and preferences of different stakeholders.

“… If it's a see-through fence, I think we can clear up the safety issues. But if we try to think from the perspective of the people in the club who have been there for a long time, I feel like they might not want outsiders to see in. They just feel like it's very private when they're in there, and it's not private anymore when it's like this (see-through fence). But I mean, can we prevent people from breaking in if the fence is higher and more secure than this iron grating, this case? It might be good, it might be okay.” (Participant-3:
a Polo club’s member, walk-along conversation, Jun 12, 2024)

On the other side of the wall of a Polo club, three of walk-along participants took a researcher through the only street, Soi Polo (also named after the Polo club), next to the solid wall of a Polo club. Without a proper sidewalk, pedestrians could only walk next to the busy street filled with cars and motorcycles to get from the center of Lumpini block to the main street. Participant-2, a security guard, who have been working for a secondary school in the middle of Lumpini block for 3 years stated while walking inconvenience along the 3 meters high wall of the Polo club to the nearest bus station that:

> *"If there wasn't a wall here (a polo club) and I could just cut straight through, would I want that? Of course I would! I would want to walk closer to avoid going around and taking a shortcut. But I can't do that because it's private property. I can't trespass or just walk around on other people's property. I have to use the public roads."(Participant-2: a school security guard, walk-along conversation, Jun 4, 2024)*

The quote revealed the frustration and inconvenience caused by urban gating to those who were excluded. The individual expressed a desire for a more direct route but was forced to take a longer detour due to the presence of a private wall. This highlighted the impact of such barriers on daily life and mobility within the city.

While walls and fences were possible to be removed, walk-along participants highlighted the necessity of walls and fences around particular type of building uses such as schools and private residences, emphasizing their contribution to the safety and well-being of children and families. This sentiment was echoed by participants who had children or worked closely with them.

> *"It's not possible. It has to have a fence because the kids, they sneak out…. The school fence can't be short. Even though it's this high, they still find ways to climb over it. "(Participant-2: school's security guard, walk-along conversation, ,Jun 4, 2024)*

> *"If there are no fences, it's dangerous for the little kids." (Participant-1: house wife, walk-along conversation, May 28, 2024)*

Participant 6, a street food vendor residing in the Polo neighborhood, an informal settlement on the border of Lumpini block's North and South sections, shared the following insights:

> *"…if they don't make it (the wall and fences), motorcycles will just park there. There are a lot of motorcycles. Before, they (CPB) said they didn't want properties to have gates or anything, so they dismantled them. And motorcycles went in and parked all over the place."(Participant-6: a streetfood vendor, walk-along conversation, Jun 17,*

Wall and fences were made as territory marker and security concerns. This situation suggested a conflict between the need for security and the desire for open access by the authority. Conversely, the possibility of removing and/or not having walls and gates. With out solid fences, participants stated that it's going to be more aesthetically pleasing. While walking to her apartment pointing out to an iron fence of Bon-Kai social housing, Participant-2 suggested:

> *"It would be good, it would look good, it would look cleaner. Just build a low-concrete wall, no need to put this up (the iron fence) because it's an eyesore."*

Another opinion from participant-3: a Polo club member, supporting that:

> *"It would probably feel better if it was open. For example, nowadays when they build new buildings, office buildings don't have fences, right? I feel like it's more open and beautiful in the sense that we can see what's inside. For example, if there are gardens or the architecture is beautiful, I think it would be better if we could see more things besides just the building or the construction site, right?"*

The comments revealed a nuanced perspective on the design of the walls and fences, valuing both aesthetics and functionality. While acknowledging the potential for a low wall to improve the visual appeal of the area, they expressed a preference for a more open design. This preference suggested a desire to prioritize openness and transparency, allowing for a better appreciation of interior elements like gardens or architecture. However, the speaker also recognized the potential need for some form of barrier, indicating an awareness of the tension between aesthetics, openness, and security. Gated communities, often seen as isolated enclaves of privilege, may not be as detached from their surrounding urban environments as one might assume. A recent study challenges the notion of complete seclusion, suggesting a more nuanced relationship between these communities and their broader urban context. As one participant astutely observed that:

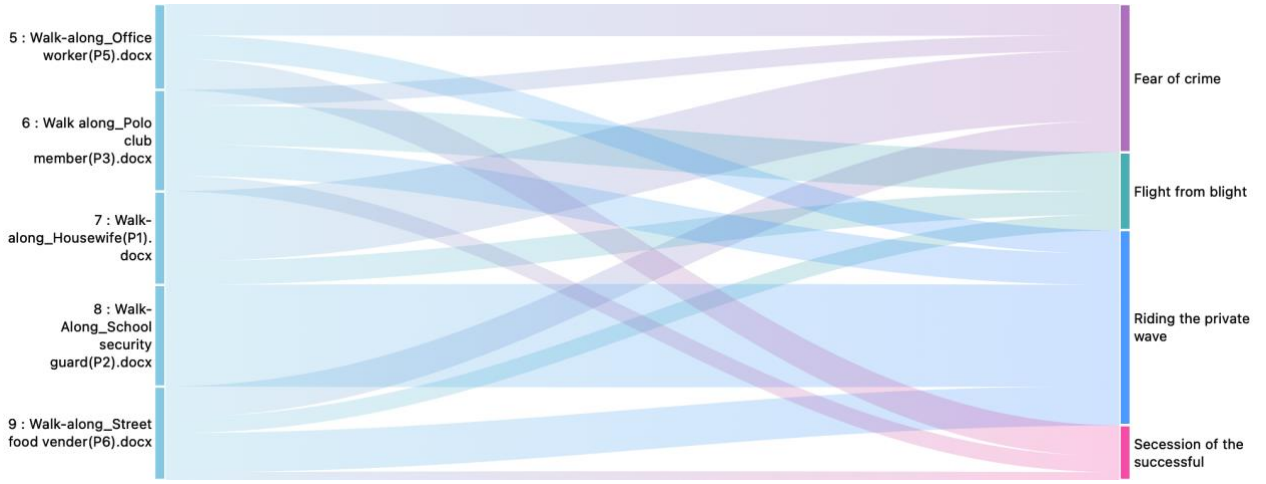
> *"Yes, yes, definitely. Like, for example, I may not buy a lot of fresh food from the market like my mom does, so I don't go to the market that often. But I do buy food, like we eat noodles all the time, we eat noodles and takeaway food around here all the time.(Participant-3, walk-along communication, Jun 12, 2024)*

The perception of urban gating within the Lumpini area reveals a stark contrast in perspectives between those on either side of the wall. Residents inside gated communities often value the enhanced security, privacy, and exclusivity that these barriers provide. They may perceive gating as a necessary response to urban challenges like crime, traffic, and noise pollution. In contrast, those living outside gated communities may view them as symbols of inequality, segregation, and exclusion. They may experience gating as a physical and social barrier that restricts access to resources, amenities, and opportunities.

Figure 13 summarized participants' perceptions regarding the decision to have the wall. Privacy concerns, followed by safety concerns, were the primary reasons cited for its construction.

Figure 13

Sankey diagram illustrating participant perceptions on the presence of the wall



	Fear of crime 36	Flight from blig... 20	Riding the priv... 18	Secession of t... 14	Totals
5 Walk-along_Office worker(P5).docx 131	4.875		3.25	4.875	13.00
6 Walk along_Polo club member(P3).docx 84	2.00	5.00	4.00	2.00	13.00
7 Walk-along_Housewife(P1).docx 91	9.75	3.25			13.00
8 Walk-Along_School security guard(P2).docx 43			13.00		13.00
9 Walk-along_Street food vender(P6).docx 94	4.333	2.167	5.417	1.083	13.00
Totals	20.958	10.417	25.667	7.958	65.00

Note. This figure was generated using ATLAS.ti based on the coding of walk-along participants' responses.

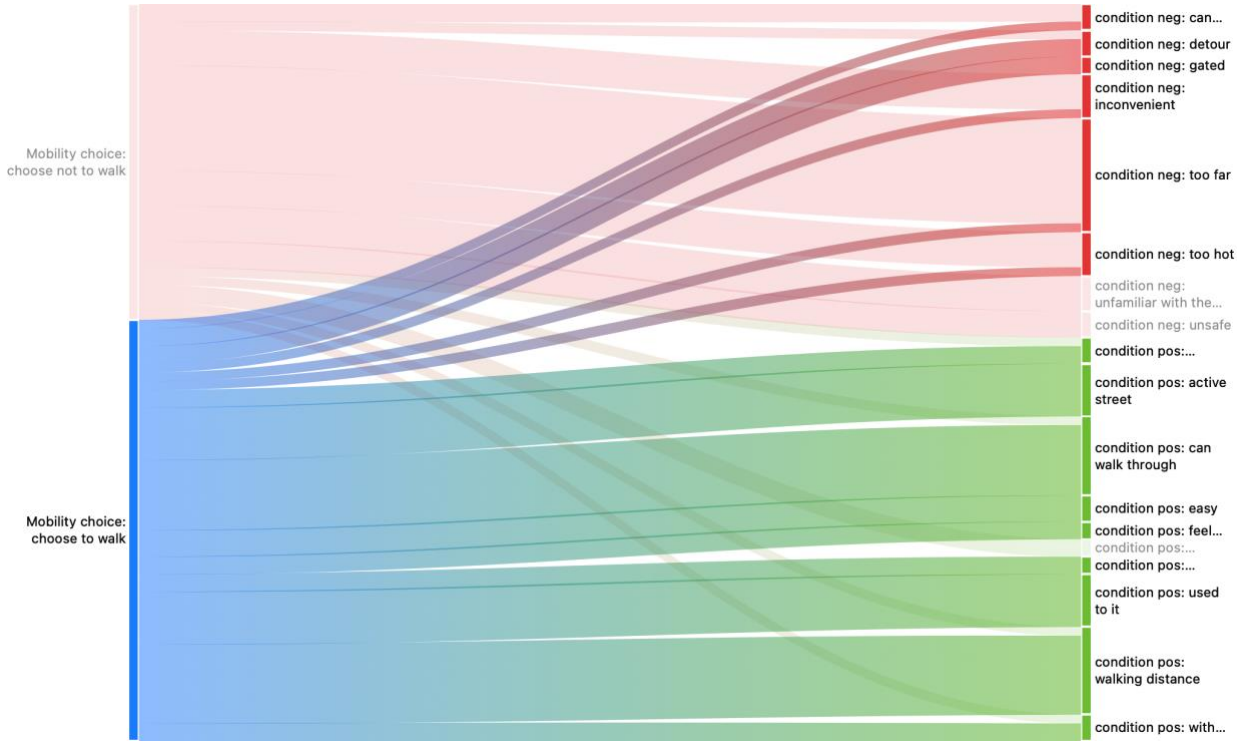
4.2.2 The obstacles in mobility

Participants described Lumpini block's mobility and traffic as being dominated by cars and motorcycles traveling in and outside the area. Public transportation hubs were primarily situated on the periphery of the superblock, necessitating residents to either rely on motorcycle taxis or navigate the secondary alleyways, often characterized by the imposing adjoined walls of the Lumpini block, to access them. Peak hours significantly increased traffic on both main and secondary streets. Additionally, the impending opening of One Bangkok and a new highway access through the southern part of Lumpini block raised concerns about further traffic congestion. This influx of vehicles was expected to impact residents' travel times and increase the risk of accidents, especially given the limited sidewalks and the presence of numerous schools and students in the area. The research investigated the factors that influence the urban mobility choices of individuals navigating Lumpini block. Walk-along method with the participants, focusing on their current lived experiences, revealed common patterns in their mobility decisions (**Figure 14**). Walking was the preferred mode of transportation when perceived as convenient, such as for walking distances, in familiar areas, or when accompanied by others. However, several challenges were associated with walking, including detours, inadequate sidewalks, or limited alternative options caused by the adjoining wall and fences.

The lived experiences captured through the walk-along method illuminated the current state of travel within the Lumpini area, revealing both the direct and indirect effects of urban gating phenomena.

Figure 14

Sankey diagram illustrating how participant perceptions of the wall influence mobility choices



	Mobility choice: choose not to walk 27	Mobility choice: choose to walk 44
condition neg: alone 3	0 (0.00)	2 (0.05)
condition neg: can not go through 12	2 (0.06)	1 (0.02)
condition neg: dark 3	2 (0.07)	0 (0.00)
condition neg: detour 10	1 (0.03)	2 (0.04)
condition neg: gated 57	0 (0.00)	2 (0.03)
condition neg: inconvenient 6	4 (0.14)	1 (0.02)
condition neg: less light 2	1 (0.04)	0 (0.00)
condition neg: limited accessibility 2	1 (0.04)	0 (0.00)
condition neg: no option 4	0 (0.00)	1 (0.02)
condition neg: no people on the street 4	2 (0.07)	0 (0.00)
condition neg: no sense of belonging 8	1 (0.03)	0 (0.00)
condition neg: no side walk 10	1 (0.03)	1 (0.02)
condition neg: scary 1	1 (0.04)	0 (0.00)
condition neg: too far 19	12 (0.38)	1 (0.02)
condition neg: too hot 6	4 (0.14)	1 (0.02)
condition neg: unfamiliar with the area 10	4 (0.13)	0 (0.00)
condition neg: unsafe 25	3 (0.08)	0 (0.00)
condition pos: accompanied 6	1 (0.03)	2 (0.04)
condition pos: active street 17	0 (0.00)	6 (0.11)
condition pos: can walk through 47	1 (0.01)	8 (0.10)
condition pos: closer 14	0 (0.00)	1 (0.02)
condition pos: closer to the house 9	0 (0.00)	1 (0.02)
condition pos: easy 6	0 (0.00)	3 (0.07)
condition pos: eyes on the street 22	0 (0.00)	1 (0.02)

Note. This figure was generated using ATLAS.ti based on the coding of walk-along participants' responses.

Participant-5, who used to walk daily to the nearest bus stop and train station, guided a researcher through his routine. While traveling toward a house in the heart of the Lumpini block where he once lived with his family, he revealed the inconveniences encountered along his daily route to the researcher that:

> *"Yes, it's difficult to walk to. I mean, the closest public transportation is either Lumpini MRT station or Phloen Chit BTS station, right? So it's kind of in the middle between the two. I guess you could walk, but it's still far." (Participant-5: an office worker, walk-along communication, Jun 21, 2024)*

Distance also played a significant role in participants' transportation choices. They primarily relied on motorcycles and motorcycle taxis for both local travel within the Lumpini block and to reach public transportation hubs like bus stops, metro stations, or sky train stations.

> *"...My house is far away, so I take a motorcycle to get to the subway, right? And if you ask how to get to the Polo Club without driving, then a motorcycle and taking a motorcycle taxi is probably the only way. Because taking a minibus is also very difficult because it's very crowded. There is a bus from our house to Lumpini Park, but it goes through Sathorn and Sala Daeng, so I don't know when it will arrive." (Participant-3: a polo club member, walk-along communication, Jun 12, 2024)*

The lack of well-designed sidewalks and limited route options within the Lumpini block also contribute to the difficulty and danger of traveling within the area. This is exacerbated by the continuous barriers of walls that prevent pedestrians from taking shortcuts or alternative routes. Furthermore, the presence of walls and gated areas often resulted in narrower sidewalks or even eliminated the possibility of having them altogether.

