Indian Community Heritage: Case Study Soi 3 (Nana) on Sukhumvit Road, Bangkok

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การวิจัยนี้ศึกษาประวัติความเป็นมาของชาวอินเดียที่ย้ายเข้ามาในประเทศไทย ชุมชนนานา มรดกของคนอินเดีย และปรากฏการณ์ของพื้นที่นานาปัจจุบัน บนถนนสุขุมวิทในกรุงเทพฯที่เริ่มต้น จากชุมชนการค้าของคนอินเดียมีร้านตัดเสื้อสูท ร้านอาหารอินเดีย และร้านขายของแบบผสม นอกจากนี้คนไทย คนพม่า และคนไทยลาว ทำงานอาชีพแตกต่างกัน เช่น ขายของข้างทาง ร้านน้ำหอม และร้านนวด ขณะที่นักท่องเที่ยวมีการเปลี่ยนแปลงตลอดเวลาเริ่มจากทหารอเมริกาช่วงสงคราม เวียดนาม จนมาถึงนักท่องเที่ยวตะวันออกกลาง นอกจากนี้ยังมีชาวอาเซียนประกอบด้วยคนจีนและคน อินเดียที่กลายมาเป็นนักท่องเที่ยว ใช้แนวทางการวิเคราะห์ในการวิจัยครั้งนี้ 5 แนวทาง คือ 1. นานาเสมือนที่เด่นชัดในเรื่องความไม่ชัดเจนของตัวอักษรและความไม่เป็นระเบียบทางกายภาพของ พื้นที่นานา 2. นานาเสมือนจุดรวมของความแตกต่างในเรื่องเสื้อผ้า อาหาร ภาษาที่หลากหลายและ โรงแรม 3. นานาเสมือนกระบวนการทำสินค้าและบริการ 4.นานาเสมือนเศรษฐกิจและการเมือง 5. นานาเสมือนการท่องเที่ยวแนวคนเจ้าสำราญและแนวดูแลสุขภาพ

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Abstract

This research studied background of Indians in Thailand, Nana community, Indian heritage and phenomena of present Nana. Nana precinct on Sukhumvit Road in Bangkok began as an Indian commercial community in tailor shops, Indian restaurants and mixed shops. Moreover, many Thai, Burmese and Thai – Lao people work in different careers e.g. street vendors, perfume shops and massage parlors. As tourists have continually changed from American servicemen in the Vietnam War era to mainly focus Middle-Eastern tourists. In addition, ASEAN people consisting of Chinese and Indian people have become tourists here. There are approached through five ways (1) Nana as spectacle in ambiguity of labels and Nana area's disorder (2) Nana as a unity of diversity in dress, food, multi-languages and hotels (3) Nana as commodification (4) Nana as politic and economy (5) Nana as tourism in hedonistic and medical tourism.

Key Words: Indian, Nana, Community Heritage, Bangkok

Introduction

The Indian immigrants began building their new lives in Thailand during the reign of King Rama V. They came to Thailand as merchants and Brahman for several reasons. First, Indian merchants were able to sell their local products and buy locally made products from other countries around the world. Second, the Brahman came to Thailand to work in the royal ceremonies. These immigrants and their families have lived in Thailand for more than one hundred years. The migration began before WWII consisting mainly first of Indian men. Once the men were able to establish housing infrastructure; their families followed. These groups dispersed into three main areas in Thailand; the north, south and into Bangkok, where movement was in part to the Nana enclave (Sidhu, 1993, pp. 75-83; Sandhu and Mani, 1993, pp. 925-926).

The Nana community consists of Thais, Thai-Laos, Burmese people and Indians as hosts, while visitors have continually been changed from American servicemen, westerners, Middle-Easterners and Asians. Many kinds of product and service offer to tourists such as tailor shops, hospitals, entertainment shops, counterfeit products and so on (Sandhu and Mani, 1993, pp. 917, 922; Hussain, 1982, pp. 57; Poolthupya, 2008, pp. 674, Sidhu, 1993, pp. 158). The Nana enclave is shown in map 1.

Map 1: Nana Area (July 29th, 2017)

Source: Google.map

Objectives

1. To study the background of Indian migration to Thailand