> *"Inside my neighborhood, there's a part where there's no sidewalk, so you have to walk on the road. That's a bit dangerous, so it's better to walk at the outter side where there's a sidewalk." (Participant-5: an office worker, walk-along communication, Jun 21, 2024)*

The lack of interconnected streets and abundance of walls in the Lumpini block hindered pedestrian movement. An attempt to improve walkability by removing illegal food stalls near the Polo Club proved ineffective, as people replaced the stalls with parked cars. The authorities' response of installing barriers further exacerbated the issue, making the street even more difficult to navigate. This situation aligned with Participant-6's argument that:

> *"It's hard to deal with these people. Oh, they're just going to put up red and white barriers like they did at the Polo Club. If they don't put up barriers in Thailand, everyone will just park wherever they want. It's just not going to work. " (Participant-6: a food vendor, walk-along communication, Jun 17, 2024)*

The effects of urban gating extend beyond pedestrians, impacting all modes of transportation by forcing them onto the few narrow main streets found in the area. Participant-2 stated while walking on the narrow and dangerous sidewalk between a wall of a Polo club and a street:

> *"It's just too narrow, see? Cars can barely pass each other and they have to wait for one side to move before the other can go." (Participant-2: a school security guard, walk-along communication, Jun 4, 2024)*

Urban gating significantly impacts a city's mobility and discourages walking. By fragmenting the urban fabric with walls and gates, it creates barriers to pedestrian movement, forcing detours and limiting route options. The resulting lack of well-designed sidewalks and safe walking paths further discourages walking as a mode of transportation. Additionally, the increased traffic congestion on limited main streets due to the gated communities' inward focus can make walking unsafe and unpleasant. These factors combine to create an environment where walking is less convenient, less safe, and less appealing, ultimately leading to a decline in pedestrian activity and a greater reliance on motorized transportation.

4.2.3 The invisible wall of accessibility

Despite public pedestrian access, conversations with users of the Lumpini superblock reveal a disconnect between accessibility and actual use of the publicly accessible area provided by a private property. This suggested that the perception of who owns these spaces and the social dynamics between different user groups influence how residents navigate these shortcuts through the open-up non gated area. Totally different approach of residential units were found in Lumpini area as shown in section 4.1. While all single houses in the area are fortified with walls, non-barriers were found in Bon-Kai social housing. Residents of the area are used to this set-up of an open access. Sense of place and comfort were found in their daily routine moving around the area.

Area users daily travelling route were based on their workplaces, bus/train station and their houses. With a prime location with two of the largest park in Bangkok on both east and west side, Every participants often use these city's utility. Participant-1 (walk-along communication,2024), a housewife that moved to Bon-Kai housing two years ago with her husband and three children, stated while taking her two sons and a researcher from her children's school to her apartment:

> *"There's a playground for little kids. I take them there (Lumpini park), they like to go because there's space to run and play. …They want to go play, they want to go there because there's no place to play here (inner area of Lumpini block). We stay for a long time, one or two hours."*

The lack of public spaces, particularly those designed for children, within the Lumpini area forced residents to travel further to access public parks outside the block. This highlighted the importance of accessible public amenities within the city. Moreover, the sense of place significantly influences park usage in Bangkok. Lumpini Park, being an established and familiar landmark, evokes comfort and familiarity among both local residents and visitors. In contrast, the newly developed Benjakitti Park, while offering modern amenities, lacks a sense of historical connection and familiarity, potentially hindering its integration into the local community's identity and usage patterns (Participant-1: a house wife, walk-along communication, May 4, 2024).

One Bangkok, a sprawling mixed-use development situated at the southwest corner of Lumpini block, features high-rise office towers, condominiums, hotels, and shopping malls. Notably, the entire development remains ungated, making the area publicly accessible 24/7. With landscapes design utilizing 50 meters setback of Bangkok's building control act and a lifted plaza in the middle of the complex, this development created more than 10,000 sqm. of open spaces and accessible connection (**Figure 15**).

Figure 15

One Bangkok's landscape

Note. Own image. The area in front of the development showing the sense of public accessibility.

While walking alongside a researcher, an employee from the public art sector for One Bangkok pointed to an open plaza in the center of the development where we were standing and explained that:

> *"Here, it's possible to walk through. In terms of pedestrian circulation, since the project doesn't have a fence and is open 24/7. it means that... in terms of activation, the vision is that we want this park to be used in a way that people can come here in the morning to jog." (Participant-4: an One Bangkok's employee, walk-along communication, Jun 20, 2024)*

300 meters east of One Bangkok, a social housing complex known to be inhabited by individuals of lower socioeconomic status stood in stark contrast to the upscale development. This stark contrast highlighted the significant gap in living standards within the Lumpini area. Despite the city's intentions for greater accessibility and integration, the reality for long-term Lumpini residents may have differed from the planners' vision. An area dweller housewife who lives in a rental apartment with her husbands and 2 children, stated during a journey form her children's school to her apartment that:

> *"I wouldn't go there (One Bangkok). I don't know what to do, I don't have any business there." (A Lumpini dweller, Female, 35, walk-along conversation, 2024)*

The statement from a Lumpini dweller, a housewife residing in a rental apartment, reflected a sense of disconnect between residents and the upscale One Bangkok development. Her comment suggested that the development's offerings and atmosphere do not resonate with her lifestyle or needs. This sentiment underscored the potential exclusionary nature of such high-end projects, highlighting the importance of considering the diverse demographics and interests of existing communities when planning urban developments.

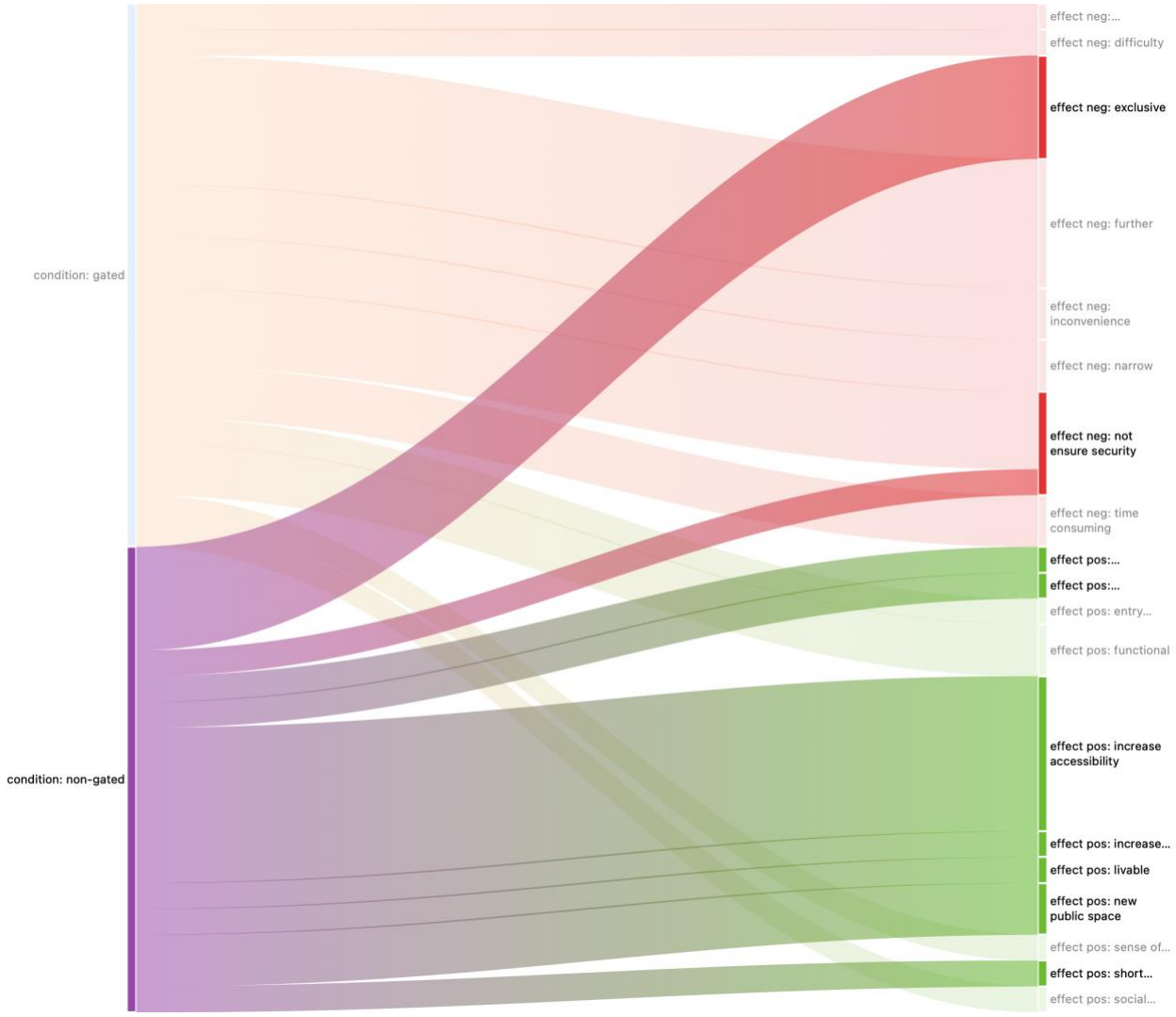
While detouring from his daily route to explore the newly opened part of One Bangkok's plaza, participant-5, a former area dweller, responded to a researcher's question, "Do you think you would use this space when it fully opened?" with the following answer:

> *"It's like, it's so different, you know, compared to the image of people in the area, like, some of the guys I met there, they'd be wearing mosquito repellent, that red stuff, long hair, no shirt, like, that's normal for people in the area. But wow, like this (One Bangkok), would they even let people from the area in?"(Participant-5: an office worker, walk-along communication, Jun 21, 2024)*

Participant-5's observation reveals a perceived disconnect between the existing community and the new One Bangkok development. His comparison between the typical appearance of local residents and the atmosphere of One Bangkok suggests a concern that the development might not be welcoming or

Figure 16

Sankey diagram illustrating how participants reflct the effects of non-gated area



Note. This figure was generated using ATLAS.ti based on the coding of walk-along participant communications. A table of coefficient could be found in Appendix B.

inclusive to the surrounding community. Walk-along participants generally expressed a positive view of non-gated areas, highlighting potential benefits for themselves and the overall community. However, they also voiced a significant concern that non-gated developments could still lead to exclusivity, particularly impacting the local residents of the Lumpini area (**Figure 16**).

4.2.4 The false Senses of Security

One of the most prevalent hypotheses regarding the gating phenomenon was the "crime drives the market" theory, suggesting that the perceived need for increased security was a major motivator for urban gating. This was often seen as a way to protect property from potential thieves and criminal activity. However, insights gained from three interviewees challenged this hypothesis. While walls and fences were believed to provide

owners with safety and security, their actual effectiveness in deterring robbery and crime was questionable among walk-along participants.

> *“Does it really prevent thieves? It only slows them down, I guess. If you ask me, if someone really wants to take something, they can still take it. But it slows them down, and if someone else sees it, they won't dare to take it because it takes too long."(Participnat-5: an office worker, walk-along conversation, 2024)*

Similar statements were also drawn from other walk-along participants, including a street food vendor.

> *"This stuff ain't stopping nobody. Thieves can just climb right over it if they want. It doesn’t help." (Participant-6:food vendor, walk-along communication, Jun 17, 2024).*

Participants expressed concerns about the neighborhood's safety. Participant-5, reflected on the past situation of the green bridge, a raised pedestrian walkway that cut across an informal settlement in the middle of the Lumpini area, connecting two major parks: Lumpini Park and Benjakitti Park. However, the bridge is now safe and being used daily by many pedestrians due to the newly renovation of Benjakitti park that drew people in. This fear of crime and robbery, evident in participant beliefs, was connected to the choice of erecting walls and gates.

> *“I'm not sure, it's probably about the same distance. But before, the Green Bridge wasn't used that much. And it's a community, so my mom didn't want me to walk there. It might be dangerous, there might be addicts up there (on the Green Bridge) or something, because no one used it.”(Participnat-5: an office worker, walk-along conversation, 2024)*

On the other hand, sense of security for participants appeared in the concepts of eye on the street and the sense of place. Street with street activities and people using create a sense of secure. This is also reflected in the visibility of the walls. A polo club member suggested during a conversation on the other side of polo club’s fortified wall next to the street that:

> *“Walking on the street would feel more comfortable if it was open. We would feel less unsafe. But if it's solid wall, even during the day, if there are no people walking, it's like a wall on both sides, and we, as men, might also think about it.” (Participant-3:a Polo club’s member, walk-along communication, Jun 12, 2024)*

While urban gating is often implemented with the intention of enhancing safety, its actual impact on security remains a complex and contested issue. The presence of gates and walls can create a false sense of security, potentially leading residents to be less vigilant about other safety measures. Additionally, by restricting access and visibility, gating can create secluded areas that are more vulnerable to crime due to reduced natural surveillance and potential delays in emergency response times. Conversely, some argue that gating can deter opportunistic crime and provide a sense of community control, contributing to a feeling of safety for residents within the gated area.

4.3 Policy and governance in urban gating

The construction of walls and gates within cities, known as "urban gating," currently operates outside a regulatory framework. Building owners and landowners have the autonomy to decide on implementing these barriers. This autonomy extends to both the financial aspects and physical design, as there are no taxation policies or design guidelines in place. These findings were presented in two parts: first, by categorizing the regulations and instruments involved in gates and walls to provide an overview of the policy structure; second, by offering insights from policymakers regarding urban gating mitigation policies in the draft of the Bangkok Masterplan 2024.

4.3.1 The current instruments

This study examined urban gating, the practice of privatizing and fortifying land use with walls and fences, and the specific policy instruments employed by the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA) to address it. The instruments were classified in three types;

I. Regulation of Fences and Walls

The BMA enforces regulations focused on the physical characteristics of walls and fences within the city. A key control involves limiting their height, typically implemented through the Building Control Act. This regulation ensures a minimum level of visual permeability by restricting wall heights.

II. Economic Incentives for Public Space Integration

BMA policies extended beyond regulations to include tangible economic incentives. These directly incentivized private property owners to open up their land for public use, such as parks or pathways. This could take the form of tax breaks or other financial benefits explicitly tied to integrating designated public spaces within their developments. This approach aimed to counteract the isolation often associated with urban gating by fostering a sense of community through the creation and shared use of public spaces. However, a potential contradiction arose when considering the Land and Building Tax. This tax notably exempted walls and fences from its calculations. This exemption seemed to financially incentivize the very practices (wall construction) the BMA regulations and public space incentives aimed to discourage.

III. Social and cultural campaign

Social and cultural campaigns represented a nuanced approach to governance, one that moved beyond mere legal enforcement and delved into the realm of shaping societal attitudes and beliefs. These campaigns leveraged the power of communication, education, and social influence to promote desired behaviors and discourage undesirable ones. By appealing to shared values, cultural norms, and individual aspirations, they aimed to create a sense of collective responsibility and encourage voluntary compliance with desired outcomes. This approach recognized that lasting change often required a shift in social consciousness, not just adherence to regulations. Through a combination of targeted messaging, community engagement, and the strategic use of media and influencers, these campaigns fostered a social environment that supported and reinforced desired behaviors, ultimately contributing to a more cohesive and equitable society.

Table 6.1 to **Table 6.2** provide an overview of the policy instruments identified and categorized within this study. These tables serve as a critical resource for understanding the specific mechanisms employed by the BMA to address urban gating, encompassing regulatory measures, economic incentives, and initiatives aimed at promoting alternative transportation.

Table 6

Implemented policy instruments addressing walls, fences, and urban gating

No.	Policy Document	Policy involved in urban gating	Type of instruments		
			Legal and Regulator	Economic and Financial	Social and Cultural
1	Bangkok Metropolitan Administration's Building Control Act B.E. 2544 (2001)	No.50 Buildings constructed or modified near public roads with a width less than 6 meters shall be set back from the centerline of the public road by a minimum of 3 meters. No part of the building shall protrude into the setback area. Exception is made for **fences or walls** defining the property line, provided their height does not exceed 2 meters.	X	-	-
2	Ministerial regulations No. 55 B.E. 2543 (2000), under Building Control Act B.E. 2522 (1979)	Section 42: Buildings constructed or modified near public water sources like rivers, canals, streams, or ditches require setbacks based on the water body's width. Less than 10 meters wide: The building must be set back at least 3 meters from the water's edge. 10 meters wide or wider: The building must be set back at least 6 meters from the water's edge. Large water bodies (lakes, seas, or oceans): The building must be set back at least 12 meters from the water's edge. Exceptions: Bridges, dams, **fences**, drainage structures, piers, docks, wharfs, boat ramps, or parking areas built over the water are exempt from the setback requirement.	X	-	-
		Section 47: **Fences or walls** constructed adjacent to or within a distance less than the height of the fence from public roads shall not exceed 3 meters in height above the level of the road or public road.	X	-	-
3	Bangkok's Urban Planning Act B.E. 2556 (2013)	Section 40: Open spaces categorized as Type L.2 and L.3 shall be dedicated to environmental preservation along roadsides, rivers, and canals. Their utilization shall be in accordance with the following provisions: (1) Land located adjacent to public roads listed in the schedule attached to the zoning plan shall be subject to land use designations as specified in the annex to this ministerial regulation. A minimum setback of 2 meters from the right-of-way shall be maintained for the planting of trees. Exceptions include the construction of **fences, walls**, guardhouses, building or establishment name signs, fuel or gas station signs, and building or vehicle entrances. (2) Land located adjacent to public water bodies less than 10 meters wide shall maintain a minimum setback of 3 meters parallel to the edge of the public water body for the planting of trees. For public water bodies 10 meters or wider, a minimum setback of 6 meters parallel to the edge of the public water body shall be maintained for the planting of trees. Exceptions include construction for water transportation and navigation, utilities, dams, **fences**, **or walls**.	X	-	-

Table 6.2

Implemented policy instruments addressing walls, fences, and urban gating

No.	Policy Document	Section involved in urban gating	Type of instruments		
			Legal and Regulator	Economic and Financial	Social and Cultural
3	Bangkok's Urban Planning Act B.E. 2556 (2013)	Section 53: For land categorized as Type Y.8 to Y.10 and Type P.2 to P.5 (Appendix X), the utilization of land for public buildings in accordance with the Building Control Act shall be permitted to increase the total building area to land area ratio by up to 20% if the landowner or developer has provided open space for public benefit or a park within the land plot for which a permit is sought. The increased total building area shall not exceed five times the area of the open space for public benefit or the park provided. The open space for public benefit or the park as referred to in paragraph one shall not include vacant land devoid of cover as defined in the Building Control Act.	-	X	-
		Section 58: To achieve the objectives of this comprehensive zoning plan, the following implementation procedures are hereby established: (3) Relevant agencies shall utilize this plan as a guideline for considering the collection of local taxes in accordance with land use categories. They shall also consider exempting from local tax collection land designated as open spaces, transportation and navigation projects, and public utility projects, as specified in this comprehensive zoning plan.	-	X	-
4	Land and Building Tax Act, B.E. 2562 (2019)	Section 8: Exemption from Land and Building Tax (8) Private property, specifically the portion consented for public use by the government. (12) Other property as specified in the Ministerial Regulation	-	X	-
5	Notifications of the Ministry of Finance : Determining Property Exempt from Land and Building Tax B.E. 2562 (2019)	By virtue of the authority under Section 6, paragraph one, and Section 8 (12) of the Land and Building Tax Act, B.E. 2562 (2019), the Minister of Finance has issued the following Ministerial Regulation: (9) Constructions that are roads, plazas, and **fences**	-	X	-
6	Bangkok Metropolitan Development Plan: Phase 3 (2023-2030)	The "Cover walkway: for a better walkable city" campaign aimed to promote public participation, particularly among students, experts, and various organizations, in the development of covered walkways in Bangkok. The campaign provided a platform for individuals to share their ideas and suggestions for improving the design and functionality of covered walkways in the city.	-	-	X
7	GoodWalk Thailand: "Walkable, Livable Cities" to Revitalize the Economy and Enhance the Quality of Life for Urban Residents.	Bangkok has rapidly grown into a car-centric city due to the automobile market. However, transforming it into a walkable city takes time, especially in educating people about the benefits. The project has utilized data from the GoodWalk Score map to identify areas for in-depth development.The campaign extends beyond research and design to disseminating knowledge to educational institutions and communities nationwide, fostering a deeper understanding of walkable cities.	-	-	X

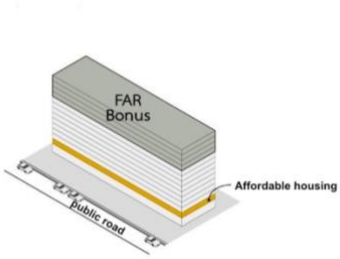
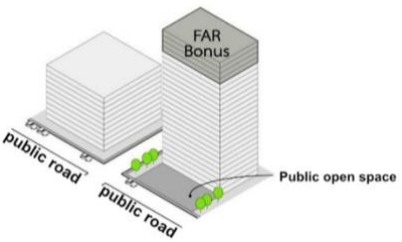
Note.

4.3.2 Policymakers reflection on Bangkok's masterplan 2024

By examining the extent of urban gating proliferation, **Table 7.1** and **Table 7.2** illustrated the relevant policies within the draft of Bangkok's Masterplan 2024, particularly those involving financial and economic incentives. Despite "urban gating" not being directly regulated at the time, interviews with policymakers involved in drafting the upcoming masterplan revealed that the phenomenon created conflicts with some of the masterplan's objectives.

Table 7.1

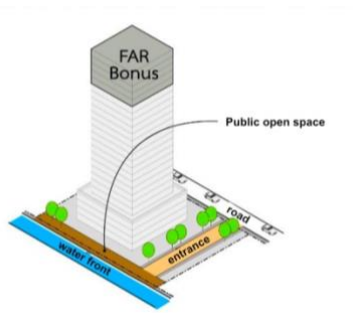
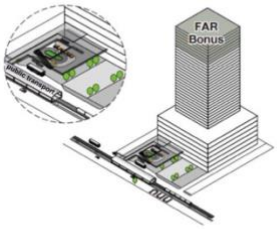
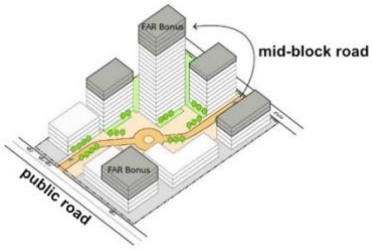
Incentive within the public access provision framework of the Bangkok Masterplan 2024

No.	Policy Document	Section involved in urban gating	Graphic
1	Draft of Bangkok's Masterplan B.E. 2567 (2024) revision 4	Section 75: Floor Area Ratio Incentive (FAR bonus) for provision of affordable Housing If the owner or possessor of the land has provided or developed affordable housing or housing for existing residents as per Section 74 (1) in the original area or within 5 kilometers of the area for which an increase in the total floor area ratio is requested, or within 5 kilometers of the original housing, the total floor area ratio may be increased by up to twenty percent (20%). However, the increased total floor area shall not exceed four times the area provided for affordable housing or housing for existing residents.	
		Section 76: Floor Area Ratio incentive (FAR bonus) for provision of childcare and/or adult daycare facilities In the event that the owner or possessor of the land has furnished space for a daycare center or adult daycare center in accordance with Section 74 (2) and has reserved said space exclusively for such purposes, the total floor area ratio may be increased by a maximum of twenty percent. Notwithstanding the aforementioned, the increased total floor area shall not exceed eight times the area allocated for the daycare center or adult daycare center.	
		Section 77: Floor Area Ratio Increase (FAR bonus) for public spaces along public road (FAR bonus) In land classified as categories Y.11 to Y.15 and P.4 to P.8, where the land use is for public buildings as defined in the Building Control Act, if the owner or occupant of the land provides a public open space on the plot for which a permit is sought, along a public road, which is accessible to the public free of charge in accordance with Section 74 (3), the total floor area ratio may be increased by up to twenty percent (20%). However, the increased total floor area shall not exceed five (5) times the area of the public open space provided. This does not include open spaces that are required to be provided in accordance with the Building Control Act.	

Note. Adapted from Bangkok Metropolitan Administration. (July 24, 2018). Supporting documents for the public hearing for the draft of Bangkok Masterplan Plan 2024 (4th Revision) [In Thai]

Table 7.2

Incentive within the public access provision framework of the Bangkok Masterplan 2024

No.	Policy Document	Section involved in urban gating	Graphic
1	Draft of Bangkok's Masterplan B.E. 2567 (2024) revision 4	Section 78: Floor area ratio Increase for Public Spaces along a riverbank, stream, or public water body (FAR bonus) In land classified for public buildings as defined in the Building Control Act, if the owner or occupant of the land provides a public open space or public park on the plot for which a permit is sought, along a riverbank, stream, or public water body, which is accessible to the public free of charge in accordance with Section 74 (4), the total floor area ratio may be increased by up to twenty percent (20%). However, the increased total floor area shall not exceed eight (8) times the area of the public open space or public park provided. This does not include open spaces that are required to be provided in accordance with the Building Control Act.	
		Section 80: Provision of Public Amenity Spaces in Transit Hubs of Mass Electric Rail Transit Systems In the case of land use for public buildings as defined in the Building Control Act, located within 200 meters of the surrounding area of a mass electric rail transit station, if the owner or possessor of the land has provided public amenity spaces within the transit hub of the mass electric rail transit system in accordance with Section 74 (6), the total floor area ratio may be increased by up to twenty percent. However, the increased total floor area shall not exceed five times the area of the public amenity spaces provided.	
		Section 81: Provision of Space to Accommodate Pedestrian Improvement In the case of land use for public buildings as defined in the Building Control Act, if the owner or possessor of the land has provided space to accommodate pedestrian improvement in accordance with Section 74 (7), the total floor area ratio may be increased by up to twenty percent. However, the increased total floor area shall not exceed eight times the area provided for pedestrian improvement. Notwithstanding the foregoing, the provision of space to accommodate pedestrian improvement shall not include open spaces that are required to be provided under the Building Control Act.	
		Section 82: Floor Area Ratio Increase for Public Roads in providing a public road connecting two public roads (FAR bonus) In land classified for public buildings as defined in the Building Control Act, if the owner or occupant of the land provides a public road connecting two public roads for the convenience of public access as per Section 74 (8), which is accessible to the public free of charge, the total floor area ratio may be increased by up to twenty percent (20%). However, the increased total floor area shall not exceed five (5) times the area of the land provided for such public road. This does not include open spaces that are required to be provided in accordance with the Building Control Act.	

Note. Adapted from Bangkok Metropolitan Administration. (July 24, 2018). Supporting documents for the public hearing for the draft of Bangkok Masterplan Plan 2024 (4th Revision) [In Thai]

4.3.2.1 Envisions of Bangkok's masterplan

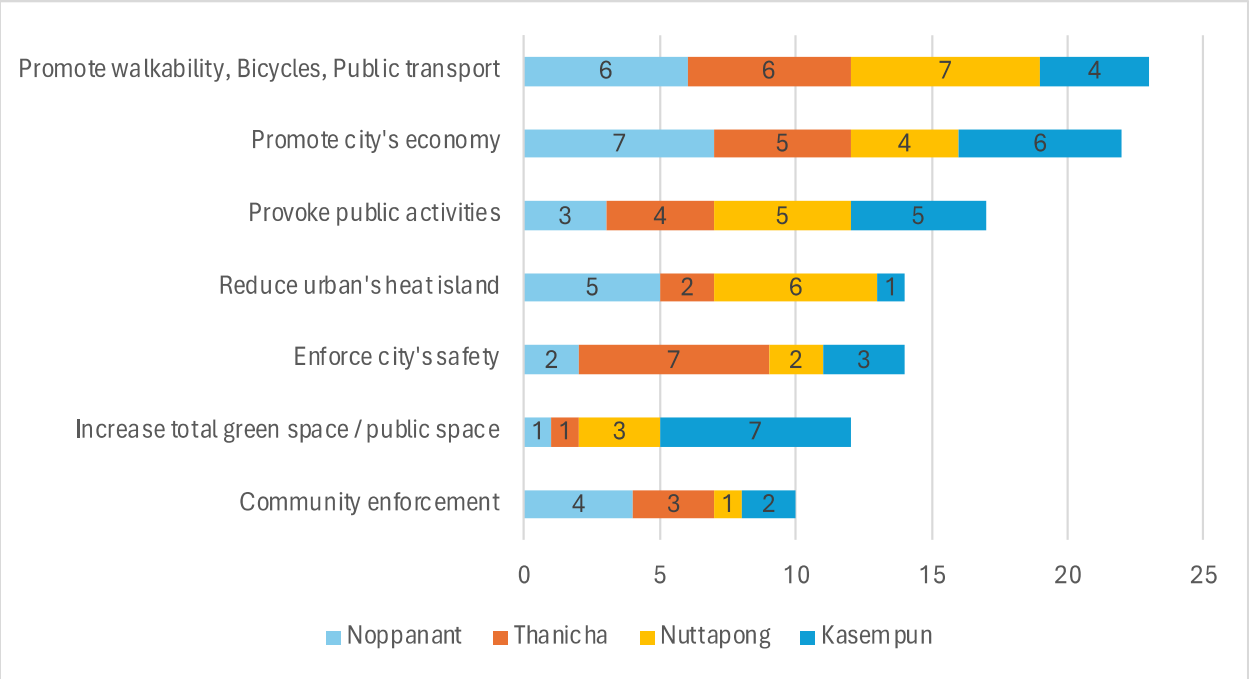
The objectives of Bangkok's new masterplan (2024) were individually reviewed and ranked by four policymakers. **Figure 16** reveals a clear consensus, with consistent distribution, on prioritizing walkability, cycling, public transportation, and economic growth. Conversely, community enforcement was consistently ranked lowest. However, objectives related to reducing urban heat islands, enhancing city safety, and increasing public spaces received mixed rankings, indicating differing opinions among policymakers. These mid-to-lower ranked objectives highlight contrasting viewpoints within the policymaking group.

Nopanant Tapatanont of Urban planning unit Chulalongkorn university and a policymaker of the ongoing draft of Bangkok Masterplan stated that:

> *"Actually, we are answering the question of economic growth under climate change in Bangkok, if we talk about this plan, in the real sense, but I've never said this to anyone.... If I say it, no one will understand, no one will know, and no one will care to listen... I can only say that. If I talk to academics, I dare to say it and I think I can say it. " (N.Tapananont, online communication, May 16, 2024)*

Figure 17

Prioritize of Bangkok Masterplan 2024 Objectives by Policymakers



Note. Data collected from personal and online communication with policymakers, 2024.

Referred quote provided a glimpse into the complex and often hidden mechanisms of governmentality. It also highlighted the challenges of addressing complex issues like climate change in a context where public understanding and political will were limited.

> *"So, if we continue talking about city planning laws, I have to say that we are actually on the right track, which is to go from light to hard." (T.Niyomwan, personal communication, May 28, 2024)*

The evolution of fences in Bangkok reflected the complex interplay of historical, social, and economic factors shaping the city's development. The policymaker's insights revealed that the use of fences initially emerged as a response to rising crime rates during Thailand's transition from absolute monarchy to a liberal capitalist system, where private land ownership was established through title deeds. Fences became a symbol of protection for the wealthy against the perceived threat of the lower classes. As the city's security improved over time, the function of fences evolved to address neighborly disputes, noise complaints, and privacy concerns. Despite these changes, attitudes towards land ownership and the desire for privacy remained deeply rooted in Thai culture, contributing to the continued prevalence of fences in various forms. (T.Niyomwan, personal communication, May 28, 2024).

The Bangkok Masterplan 2024 draft included various regulatory and incentive mechanisms. This research focused on the FAR bonus as an incentive instrument, given its potential impact on mitigating urban gating. Nopanant (personal communication, May 2024) Thanitcha, Nuttapong, and Kasempun describe the use of Floor Area Ratio (FAR) and FAR bonuses as distinct tools within the Bangkok Masterplan 2024. Both mechanisms aim to increase accessible public space by incentivizing the private sector to contribute land in exchange for additional buildable floor area. Considered as a strictly control regulation, FAR law in Bangkok, in effect for 20 years, significantly impacts landowners and developers, especially when selling property. While it has a smaller effect on individual homeowners, a low FAR can reduce the value of a single-family home. This regulation demonstrates successful negotiation and compromise between policymakers and investors in Bangkok's urban planning. Although initially opposed, investors have come to understand the necessity of FAR, showcasing a level of cooperation in balancing development interests with urban planning goals.

On the other hand, the FAR bonus, intended as an economic and financial incentive, had shown ineffectiveness. Nopanant clarified the objective of the FAR bonus within Bangkok's framework as:

> *"FAR bonus is a measure. It has no goal. But it depends on, whether you want to do it or not." (N.Tapananont, online communication, May 16, 2024)*

The ineffectiveness of FAR bonuses as an incentive tool in Bangkok stems from a mismatch between the policy's intent and the private sector's needs. While policymakers envisioned FAR bonuses as a way to encourage developers to create more public space, developers often find the additional floor area unnecessary for achieving their economic goals. Furthermore, the perceived value of privacy among residents can outweigh the potential benefits of increased building area, making FAR bonuses less appealing to developers. This highlights the limitations of governmentality in influencing private sector behavior and emphasizes the need for policies that better align with the motivations and priorities of various stakeholders. (K.Trakulkajornsak, online communication, July 4, 2024; N.Punnoi, personal communication, May 30, 2024)

“Oh, there are many reasons. I often talk about how we give FAR bonuses that exceed the needs of the private sector. That is, the private sector does not need to try to use FAR bonuses to achieve their business and economic goals. This is the first point. Oh, too much demand means that it is not necessary not to use it, it is not necessary to use it. To put it simply, I don't need to use the bonus, I'm already rich.” (N.Punnoi, personal communication, May 30, 2024)

The lack of clear metrics or criteria for obtaining FAR bonuses has led to a reliance on committee judgment, resulting in unpredictable and inconsistent building designs. This ambiguity hinders the city's vision for an accessible and unified urban landscape. Policymakers suggested that there should be a design guideline for FAR bonus

Yet, insights from policymakers imply the notions of the coherence of policymaking process and social drives, particularly highlighting the importance of aligning policies with the beliefs and behaviors of the citizens and stakeholders they affect. When policies are not in sync with these cultural and behavioral norms, they may face resistance and lack of support.

“In terms of political policies, we, as Bangkokians or Thais, don't really like to adapt… We adopt technology slowly, change our attitudes slowly, and prefer to stay in our comfort zones." (T.Niyomwan, personal communication, May 28, 2024)

“The city wants it, that means the people in the city want it. For example, if the people in the city want to remove the fence. That means the government and the people have to come together and think about how to do it.” (N.Tapananont, online communication, May 16, 2024)

The policymaker emphasizes the importance of public participation in urban planning decisions, highlighting that the city's desires should reflect the will of its people. However, they also acknowledge the challenges of effective participatory processes in the current context. This suggests a need for more structured and tailored approaches to public engagement, ensuring that diverse voices are heard and considered in decision-making processes. The policymaker's insights reveal a tension between the ideal of democratic participation and the practical realities of implementing it effectively in urban planning.

“…If you ask me what's happening in this country, I think we don't really know how participatory process works. …Participation in some matters requires its own specific methods.”(N.Tapananont, online communication, May 16, 2024)

The policymaker's statement reflects a fundamental tension within governmentality: the balance between individual autonomy and state intervention. While property owners assert their right to erect fences, the state's potential role in regulating such choices raises questions about the limits of individual freedom in pursuit of collective interests.

"Putting up a fence, you know, is a choice of the owner as to how they will use it. When the state goes to enforce a choice in the democratic system that we have here, the state must have enough legitimacy." (N.Punnoi, personal communication, May 30, 2024)

This tension underscores the importance of legitimacy in justifying state action. The policymaker emphasizes that the state's authority to regulate land use, including the construction of fences, is contingent upon public acceptance. This legitimacy is not solely derived from legal authority but is also shaped by public discourse and perception. These insights further illustrates how governmentality operates as a subtle form of power, not solely through direct regulation but also through indirect influence. While the state may lack the legal authority to outright ban fences, it can shape individual choices through incentives, disincentives, and by framing the public discourse around the issue.

Ultimately, the policymaker acknowledges the limitations of governmentality within a democratic context. Even with the desire to regulate fences, the state must consider broader social and political factors, particularly the prevailing attitudes towards private property rights and individual autonomy. This recognition highlights the complex interplay between individual choice, state power, and public opinion in shaping urban environments.

The Bangkok Masterplan 2024 framework provided policymakers with two main policy instruments: regulatory controls and economic incentives. However, effectively mitigating urban gating requires a broader approach that goes beyond these tools. The framework lacks provisions for fostering social consensus and behavioral change through promotional campaigns and public engagement, which are crucial aspects in addressing the complex issue of urban gating.

"We do it through campaigns, but public relations and campaigns, of course, it goes into mass communication, the media, right? To change behavior, they are preparing intensively, right? And some things have changed. These campaigns, we do them in generations, it has to be at least two generations, meaning we have to educate from a young age, kindergarten, elementary school, something like that, and the behavior will stick. Therefore, we can't do campaigns for people aged 30, 40 and above, they won't change their behavior. It will change, but it's very difficult." (T.Niyomwan, personal communication, May 28, 2024)

This insight underscored the importance of investing in long-term strategies and educational initiatives to foster a more sustainable and socially responsible society.

Furthermore, N. Punnoi (personal communication, May 30, 2024) and T. Niyomwan (personal communication, May 28, 2024) discussed the need for improved policymaking structures and the importance of design guidelines in relation to the Bangkok Masterplan 2024. The policymaker's statement highlighted a key issue with the FAR bonus system as an incentive for creating public spaces. The then-current system lacked specific criteria or enforcement mechanisms, allowing developers to exploit the FAR bonus without fulfilling its intended purpose of creating usable public spaces.

> *"The United States, Japan, Singapore, and Hong Kong all face the same problem, which is that when FAR bonuses are first given, they are used exclusively for public space, right? And the public space is not very usable. What we are facing is the topic we are talking about right now, so it is the answer to what you said earlier, which is the answer that all countries are doing the same thing today, which is to issue design guidelines. " (N.Punnoi, personal communication, May 30, 2024)*

N. Punnoi reflected on the reason behind the delay in implementing additional design guidelines for the FAR bonus, stating that its limited utilization by the private sector currently precludes it from being a priority.

> *". . . Will there be any? The answer is "no."...One reason it doesn't happen is because FAR bonuses aren't used very often. Because they're not used very often, the problem I'm talking about doesn't happen." (N.Punnoi, personal communication, May 30, 2024)*

The next section would explore policymakers' reflection on the priorities and values regarding urban gating mitigation.

4.3.2.2 Views on Bangkok's accessibility

The policymakers' concept of accessibility in the city primarily focuses on the ease and efficiency with which people can travel between different points of interest, whether it's commuting to work, accessing essential services, or reaching leisure destinations. This understanding of accessibility prioritizes transportation infrastructure and connectivity.

> *Accessibility is the ability for people to access these six types of services; work, shopping, recreation, learning, shopping, transition, and finally, the sixth thing that I often add is access to transportation nodes that will take us to long-distance travel that we cannot walk or bike to. (N.Punnoi, personal communication, May 30, 2024)*

In addition, Dr. Nopanant emphasized the importance of walkability, stating that:

> *"People in Bangkok should walk more. But I have to say that the quality of the sidewalks is not conducive to walking." (online communication, May 16, 2024)*

While the upcoming Bangkok Masterplan 2024 aims to improve travel efficiency, the potential for increased urban gating could undermine this goal. The policymaker's perspective on fences in Bangkok is multifaceted, reflecting historical, social, and economic factors. They trace the origin of fences to the transition from absolute monarchy to liberal capitalism, where land ownership became formalized through title deeds. This led to socio-economic disparities, with fences symbolizing protection for the wealthy from crime perpetrated by the lower classes. As the security situation improved, the role of fences shifted towards managing neighborly disputes and privacy concerns. However, attitudes towards land ownership remain deeply ingrained, with fences representing territorial boundaries. The policymaker suggests that reducing fences may be feasible in some areas, such as commercial zones, where disturbances can be mitigated through architectural and operational measures (N. Punnoi, personal communication, May 30, 2024; T. Niyomwan, personal communication, May 28, 2024).

"I think social class is an important issue of the present. I don't think it's a matter of crime in the past when the crime rate was high. I don't think it's a matter of owning a title deed and having to have a fence along the exact boundary of the title deed, but I think it's a matter of social class. In expensive condos, they are definitely exclusive, meaning they separate themselves from society. (T.Niyomwan, personal communication, May 28, 2024)

Within the framework of the Bangkok Masterplan 2024, Kasempun discussed the role of land-use planning and effect to the phenomenon of urban gating, stating:

"If it's a house in the same area, the appraised land price is similar. So I think the social status is not that different. In terms of status, I don't think it's an issue in determining whether or not there should be a fence. But I think it's more about safety and trust. We don't know our neighbors. (K. Trakulkajornsak, online communication, July 4, 2024)

While acknowledging the potential security concerns, some policymakers believe that fences act as barriers to accessibility, hindering the use of public services and spaces. They argue that removing or reducing fences could significantly improve access and create a more inclusive urban environment. A proposed solution involves leveraging existing open space regulations to incentivize green spaces in front of buildings, creating semi-public areas that can be monitored or temporarily enclosed as needed, balancing the desire for open space with security concerns. This approach suggests that with careful planning and management, the negative impacts of fences can be mitigated while still ensuring safety and order.

"Of course, it has a role to play in preventing it from happening. Or, to put it in the opposite way, if there were no fences or walls, accessibility would be better and we would be able to access the various public services, including the parks I mentioned earlier, much better." (N.Punnoi, personal communication, May 30, 2024)

"...If there is no fence, it will help us achieve the goal of increasing green space in the city, which may be used as semi-public, meaning at night there may be security guards. ...This can be managed. This also helps the city, especially in the inner areas where there are tall buildings, to achieve green space. If you talk to other professors, they will say it's POP, privately owned public space, POP. It's a private area, but it's open to the public at certain times." (T.Niyomwan, personal communication, May 28, 2024)

While some policymakers advocated for reducing or removing fences, others believed several issues needed to be addressed. They emphasized respecting private property rights, arguing against government intervention and legitimacy in privately owned spaces. They also highlighted the cultural significance of walls and fences in Thai society, suggesting their complete removal might not align with cultural norms.

“But this matter will come back to the point that creating accessibility and to the point that we have to say that there can't be fences, well... Did the state do anything else before on the basis that the state has the power to do it? And when there is no other way, then choose a way to violate the rights of the people. Have we acted and proven this process or this process in a legitimate way?” (N.Punnoi, personal communication, May 30, 2024)

”Actually, I want to say that fences are not, Not bad. For example, if Bangkok, if Rattanakosin Island didn't have palace walls, temple walls, Bangkok would look strange. And if the temple walls were transparent, it would look strange too. There are cultural implications, and it answers the question of function and beauty.”

(N.Tapananont, online communication, May 16, 2024)

Nopanant (personal communication, May 16, 2024) and Thanitcha (personal communication, May 28, 2024) shared the view that climate, belief, and culture significantly influenced not only how people interacted with and used public spaces but also their decisions regarding fencing their property. The policymaker's perspective on fences and public space reveals a nuanced understanding of the socio-economic factors at play in urban environments. They argue that even without physical fences, social inequalities and segregation can manifest in other ways, such as through the presence of security guards or the inherent differences in socio-economic status between communities.

“...in the conditions of A hot city, we are more comfortable when we open the doors and windows for ventilation. And when we open the doors and windows, it means that we have to find a way to protect ourselves, and I think the easiest way to protect ourselves is with a fence. ” (N.Tapananont, online communication, May 16, 2024)

“I'm not sure if Bangkokians are comfortable in public spaces. ...Well, sometimes publicness reduces privacy. ...I don't think Thai people have reached the level where they have to be pushed out of their homes. ” (N.Tapananont, online communication, May 16, 2024)

This is exemplified in the case of One Bangkok, where the lack of a physical fence doesn't necessarily equate to inclusivity. The stark difference in income, skills, and job opportunities between the residents of nearby communities and those working in One Bangkok creates a social barrier that is just as effective as a physical one.

The policymaker also highlights the diverse needs and preferences for public spaces among different social classes. They argue that traditional public parks with fitness centers and running tracks might not cater to the needs of the working class, who may prefer smaller, shaded spaces for relaxation and socializing.

"There is a huge disparity in terms of income, skills, and job positions hired in One Bangkok compared to the three or four communities surrounding it. Therefore, even without a fence, the way people from the community walk in, the way they dress, the way they walk, will definitely be questioned, definitely be looked at. This is definitely inequality." (T.Niyomwan, personcal communication, 2024)

The policymaker advocates for government buildings, believing that they should remove all fences and barriers to facilitate public access. They argue that government buildings should be designed to be easily accessible. The policymaker believes that the government should serve as a pioneer for the private sector, demonstrating how open and accessible spaces can function effectively and safely.

"The law comes from the state, you know? So how to do it without a fence? Should the state do it first? It would probably be the easiest place to start, to set an example for the people in the city to see that." (K. Trakulkajornsak, online communication, July 4, 2024)

Policymakers anticipate that promoting mixed-use developments and diverse social communities within the private sector could help mitigate the proliferation of urban gating as it creates social interaction between different building-use and inclusive environment where people from various backgrounds feel welcome and comfortable. The policymaker emphasizes that government agencies beyond the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration should take a more active role in promoting mixed-use and mixed-income development. This goes beyond their traditional legal duties and involves facilitating a broader social and economic integration within urban areas. (N.Tapananont, online communication, 2024 and N.Punnoi, personal communication, May 30, 2024)

4.3.2.3 Views on Bangkok's mobility

Bangkok policymakers are working towards transitioning the city from its current car-centric model towards increased use of public transportation. To achieve this, they are implementing a transit-oriented development (TOD) and 15-minute city approach, focusing on measurable improvements in transportation and walkability. This strategy involves using land-use planning to model population density. Furthermore, policymakers envision a future where increased public transportation usage leads to a more pedestrian-friendly city with wider sidewalks, more trees, and smaller roads. This vision emphasizes the importance of shifting towards sustainable transportation modes for a more environmentally friendly urban environment. Nopanant also highlighted a perceived lack of vision among Thai people regarding the potential benefits of such a transformation. This suggested that a key challenge for policymakers is not only implementing infrastructure changes but also fostering a shift in public perception and behavior towards sustainable transportation options.

"...If most people use public transportation, the roads will be smaller, the sidewalks will be bigger, and the trees will be able to survive. It's something that I think Thai people don't have, a vision." (N.Tapananont, online communication, May 16, 2024)

The social and behavioral aspects of these changes are crucial for achieving the policy's ultimate goals. This awareness is reflected in Thanitcha's view that:

> *"...We think that we will make a network that is a walkable city, actually, people may not, users may not walk the same route every day, they also get bored. Because there is a human factor involved, they will walk around, they will stop by to see this place first, they will change their route sometimes." (T.Niyomwan, personal communication, May 28, 2024)*

The presence or absence of gates and fences directly and indirectly influences citizens' transportation choices, as perceived and actual walking distances are affected by these physical barriers. Kasempun, a consultant specializing in city mobility for the Bangkok Masterplan 2024, elaborates on the potential impact of reducing physical barriers like fences and walls:

> *"Definitely, it will make traveling easier and more convenient. The walking time in a U-shape from 10 minutes becomes 5 minutes with a new path. You might not even have to choose a mode of transportation, just walk, it's easier. Something like that could happen. It definitely has an effect, not having a fence and choosing a mode of transportation. It definitely has a direct impact, especially in the inner areas of Bangkok, like areas with many dense roads, it's definitely noticeable." (K. Trakulkajornsak, online communication, July 4, 2024)*

The policymaker highlights a potential benefit of removing fences between buildings: it can create wider, more functional roads and public spaces. Due to setback laws, a gap often exists between buildings and the main road, forming smaller access roads. If fences were removed, these small roads could be combined, increasing usable space for sidewalks, landscaping, and pedestrian walkways. This approach would not only enhance the city's aesthetics but also improve functionality. However, the policymaker emphasizes that successful implementation requires clear agreements between property owners on maintenance and management responsibilities for the newly created shared spaces.

> *Most buildings are placed in the middle, right? Because there are setback laws, like around the land plot. But before you can build a building, you have to set back a certain distance, which makes the setback become a road... The setback of two adjacent plots of land, it turns out that there...It becomes a road next to a road, you know? ...If you remove the fence, it becomes a six-meter road with beautiful landscaping, sidewalks, and people can walk, etc. It makes the city more beautiful, that's all. But the management of not having a fence can be divided in half. This side of the road you take care of, the other side is the other person's responsibility. There must be a clear agreement. (K. Trakulkajornsak, online communication, July 4, 2024)*

The policymaker's insights revealed a nuanced understanding of the challenges and opportunities surrounding public space design in Bangkok. They emphasized that communal spaces created by the removal of walls and fences posed challenges in terms of establishing a sense of ownership, which could lead to difficulties in maintaining these spaces by the private sector.

The fault of architectural design is that it thinks the first floor should be a common area for everyone. When it's everyone's place, it will not be anyone's place. When it's not anyone's place, which makes no one take care of it." (T.Niyomwan, personal communication, May 28, 2024)

Policymakers planned to create shortcuts within existing blocks to connect them to newly planned streets, effectively dividing larger blocks into smaller ones. They aimed to incentivize this mid-block street development by offering FAR bonuses and, where necessary, utilizing the land expropriation act. However, this proposal faced resistance from both residents and authorities.

"It's been met with a lot of public resistance, which is understandable, because widening roads means losing property and cutting new roads means people losing property too, right? They also lose privacy and other things, so people are against it. The new intention that has arisen in the government, according to what they have announced in the media, this will be a fact for researchers to refer to: they say they will cancel all of them. " (N.Punnoi, personal communication, May 30, 2024)

4.3.2.3 Views on Bangkok's safety

From the interviews, policymakers strongly believed that safety concerns were the primary driver behind citizens' decisions to fortify their properties with fences and gates. This belief was supported by the co-occurrence analysis depicted in **Figure 17**, which revealed a strong correlation between discussions of urban gating and concerns about safety. This finding suggested that policymakers perceived security as the most significant factor influencing the prevalence of gated communities and walled properties in the city.

"The protection of safety. Actually, whether it's urban planning, architecture, or anything; safety is the first priority, convenience is second, and beauty is third." (N.Tapananont, online communication, 2024)

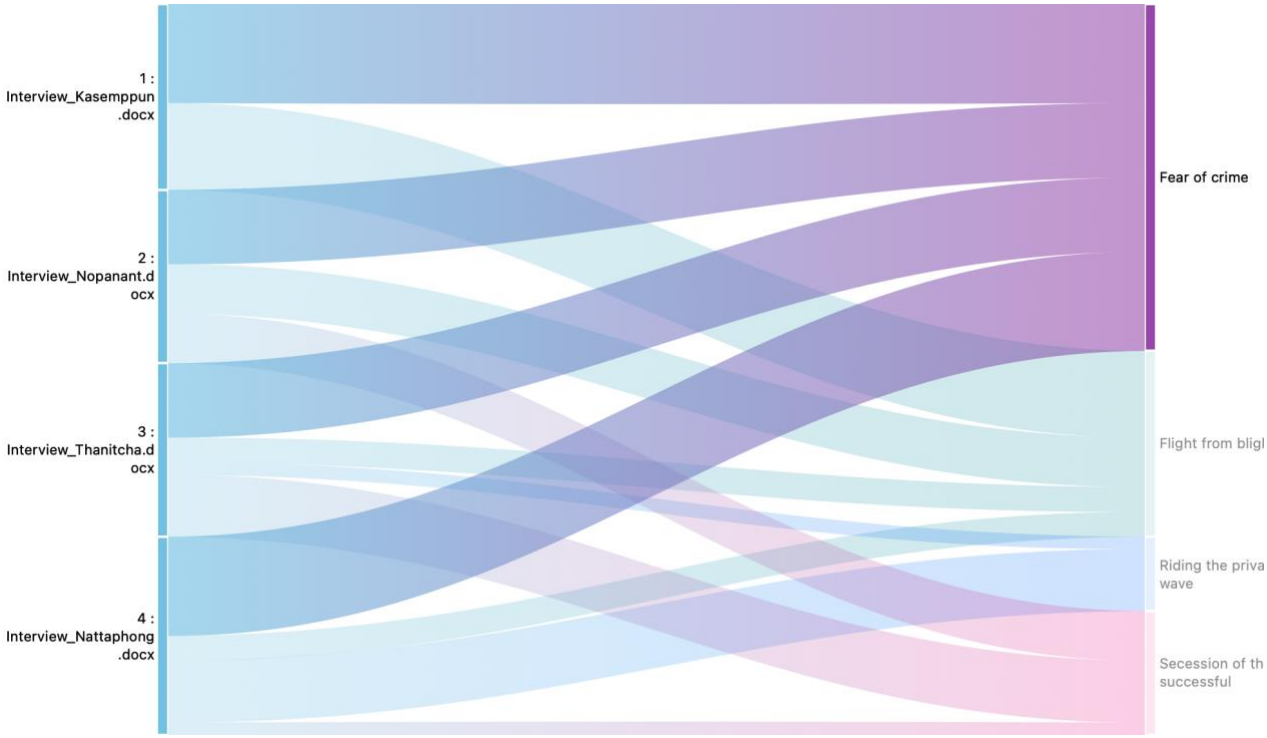
The evolution of fences in Bangkok has been deeply intertwined with the city's changing perceptions of safety and security. In earlier times, walls served as fortifications against external threats, protecting entire cities and communities (T.Niyomwan, personal communication, May 28, 2024). However, with the advent of modern urban development and private property rights, the focus shifted towards individual protection and the demarcation of personal space. This shift is evident in the following observation:

"People are starting to build more friendly fences. But now there is also the matter of attitudes towards land ownership, because the issuance of title deeds has become an attitude of seizing land, saying that in my life, my land is mine, it cannot be missing even a millimeter. So we build fences to say that this is my boundary, this is an attitude that is parallel to crime and the feudal system in the past, there is also the matter of the perspective of owning a title deed."(T.Niyomwan, personal communication, May 28, 2024)

The policymaker's perspective revealed factors influencing the use of fences in Bangkok. While a trend towards more visually appealing fences was observed, deeply ingrained attitudes towards land ownership, rooted in historical and cultural contexts, persisted. The act of building a fence was seen as a way to assert one's property rights and protect personal space, a practice the policymaker compared to the feudal past. This desire for privacy and security, combined with cultural preferences for seclusion, reinforced the prevalent use of fences in the city.

Figure 18

Sankey diagram examining the connection of urban gating and the main stream hypothesis



	Fear of crime 36	Flight from blig... 20	Riding the priv... 18	Secession of t... 14	Totals
1 Interview_Kasemppun.docx 130	13.46% 8.615	11.54% 7.385			25.00% 16.00
2 Interview_Nopanant.docx 105	10.71% 6.857	7.14% 4.571		7.14% 4.571	25.00% 16.00
3 Interview_Thanitcha.docx 91	10.71% 6.857	3.57% 2.286	1.79% 1.143	8.93% 5.714	25.00% 16.00
4 Interview_Nattaphong.docx 127	12.50% 8.00	3.12% 2.00	7.81% 5.00	1.56% 1.00	25.00% 16.00
Totals	47.39% 30.33	25.38% 16.242	9.60% 6.143	17.63% 11.286	100 % 64.00

Note. Own image of cross-document analysis among policymakers on examined theme based four major hypotheses of urban gating phenomenon.

“For example, in some places they build high walls so that people can't see inside because of the belief that being private like that is better. But in some countries the belief is different, that is, that it's better to be open and spacious. So they can see outside and it's open and comfortable, which is a privilege. I don't know how to put it, but it's the desire, the preference of different people. So, for all these reasons, security, privacy, keeping people from messing with our facilities, and the belief that we will feel safer if we do that, are the reasons why we in Thailand do it all now.”(T.Niyomwan, personal communication, May 28, 2024)

The policymaker identified that fences primarily negatively impacted urban aesthetics. Fences obstructed views, making activities within buildings appear secretive and disconnected from the public realm. This visual obstruction limited perspectives, making open spaces feel smaller and less inviting. Additionally, fences evoked feelings of division and danger, perpetuating a perception of crime and exclusivity, even in public areas like government buildings. This psychological impact extended beyond aesthetics, affecting how people perceived and interacted with their environment.

Policymakers believed that the characteristics of urban gating played a significant role in balancing security with visual appeal. Alternatives to solid walls, such as lower fences, corrugated metal, or strategically placed bushes, offered a degree of privacy and security while contributing positively to the overall aesthetic and openness of the city.

“Therefore, when we look in the urban area, our visual perspective is limited to the edge of the road and ends at the fence... the open space becomes smaller immediately... Besides that, it's a matter of cognitive, meaning when we see a fence, we feel like, hey, it wants to divide, it's dangerous, there is crime, right?" (T.Niyomwan, personal communication, May 28, 2024)

“I don't think fences will disappear completely, or that they will all be transparent. I think there needs to be a way to use them between low fences or high fences, solid fences, or fences that are trees or no fences at all. I think they have different benefits (T.Niyomwan, personal communication, May 28, 2024)

The debate surrounding fences often centers on the perceived trade-off between security and openness. While some argue that fences offer a sense of protection, others question their effectiveness. This tension is evident in the following observation:

“It might be irresponsible to say that if there's no fence, it's safe, right? Because if I don't have a fence and something happens, something could happen, right? But having a fence doesn't mean 100% safety in life. That is, there can be other methods or other forms of management that can help us maintain safety even if we take down the fence. That's one way of looking at it.” (N.Punnoi, personal communication, May 30, 2024)

Policymakers acknowledge the limitations of relying solely on fences for security and advocate for alternative solutions. They highlight the "eyes on the street" approach, which prioritizes natural surveillance through increased visibility and activity in public spaces. This approach not only deters crime but also fosters a sense of community and shared responsibility, promoting a feeling of safety without the need for physical barriers.

> *”I think they are related because fences are built for safety and to divide space, right? As for "eyes on the street," it's about making people see that area more or less. Which also affects the safety of the area. Like an area that people can see and there are probably people watching all the time, it feels safer, you know?” (K. Trakulkajornsak, online communication, July 4, 2024)*

> *“...whether it has a direct effect on the fence, I think it does, because if there are eyes on the street, there might not be a fence.” (K. Trakulkajornsak, online communication, July 4, 2024)*

Finally, policymakers believed that driving societal change and shifting norms required demonstrating and promoting the tangible benefits of mitigating walls and fences, such as increased safety, improved connectivity, and more convenient travel.

> *“Does it really help reduce... the feeling of insecurity? Does it really create safety? But actually, it's people's belief. I'm just sharing this because I can't say for sure, but I understand that I personally believe that people's beliefs are important in their decision-making.”(N.Punnoi, personal communication, May 30, 2024)*

The policymaker emphasized the significant influence of a society's economic and social context on the effectiveness of urban planning laws and regulations. They pointed out that in Bangkok, where financial resources are limited and economic circulation is slower, implementing detailed laws, especially those with financial implications for landowners and investors, can be challenging and lead to non-compliance. They suggested that a successful policy approach would involve fostering a shift in attitudes and values through public awareness and education, rather than relying solely on legislation. This holistic approach, considering the economic realities and cultural context of the city, could pave the way for effective and sustainable urban development.

> *We can't just issue laws, we also have to educate and have leaders or peers who are friends to do it first, show them how to do it, and then behavior will start to change. This is also common among young people and early working age who use the same things, eat the same things, go to the same places, these are behaviors that imitate people in similar societies. And then we can lead to, if it's a social way, it can lead to doing similar things or seeing similar things, then it can lead to the issuance of a law. So it must be done together. (T.Niyomwan, personal communication, May 28, 2024)*

PART 5: Discussion

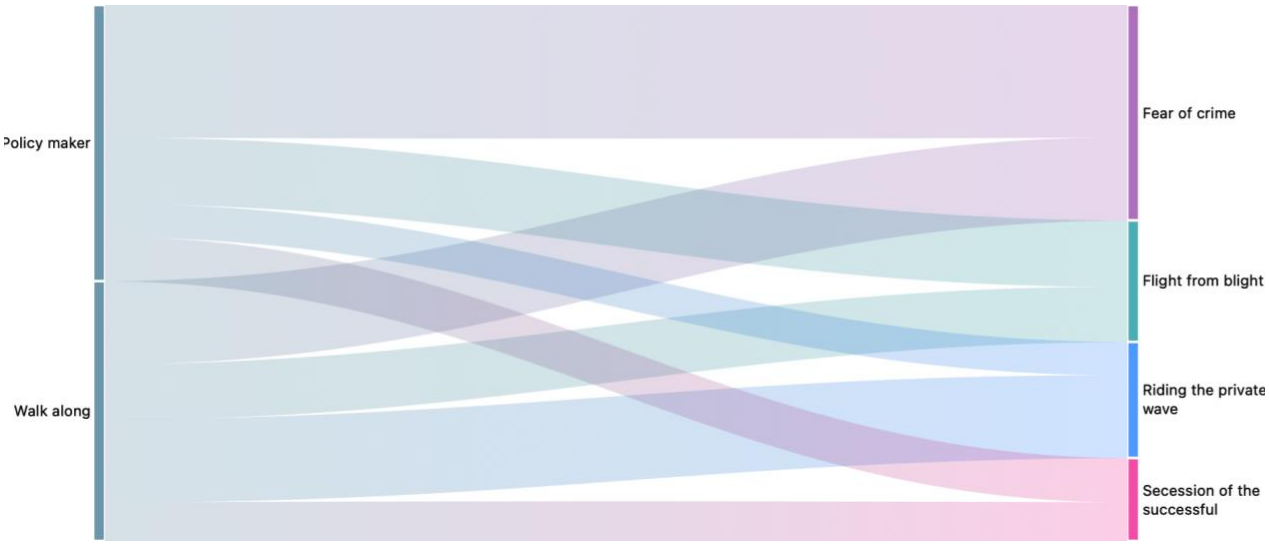
This section employed a constructive juxtaposition approach to analyze the complex phenomenon of urban gating in Bangkok. By juxtaposing ethnographic insights into residents' lived experiences with a critical analysis of policy instruments, this chapter sought to reveal the intricate relationships between actors, institutions, and discourses that shaped the implementation of urban gating policies. Through the lens of governmentality, the chapter examined how power relations, ideas, and experiences were constructed and communicated, highlighting both the convergences and divergences between policy intentions and on-the-ground realities. This analysis ultimately aimed to identify opportunities for enhancing the effectiveness and equitable implementation of urban gating policies in Bangkok.

5.1 Juxtaposition of the concept of urban gating mitigation

Figure 19 demonstrated that both policymakers and walk-along participants identified safety and privacy as the primary reasons for the presence of walls and fences in Bangkok. This finding suggested a significant alignment between the perspectives of policymakers and the lived experiences of residents on the phenomenon of urban gating. However, the divergent perspectives of policymakers and walk-along participants on urban gating in Bangkok illuminate the complexities of balancing safety, accessibility, and cultural norms. Policymakers, often viewing the issue through a broader lens, tend to focus on transportation models and sustainability goals. They acknowledge the historical association of fences with security and social stratification, while also recognizing

Figure 19

Juxtaposition on the connection of urban gating and the main stream hypothesis



	Fear of crime 36	Flight from blig... 20	Riding the priv... 18	Secession of t... 14	Totals
Policy maker 4 453	24.00% 24.00	12.00% 12.00	6.00% 6.00	8.00% 8.00	50.00% 50.00
Walk along 6 512	15.79% 15.789	10.53% 10.526	15.79% 15.789	7.89% 7.895	50.00% 50.00
Totals	39.79% 39.789	22.53% 22.526	21.79% 21.789	15.89% 15.895	100 % 100.00

Note. Own image of cross-document analysis among policymakers and walk-along participants on examined theme based four major causal hypotheses of urban gating phenomenon.

the contemporary concerns around privacy and property rights.

Policymakers express a willingness to explore alternative solutions like semi-public spaces and security measures to mitigate the negative impacts of fencing. Policymakers employed incentivized policy instruments as a primary tool to encourage private sector participation in opening gated communities.

Conversely, walk-along participants offer a more grounded perspective, focusing on the tangible impact of fences on their daily lives. They express frustration with the barriers to accessibility and movement created by fences, which often lead to detours, inconvenience, and feelings of exclusion. For them, fences represent a disruption to the flow of urban life, hindering their ability to navigate the city freely and access public spaces. Their lived experiences highlight the potential disconnect between policy intentions and the on-the-ground realities of urban planning. They also found the necessity of gating for certain types of land use such as scools and childcare. They also acknowledged the necessity of gating for certain types of land use, such as schools and childcare facilities. However, they expressed a positive outlook on the possibility of removing or modifying the appearance of walls towards a more transparent design, potentially enhancing the city's aesthetic appeal.

In the theme of accessibility, both policymakers and area users expressed consensus on the negative impacts of urban gating. The juxtaposed perspectives revealed a shared concern that the physical and social barriers associated with a new estate development, even one positioned as an open access area, may perpetuate existing inequalities, and create a sense of exclusion among those who do not fit the development's perceived image. This raises questions about the responsibility of urban development projects to consider the social impact on surrounding communities and actively work towards greater inclusivity.

In the theme of mobility, both sides agreed that mitigating urban gating could significantly enhance the area's travel experience by creating shorter, more direct routes and encouraging the use of walking and public transportation. Policymakers currently focus on developing transit along main streets, but they are optimistic that the new Floor Area Ratio (FAR) bonus for "mid-block roads" will incentivize developers to create additional passageways within their projects. This, they believe, will provide alternative travel routes throughout the city, alleviating congestion and promoting a more pedestrian-friendly environment.

In the theme of safety, citizens and policymakers aligned in their skepticism regarding the effectiveness of fences as a guarantee of property security. Both groups suggested that active street life and "eyes on the street" would increase surveillance and contribute to a safer environment. This perspective is linked to the characteristic of solid walls that block views and create hidden spaces. In contrast, they proposed that corrugated fences or other see-through barriers could provide security for both private properties and the public street.

Table 8 juxtaposed the opinions of policymakers with those of walk-along participants, revealing both alignments and contradictions across the themes of accessibility, mobility, and safety.

Table 8

Comparison of perspectives between walk-along participants and policymakers

Theme	Justification	Quotes retrieved	
		Walk-along participant	Policymaker
Accessibility	Alignment	*"It's like, it's so different, you know, compared to the image of people in the area, like, some of the guys I met there, they'd be wearing mosquito repellent, that red stuff, long hair, no shirt, like, that's normal for people in the area.* ***But wow, like this (One Bangkok), would they even let people from the area in?****"(Participant-5: a former area dweller, walk-along communication, Jun 21, 2024)*	*"There is a huge disparity in terms of income, skills, and job positions hired in One Bangkok compared to the three or four communities surrounding it.* ***Therefore, even without a fence, the way people from the neighborhood walk in, the way they dress, the way they walk, will definitely be questioned, definitely be looked at. This is definitely inequality****." (T.Niyomwan, personal communication, 2024)*
	Contradiction	*"There's a playground for little kids. I take them there (Lumpini park), they like to go because there's space to run and play.* ***...They want to go play, they want to go there because there's no place to play here*** *(inner area of Lumpini block). We stay for a long time, one or two hours."*	*"I'm not sure if Bangkokians are comfortable in public spaces. ...Well, sometimes publicness reduces privacy. ...****I don't think Thai people have reached the level where they have to be pushed out of their homes****." (N.Tapananont, online communication, May 16, 2024)*
Mobility	Alignment	*"If there wasn't a wall here (a polo club) and I could just cut straight through, would I want that? Of course I would!* ***I would want to walk closer to avoid going around and taking a shortcut.*** *But I can't do that because it's private property. I can't trespass or just walk around on other people's property. I have to use the public roads."(Participant-2: a school security guard, walk-along communication, Jun 4, 2024)*	*"Definitely,* ***it will make traveling easier and more convenient****. The walking time in a U-shape from 10 minutes becomes 5 minutes with a new path. You might not even have to choose a mode of transportation, just walk, it's easier. Something like that could happen. It definitely has an effect, not having a fence and choosing a mode of transportation." (K. Trakulkajornsak, online communication, July 4, 2024)*
	Contradiction	*"Inside my neighborhood, there's a part where there's no sidewalk, so you have to walk on the road. That's a bit dangerous, so* ***it's better to walk outside where there's a sidewalk****." (Participant-5: an office worker, walk-along communication, Jun 21, 2024)*	*"...If most people use public transportation, the roads will be smaller, the sidewalks will be bigger, and the trees will be able to survive. It's something that* ***I think Thai people don't have, a vision.****"(N.Tapananont, online communication, 2024)*
Safety	Alignment	*"This stuff ain't stopping nobody.* ***Thieves can just climb right over it if they want. It doesn't help.****" (Participant-6:a food vendor, walk-along communication, Jume 20, 2024).*	*"It might be irresponsible to say that if there's no fence, it's safe, right? Because if I don't have a fence and something happens, something could happen, right?* ***But having a fence doesn't mean 100% safety in life.*** *That is, there can be other methods or other forms of management that can help us maintain safety even if we take down the fence." (N.Punnoi, personal communication, May 30, 2024)*
	Contradiction	*"****It would probably feel better if it was open****. For example, nowadays when they build new buildings, office buildings don't have fences, right? I feel like it's more open and beautiful in the sense that we can see what's inside. For example, if there are gardens or the architecture is beautiful, I think it would be better if we could see more things besides just the building or the construction site, right?" (Participant-3:a Polo club member, walk-along communication, 2024)*	*"In terms of political policies, we, as* ***Bangkokians or Thais, don't really like to adapt...*** *We adopt technology slowly, change our attitudes slowly, and prefer to stay in our comfort zones." (T.Niyomwan, personal communication, May 28, 2024)*

Note. Data collected from personal interviews and walk-along communications, 2024.

Figure 20

Comparison of two characteristics of the neighborhood in Lumpini area set next to each other

Note. Image taken by the author between May and June 2024.

Both policymakers and area users acknowledged the significant physical and psychological effects that fences and walls can have on individuals. These structures can create barriers to movement, disrupt visual continuity, and foster feelings of exclusion or isolation (**Figure 19**). However, despite recognizing these impacts, the implemented policies lack explicit provisions to address or mitigate these negative effects. This discrepancy highlights a potential oversight in the current policy framework, underscoring the need for further consideration of the social and psychological dimensions of urban gating in future policy development. This is also reflexed in policy makers views that the government needed to make a design guideline in addition to the policy related to the built environment in order to control the alignment of the implication and policy's achievement. This addition stage of control was in need to increase the effective ness of economical incentives given to the private sector.

The analysis of urban gating in the Lumpini area revealed that the degree of openness in walls and fences, along with the overall design, significantly influenced the perceived accessibility and desirability of the area. By implementing changes such as replacing high, solid walls with lower or perforated ones, the street environment could be significantly improved while still maintaining satisfactory security measures for property owners.

Figure 21 provided a visual representation of the shared perspective between policymakers and walk-along participants regarding the potential benefits of see-through fences in gated areas. It highlighted the perceived positive impact such fences could have on the overall perception of the area, suggesting a potential solution to the ongoing debate between security and openness. By offering increased visibility into the gated space, these fences could contribute to a sense of enhanced street surveillance and natural guardianship, deterring potential criminal activity. At the same time, they would preserve a degree of privacy and exclusivity for the residents, addressing concerns about complete exposure and intrusion. This dual functionality of see-through fences positions them as a potential compromise, balancing the need for security with the desire for a more open and connected urban environment.

Figure 21

Sankey diagram illustrating the relationship between urban gating characteristics and their effects

Note. This figure was generated using ATLAS.ti based on the coding of walk-along participant communications. A table of coefficient could be found in Appendix B.

5.2 The effective of incentive instrument

The Floor Area Ratio (FAR) bonus has been a primary tool for policymakers to incentivize private sector contributions to the city's accessibility and aesthetic appeal, while also playing a significant role in promoting vertical densification to curb urban sprawl. Two categories of public-space related incentives were implemented in the current Bangkok Masterplan 2013: the provision of public open space and affordable housing. The new Bangkok Masterplan 2024 was slated to introduce five additional categories: public access to waterfronts, transportation hub, child/elderly care facilities, pedestrian improvements, and mid-block road connections. From the policymakers' perspective, the implemented FAR bonus proved unsuccessful due to a misalignment between the provided incentives and market demands. These policies were not persuasive enough to induce developers to trade the perceived benefits of privatized property and tenant security for increased public accessibility. Furthermore, even when developers utilized this incentive to create open-access areas, such spaces might not have been truly inclusive for all members of the public, as noted by both citizens and policymakers. This exclusionary dynamic was attributed to differences in social status, self-esteem, and psychological barriers stemming from the perceived exclusivity of the development.

Policymakers and walk-along participants observed distinct negative effects when comparing two different types of spaces: One Bangkok, a nearly finished non-gated development, and the Polo Club, a fully gated

Figure 22

Sankey diagram examining the positive and negative effects between non-gated and gated area

	location: One Bangkok 56	location: Polo club 67
effect neg: difficulty 34	3 (0.03)	4 (0.04)
effect neg: exclusive 7	5 (0.09)	3 (0.04)
effect neg: further 7	0 (0.00)	2 (0.03)
effect neg: inconvenience 6	0 (0.00)	1 (0.01)
effect neg: narrow 21	1 (0.01)	4 (0.05)
effect neg: power imbalance 5	2 (0.03)	0 (0.00)
effect neg: time consuming 4	0 (0.00)	1 (0.01)
effect neg: traffic 8	3 (0.05)	1 (0.01)
effect neg: unpleasant 4	1 (0.02)	0 (0.00)
effect pos: comfortable 1	1 (0.02)	0 (0.00)
effect pos: convenience 15	2 (0.03)	1 (0.01)
effect pos: increase accessibility 10	6 (0.10)	0 (0.00)
effect pos: increase connectivity 7	2 (0.03)	0 (0.00)
effect pos: new public space 3	4 (0.07)	0 (0.00)
effect pos: short route 10	1 (0.02)	0 (0.00)

Note. Own image of co-occurrence analysis showing the belief of policymakers and walk-along participants that publicly accessible development would not create much positive effect.

and inaccessible sports facility. While non-gated areas were generally perceived to create positive effects on convenience, accessibility, and connectivity, they still evoked a sense of exclusivity due to their somewhat isolated and upscale characteristics, as shown in **Figure 22**.

The sociotechnical framework used to study the characteristics of urban gating, user perceptions, and policymaker reactions revealed the shortcomings of existing policies and potential avenues for improvement. This analysis highlighted that the objectives of the FAR bonus, aimed at opening accessible areas to improve walkability and reduce car dependency, faced significant obstacles.

Firstly, open spaces created as a result of FAR bonuses, without accompanying guidelines, could potentially exacerbate social segregation. These guidelines needed to address not only design elements but also incorporate societal and cultural aspects into the planning of these publicly accessible areas. Secondly, the primary barrier to breaking down physical barriers lay in individual beliefs. The success of such policies depended on convincingly demonstrating to citizens the tangible benefits of removing or modifying walls and fences. This included proving that these actions could improve neighborhood security through increased surveillance, enhance the city's aesthetic appeal, and create a more convenient and walkable environment.

5.3 Policy brief for Floor Area Ratio (FAR) bonus

The shortcomings of Bangkok's Floor Area Ratio (FAR) bonus policy are illuminated through the combined lens of sociotechnical theory and Foucauldian governmentality. This research reveals a critical disconnect between the policy's technical focus on incentivizing public amenities and the resulting unintended social consequences, such as the potential for increased social exclusion and inequality. The dominant discourse, prioritizing economic growth and development, often overshadows the vital social and cultural dimensions of urban spaces, leading to policies that may not serve the needs of all residents. A key finding is the power imbalance inherent in the policy's implementation. While policymakers hold significant authority, their emphasis on economic incentives often neglects the perspectives and concerns of marginalized groups. By understanding these power dynamics and the resistance they can

generate, the study advocates for a more equitable distribution of power and meaningful community participation in urban planning decisions.

The current FAR bonus policy in Bangkok, while well-intentioned, suffers from a narrow focus on quantitative metrics. It incentivizes the private sector to provide a certain amount of open space in exchange for additional building rights, but lacks clear guidelines on the qualitative aspects of these spaces. This results in a situation where the emphasis is on meeting numerical targets rather than creating public spaces that are truly functional, inclusive, and integrated into the surrounding urban fabric. The absence of specific design rubrics and considerations for the social and cultural context of the city can lead to the creation of tokenistic open spaces that fail to serve the needs of the community or contribute meaningfully to the urban landscape. This quantitative approach also overlooks the potential for social exclusion and inequality, as developers may prioritize profit maximization over creating truly accessible and welcoming public spaces.

Appendix C explores how a governmentality framework can be applied to analyze and refine the FAR bonus system, providing insights and recommendations for its improvement.

Rationality of Government: The results indicated that the government's current emphasis on economic incentives in the FAR bonus policy neglected the intricate power dynamics and diverse needs of various stakeholders. The policy's over-reliance on economic justifications at the expense of considering broader social and cultural impacts was also highlighted. To address this, a shift in focus towards social equity, community well-being, and inclusivity was proposed, along with the implementation of social impact assessments and inclusive design guidelines.

Technology of Government: The analysis revealed that the FAR bonus policy inadvertently strengthened the influence of private interests in urban development, while neglecting the social and cultural aspects of public spaces, potentially leading to unforeseen negative outcomes. The results suggested that the FAR bonus should be reconceptualized as a tool that empowers communities, with an expanded scope that includes social and cultural criteria, and a focus on qualitative metrics. Furthermore, the findings advocated for prioritizing health and well-being, ensuring the equitable distribution of benefits, and promoting social interaction and community building.

Resistance and Transformation: The findings revealed the potential for resistance from both developers and citizens in opening and utilizing public spaces due to concerns about safety and privacy. The media's role in shaping public discourse and the significance of acknowledging informal resistance were also highlighted. The findings suggested that prioritizing thoughtful design that balances openness, security, and privacy was crucial. Additionally, the importance of bridging social divides through community events and dialogue, promoting media literacy, and recognizing informal resistance to ensure diverse perspectives are included in policy-making was emphasized.

Furthermore, the research highlights the need to re-evaluate the dominant narratives surrounding the FAR bonus. By challenging the primacy of economic growth and incorporating a broader understanding of social equity, inclusivity, and well-being, policymakers can create a more nuanced and effective approach to urban planning. **Table 9.1** to **Table 9.2** provides a policy brief for reforming the FAR bonus in Bangkok. It identifies key issues and offers recommendations for creating a more equitable and effective approach for policymakers.

Table 9.1

Policy brief for Floor Area Ratio (FAR) bonus within Bangkok Masterplan 2024

Section	Policy brief
Executive summary	The research delves into the complex issue of urban gating in Bangkok's Lumpini area, examining its impact on accessibility, mobility, and safety. The study employed a mixed-method approach, which involved ethnographic research like on-site observations and interviews with residents, and policy analysis through document reviews and interviews with policymakers. The research reveals a disconnect between the intentions of policymakers and the lived experiences of residents, highlighting the limitations of the current policy framework, particularly the Floor Area Ratio (FAR) bonus. The study's findings underscore both shifted stands between the current FAR bonus policy and the market demands and social realities of urban gating in Bangkok, leading to its ineffectiveness in promoting open and accessible urban environments.
Problem statement	The proliferation of urban gating in Bangkok, exemplified by the Lumpini area, is creating barriers to accessibility, mobility, and safety. Current policies within the Bangkok Masterplan 2024, specifically the FAR bonus, are ineffective in addressing this gating mitigation due to a lack of consideration for social and cultural factors.
Key findings	• **Urban gating reflects and reinforces socioeconomic disparities:** The stark contrast between heavily fortified luxury housing and minimally protected informal settlements highlights the unequal distribution of security and privacy, potentially exacerbating social divisions. • **The impact of urban gating is a mixed bag:** While some residents appreciate the perceived security and exclusivity of gated communities, others experience limited mobility, reduced access to amenities, and feelings of exclusion. • **The perception of increased safety from walls and fences is often illusory:** Both residents and policymakers question the effectiveness of physical barriers in preventing crime, suggesting they may create a false sense of security and even increase vulnerability. • **The FAR bonus policy is misaligned with market realities:** The incentives offered through the FAR bonus often fail to motivate developers to prioritize open, accessible public spaces over the perceived benefits of gated communities. • **The lack of clear design guidelines for FAR bonus projects leads to inconsistent outcomes:** The absence of specific criteria for inclusive public spaces results in tokenistic developments that may not genuinely benefit the community.

Note. Policies recommendation on FAR bonus within Bangkok Masterplan 2024.

Table 10.2

Policy brief for Floor Area Ratio (FAR) bonus within Bangkok Masterplan 2024 (2)

Section	Policy brief
Policy options	• **Reframing incentives:** Shifting the incentives landscape to encourage developers, both large and small-scale, to embrace inclusive design principles and avoid urban gating practices through a diversified set of rewards like tax breaks and financial compensation. • **Developing design guidelines:** Establishing transparent and comprehensive design guidelines, specifically for applicants seeking FAR bonuses, outlining clear principles and standards that actively prevent urban segregation and promote the creation of inclusive and welcoming public spaces. • **Campaigning:** Launching targeted campaigns to raise public awareness about the negative impacts of urban gating, highlighting the positive outcomes of an accessible city in terms of increased public safety and fostering a sense of community through responsible, community-driven surveillance approaches. • **Monitoring and evaluation:** Implementing a system to track and assess the effectiveness of policies and interventions in discouraging urban gating especially in qualitative approach, enabling data-driven adjustments and improvements.
Reccom-mendation	• **Foster inclusive collaboration:** This involves actively engaging local communities in decision-making and implementation, while also fostering strong partnerships with relevant government bodies, such as local authorities, police, and transportation agencies. • **Reduce enclosure, enhance safety:** Begin transforming public spaces by implementing design guidelines that decrease the sense of enclosure. This can involve lowering walls, replacing solid fences with perforated ones. Prioritize safety by implementing measures like increased police patrols, CCTV cameras and cultivating a sense of community ownership. • **Embrace Diversity through mixed-Use:** Promote a greater mix of land uses within neighborhoods to attract a wider range of people and activities. This diversity fosters social interaction and creates spaces that are welcoming and inclusive to all. • **Accessible public transport:** Improve public transportation networks to promote walkability. Enhanced access and connectivity will encourage more people to walk as part of their daily commute. • **Public Support is Key:** The success of policy initiatives relies heavily on their perceived legitimacy within the community. This legitimacy is cultivated through active public engagement and fostering a deeper understanding of the policies' aims, ultimately leading to shifts in public norms and beliefs.

Note. Policies recommendation on FAR bonus within Bangkok Masterplan 2024.

PART 6: Conclusion

In conclusion, this research utilized the Lumpini area in Bangkok as a case study to delve into the problematic issue of urban gating proliferation and its negative impacts on the city's accessibility, mobility, and safety. By employing a sociotechnical framework and the concept of governmentality, this research explored the characteristics of urban gating, the perceptions of users, and the reflections of policymakers regarding this phenomenon. The analysis, conducted through the lens of governmentality, aimed to provide policymakers with valuable insights to inform the urban gating mitigation process within the Bangkok Masterplan 2024.

Through a juxtaposition of ethnographic research and policy analysis, the study aimed to understand the origins, beliefs, and power dynamics surrounding urban gating. This approach allowed for an investigation of the shortcomings of currently implemented policies and the development of a policy brief to enhance their effectiveness within the framework of the Bangkok Masterplan 2024.

The findings underscore the limitation in policymaking of Bangkok Masterplan the importance of bridging the gap between policymakers and residents, recognizing that a more collaborative and inclusive approach to urban planning is essential. This study revealed both convergences and divergences between policymakers and residents regarding urban gating in Bangkok. While both groups recognize the complexities of balancing safety, accessibility, and cultural norms, their perspectives differ significantly. Policymakers focus on broader urban planning goals, such as opening up public areas. However, citizens may experience the tangible impact of these policies differently, particularly in diverse social class areas. The newly created open spaces, while physically accessible, may not feel welcoming due to a psychological barrier of exclusivity, making local people feel they do not belong. These contrasting viewpoints underscore the need for a more nuanced approach to urban planning that considers both the macro and micro levels of urban experience. Future policies should strive to reconcile these perspectives, ensuring that the physical environment of the city fosters both safety and a sense of community. Moreover, the current lack of a regulatory framework for urban gating presents a significant limitation to urban gating mitigation. Without established guidelines or restrictions, the decision to implement walls and gates rests solely with individual property owners, potentially leading to inconsistent and inequitable outcomes across the urban landscape.

The case study of the Lumpini area highlighted a challenge in the implementation of the FAR bonus policy. While it incentivized the private sector to mitigate walls and fences, thereby opening their properties to the public, it did not necessarily guarantee a sense of welcome or belonging for local residents. The study revealed that despite physical accessibility, there remained a lingering feeling of unfamiliarity and hesitation among locals to fully utilize these newly opened spaces. This regulatory gap hinders a comprehensive understanding of the broader implications of urban gating, both positive and negative, and limits the ability to strategically manage its impact on urban life.

To enhance the effectiveness of incentive instruments like the FAR bonus in creating open and inclusive urban environments, the research suggested two key areas for further exploration.

First, the development of comprehensive design guidelines that encompassed both physical and psychological aspects was crucial. The study's findings in the Lumpini area highlighted the significant impact of physical barriers on the perception and experience of urban spaces. Therefore, future research

should have delved deeper into the relationship between design elements and their influence on social dynamics, safety perception, and accessibility. The aim was to create evidence-based guidelines that went beyond aesthetics, ensuring that the spaces created through FAR bonuses genuinely fostered inclusivity and a sense of community.

Second, the research emphasized the need to identify effective communication strategies that could foster public consensus and enhance the legitimacy of policies aimed at mitigating urban gating. This involved understanding the diverse perspectives of various stakeholders and tailoring messages that resonated with their specific interests and values. Addressing misinformation and promoting a nuanced understanding of the issue through research-backed information and open dialogue were equally important.

By conducting research in these two key areas, policymakers could gain valuable insights into the factors influencing the success of policies like the FAR bonus. This knowledge would enable them to develop more targeted and effective strategies for mitigating urban gating and creating urban environments that were not only open and inclusive but also vibrant and reflective of the community's needs and aspirations. The ultimate goal was to achieve a balance between security concerns and the desire for open, accessible spaces, fostering a greater sense of community and belonging in Bangkok's urban landscape.

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Appendix A

Type of gated community

Type	boundary	Road access	Notes
Ornamental gating	no marked boundary	landmark gates at entry	Feature gates showing the subdivision name are placed at the major entries to give identity to an area.
Walled subdivisions	opaque fence or wall	open	Strong visual barriers that cars and pedestrians may enter.
Faux-gated entries	opaque wall or fence	narrowed entry, removable chains or bollards, guard house	Some subdivisions have physical features that look like guard houses or private entries to discourage uninvited vehicles from entering.
Barricaded streets	no marked boundary	public streets closed by fences, planters, or concrete barriers	Many cities barricade streets creating cul-de-sac streets within the grid as a form of traffic control. Pedestrian access remains open.
Partially gated roads	no marked boundary	lift or swing arm	Area with restricted access hours or a street with opening and closing-times.
Fully gated roads	natural features such as water or ravines	lift or swing arm	Prestige communities on islands, peninsulas, or remote areas may limit access through combined natural and man-made features.
Restricted entry bounded areas	fence or wall, and/or natural features that limit access	gate with limited control access	Completely restrict public access; video or telephone systems may allow visitors to be vetted by residents.
Restricted entry, guarded areas	fence or wall, and/or natural features that limit access	gate with limited control access; security guards, police or army	Completely restrict public access; video or telephone systems allow visitors to be vetted by residents. Guards at the gates or patrolling the premises. In some zones guards may carry automatic weapons.

Note. Adapted form Jill Grant DOI:10.1068/b3165 p922

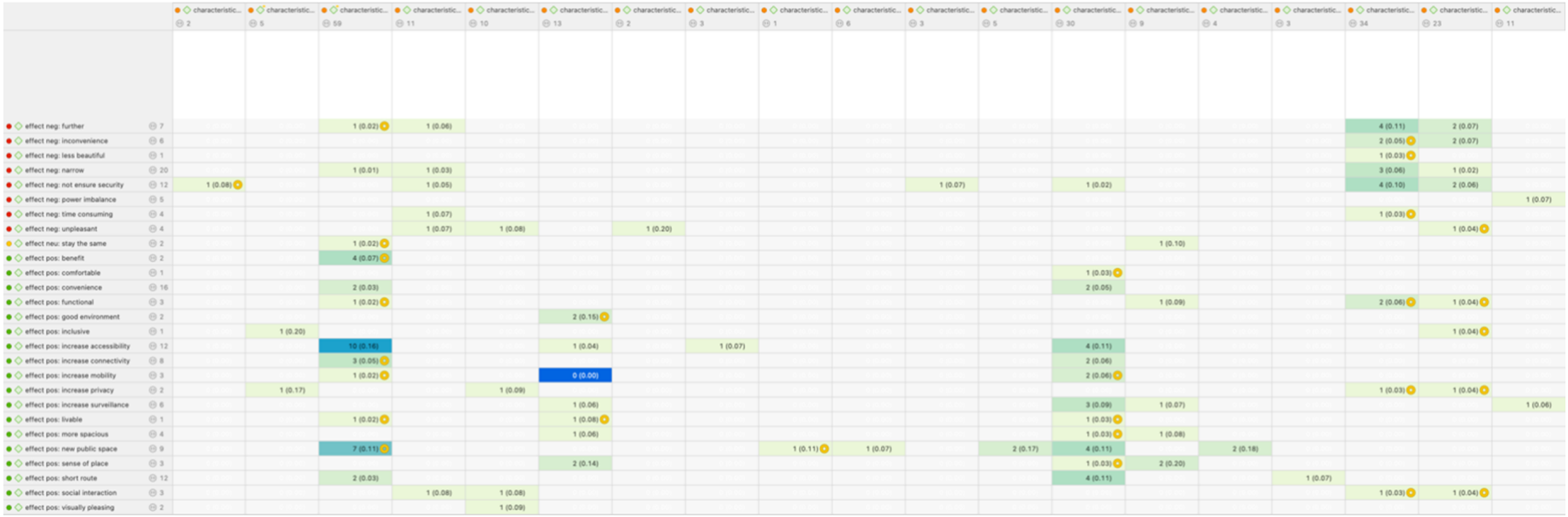
Appendix B

Table of coefficients on effects of gated and non-gated area of Figure 16

	condition neg: gated 57	condition pos: non-gated 41
effect neg: decrease accessibility 2	1 (0.03)	0 (0.00)
effect neg: difficulty 30	1 (0.02)	0 (0.00)
effect neg: exclusive 8	2 (0.05)	4 (0.15)
effect neg: further 7	5 (0.13)	0 (0.00)
effect neg: inconvenience 6	2 (0.05)	0 (0.00)
effect neg: narrow 20	2 (0.04)	0 (0.00)
effect neg: not ensure security 12	4 (0.10)	1 (0.03)
effect neg: time consuming 4	2 (0.05)	0 (0.00)
effect neu: stay the same 2	0 (0.00)	1 (0.04)
effect pos: beautiful 1	0 (0.00)	1 (0.04)
effect pos: comfortable 1	0 (0.00)	1 (0.04)
effect pos: convenience 16	0 (0.00)	1 (0.03)
effect pos: economic overflow 4	3 (0.08)	0 (0.00)
effect pos: functional 3	2 (0.05)	0 (0.00)
effect pos: increase accessibility 12	0 (0.00)	5 (0.18)
effect pos: increase connectivity 8	0 (0.00)	1 (0.04)
effect pos: increase surveillance 6	0 (0.00)	2 (0.07)
effect pos: livable 1	0 (0.00)	1 (0.04)
effect pos: more spacious 4	0 (0.00)	2 (0.08)
effect pos: new public space 9	0 (0.00)	3 (0.11)
effect pos: sense of place 3	1 (0.03)	1 (0.04)
effect pos: short route 12	0 (0.00)	2 (0.06)

Note. Complete transcripts are available upon request. Please contact the author at t.sangkharom@student.tudelft.nl or sangkharom.t@gmail.com for access.

Table of coefficients on effects of gated and non-gated area of Figure 21



	characteristic... 2	characteristic... 5	characteristic... 59	characteristic... 11	characteristic... 10	characteristic... 13	characteristic... 2	characteristic... 3	characteristic... 1	characteristic... 6	characteristic... 3	characteristic... 5	characteristic... 30	characteristic... 9	characteristic... 4	characteristic... 3	characteristic... 34	characteristic... 23	characteristic... 11
effect neg: further 7			1 (0.02)	1 (0.06)													4 (0.11)	2 (0.07)	
effect neg: inconvenience 6																	2 (0.05)	2 (0.07)	
effect neg: less beautiful 1																	1 (0.03)		
effect neg: narrow 20			1 (0.01)	1 (0.03)													3 (0.06)	1 (0.02)	
effect neg: not ensure security 12	1 (0.08)			1 (0.05)							1 (0.07)		1 (0.02)				4 (0.10)	2 (0.06)	
effect neg: power imbalance 5																			1 (0.07)
effect neg: time consuming 4				1 (0.07)													1 (0.03)		
effect neg: unpleasant 4				1 (0.07)	1 (0.08)		1 (0.20)											1 (0.04)	
effect neu: stay the same 2			1 (0.02)											1 (0.10)					
effect pos: benefit 2			4 (0.07)																
effect pos: comfortable 1													1 (0.03)						
effect pos: convenience 16			2 (0.03)										2 (0.05)						
effect pos: functional 3			1 (0.02)											1 (0.09)			2 (0.06)	1 (0.04)	
effect pos: good environment 2						2 (0.15)													
effect pos: inclusive 1		1 (0.20)																1 (0.04)	
effect pos: increase accessibility 12			10 (0.16)			1 (0.04)		1 (0.07)					4 (0.11)						
effect pos: increase connectivity 8			3 (0.05)										2 (0.06)						
effect pos: increase mobility 3			1 (0.02)			0 (0.00)							2 (0.06)						
effect pos: increase privacy 2		1 (0.17)			1 (0.09)												1 (0.03)	1 (0.04)	
effect pos: increase surveillance 6						1 (0.06)							3 (0.09)	1 (0.07)					1 (0.06)
effect pos: livable 1			1 (0.02)			1 (0.08)							1 (0.03)						
effect pos: more spacious 4						1 (0.06)							1 (0.03)	1 (0.08)					
effect pos: new public space 9			7 (0.11)						1 (0.11)	1 (0.07)		2 (0.17)	4 (0.11)		2 (0.18)				
effect pos: sense of place 3						2 (0.14)							1 (0.03)	2 (0.20)					
effect pos: short route 12			2 (0.03)										4 (0.11)			1 (0.07)			
effect pos: social interaction 3				1 (0.08)	1 (0.08)												1 (0.03)	1 (0.04)	
effect pos: visually pleasing 2					1 (0.09)														

Note. Complete transcripts are available upon request. Please contact the author at t.sangkharom@student.tudelft.nl or sangkharom.t@gmail.com for access.

Appendix C

Policy brief for Floor Area Ratio (FAR) bonus within Bangkok Masterplan 2024 (1)

Justification		Policy brief	
		Key insight	**Policy recommendation**
Rationality of government	Knowledge Production	**Power Imbalance:** Policymakers held significant power, but their focus on economic incentives overlooks the complex power dynamics and diverse interests of developers and citizens. **Conflicting Discourses:** The discourse of "public good" masked the dominance of private profit motives, while security concerns can lead to exclusionary practices.	**Challenge Dominant Discourses: The** discourse surrounding the FAR bonus is often dominated by economic and technocratic perspectives, which prioritize efficiency and profit over social equity and well-being. Policymakers need to challenge these dominant discourses by acknowledging and valuing alternative ways of knowing and understanding urban development. This could involve incorporating qualitative research methods, such as ethnography and oral history, to capture the lived experiences and diverse perspectives of urban residents. **Amplify Marginalized Voices:** Those who are most affected by urban gating and exclusionary development practices often have the least power to influence policy decisions. To address this, policymakers should actively seek out and amplify the voices of marginalized communities, ensuring that their perspectives are heard and considered in the policymaking process. This could involve creating accessible communication channels, and establishing community advisory boards. **Foster Critical Reflection:** Encourage policymakers and developers to critically reflect on their own assumptions and biases regarding the FAR bonus. This could involve engaging in training programs or workshops that explore the social and cultural dimensions of urban development, as well as the potential unintended consequences of policy interventions.
	Justifications for Policy	**Limited Justification:** The current justification for the FAR bonus relies heavily on economic arguments, neglecting the broader social and cultural impacts on urban communities. This narrow focus overlooks the potential for social exclusion and inequality resulting from poorly planned or implemented projects. **Exclusionary Outcomes:** Interviews with residents and policymakers reveal concerns that FAR bonus projects, while aiming to create open and accessible spaces, may inadvertently reinforce existing social divisions. This is due to factors like the design of spaces, perceived exclusivity, and socioeconomic disparities. **Lack of Community Input:** The top-down approach to FAR bonus policy development often fails to incorporate the perspectives and needs of local communities. This lack of community engagement can lead to projects that do not resonate with residents and fail to foster a sense of belonging.	**Reframe the Narrative:** Shift the justification for the FAR bonus from a purely economic focus to one that emphasizes social equity, community well-being, and inclusivity. Highlight the potential for public spaces to foster social interaction, improve mental health, and create a sense of belonging. **Prioritize Social Impact Assessment:** Mandate comprehensive social impact assessments for all FAR bonus projects, ensuring that potential social and cultural impacts are thoroughly evaluated and mitigated. **Ensure Inclusivity:** Develop design guidelines that prioritize accessibility, inclusivity, and cultural relevance. This includes considering the needs of diverse groups, such as children, the elderly, and people with disabilities.

Note. Policies recommendation on FAR bonus within Bangkok Masterplan 2024.

Policy brief for Floor Area Ratio (FAR) bonus within Bangkok Masterplan 2024 (2)

Justification		Policy brief	
		Key insight	**Policy recommendation**
Technology of government	Disciplinary techniques	**Normalization of Private Interests:** The FAR bonus inadvertently reinforces the dominance of private interests in urban development. By framing public amenities as a trade-off for increased profit, it normalizes the prioritization of economic gain over social good. This can lead to the creation of public spaces that are designed to maximize profits rather than cater to the diverse needs of the community. **Limited Scope of Discipline:** The FAR bonus primarily focuses on regulating the physical aspects of development, such as the provision of open space or the construction of mid-block connections. However, it neglects the social and cultural dimensions of public space, failing to address issues like inclusivity, accessibility, and the quality of social interaction. **Unintended Consequences:** The disciplinary nature of the FAR bonus can lead to unintended consequences. For example, the focus on quantifiable metrics like open space area can result in the creation of tokenistic public spaces that lack meaningful social value.	**Shift from Discipline to Enablement:** Reimagine the FAI bonus as an enabling tool that empowers communities to shape their own urban environments. This could involve providing resources and support for community-le initiatives, such as participatory budgeting or desig charrettes, that allow residents to have a greater say in the development of public spaces. **Broaden the Scope of Regulation:** Expand the FAR bonu to include social and cultural criteria, such as the quality o public space, inclusivity, and accessibility. This would encourage developers to create public spaces that are no only physically attractive but also socially meaningful and welcoming to all. **Prioritize Qualitative Over Quantitative Metrics:** Shift the focus from quantitative metrics, such as open space area, to qualitative measures that assess the social and cultural impact of public spaces. This could involve conducting user surveys, ethnographic research, and other forms of community feedback to evaluate the success of FAR bonus projects.
	Biopolitical techniques	**Spatial Regulation of Bodies:** The FAR bonus indirectly regulates the movement and behavior of bodies in urban space. By incentivizing the creation of certain types of public amenities, such as parks or plazas, it encourages specific patterns of social interaction and physical activity. However, this can also lead to the exclusion of certain groups or activities that do not conform to the planned vision of these spaces. **Unequal Access to Resources:** The distribution of public amenities created through the FAR bonus is often uneven, with wealthier neighborhoods benefiting disproportionately. This can exacerbate existing health disparities by limiting access to green space, recreational facilities, and other resources that promote well-being for lower-income communities. **Normalization of Consumerism:** The FAR bonus incentivizes the development of commercial spaces, such as shopping malls and restaurants, as part of public amenities. This can foster a culture of consumerism and contribute to the commodification of public space, potentially undermining the social and cultural value of these spaces.	**Prioritize Health and Well-being:** Shift the focus of the FAI bonus from purely economic incentives to a more holisti approach that prioritizes the health and well-being of al residents. This could involve incentivizing the creation o green spaces, recreational facilities, and other amenitie that promote physical activity and mental health. **Ensure Equitable Distribution:** Implement measures t ensure that the benefits of the FAR bonus are distributed equitably across different neighborhoods and socia groups. This could involve targeted incentives for project that address the needs of underserved communities o requirements for developers to consult with local resident about their preferences for public amenities. **Foster Social Interaction and Community Building:** Encourage the creation of public spaces that foster social interaction and community building, rather than simply serving as consumer destinations. This could involve supporting community gardens, cultural events, and other activities that bring people together and create a sense of belonging.

Note. Policies recommendation on FAR bonus within Bangkok Masterplan 2024.

Policy brief for Floor Area Ratio (FAR) bonus within Bangkok Masterplan 2024 (3)

Justification		Policy brief	
		Key insight	**Policy recommendation**
Technology of government	Security techniques	**Reinforcement of Gated Communities:** While not explicitly promoting gated communities, the FAR bonus can inadvertently reinforce their development. By incentivizing the creation of privatized open spaces within larger developments, it can contribute to a sense of exclusivity and separation from the surrounding urban fabric. This can lead to the perception that gated communities are safer and more desirable, further fueling their proliferation. **Surveillance and Control:** The creation of public spaces through the FAR bonus can also be seen as a form of surveillance and control. This can lead to the marginalization of certain groups and the homogenization of public space.	**Prioritize Inclusive Security:** Shift the focus of the FAR bonus from creating exclusive enclaves to promoting inclusive security measures that benefit the entire community. This could involve incentivizing the development of public spaces that are open and accessible to all, regardless of socioeconomic status or background. **Address Root Causes of Insecurity:** Recognize that physical barriers like walls and gates are not the only solution to security concerns. Invest in social programs and infrastructure that address the root causes of insecurity, such as poverty, inequality, and lack of opportunity. **Foster Community Ownership:** Encourage community participation in the planning, design, and management of public spaces created through the FAR bonus. This can help to ensure that these spaces are truly public and reflect the needs and values of the community.
Resistance and Transforma-tion	Potential for non-compliance	**Developers' Resistance:** Developers may resist opening up their spaces due to concerns about potential security risks associated with increased public access. They might fear vandalism, crime, or a loss of control over their property. Additionally, developers might be hesitant to implement designs that prioritize transparency and openness due to privacy concerns for their residents. **Citizens' Reluctance:** While citizens generally desire accessible public spaces, they may be reluctant to utilize them if they perceive them as unsafe or lacking in privacy. Fears of crime, harassment, or unwanted surveillance can deter people from fully enjoying and engaging with these spaces.	**Prioritize conscious design:** Encourage the creation of public spaces that offer a balance between openness, sense of security, and privacy. This could involve incorporating features like natural barriers, visual screening, and designated quiet zones. Building a sense of ownership and responsibility, also leading to greater respect for the space and a reduction in crime and vandalism. **Bridge social divides:** Some FAR bonus initiatives already aimed to integrate mixed-use developments and attract a wider range of residents to bridge socioeconomic gaps. This could be further enhanced by organizing community events, creating shared spaces, and fostering dialogue to break down stereotypes and build a stronger sense of community.
	Site of contestation	**Media and Public Discourse:** The media plays a crucial role in shaping public opinion and influencing the debate around the FAR bonus. However, media coverage often prioritizes the perspectives of powerful actors like developers and policymakers, while neglecting the voices of those directly impacted by the policy. This can skew public understanding of the issue and limit the potential for meaningful dialogue and compromise. **Informal Spaces of Resistance:** Beyond formal channels, resistance to the FAR bonus can also manifest in informal spaces, such as community meetings, online forums, and social media platforms. These spaces provide opportunities for marginalized groups to voice their concerns.	**Promote Media Literacy:** Encourage critical engagement with media representations of the FAR bonus policy. Support independent journalism and community media initiatives that provide diverse perspectives and challenge dominant narratives. **Recognize Informal Resistance:** Acknowledge the legitimacy of informal forms of resistance and incorporate these perspectives into the policymaking process. This could involve engaging with community leaders, grassroots organizations, and online activists to understand their concerns and develop collaborative solutions.

Note. Policies recommendation on FAR bonus within Bangkok Masterplan 2024.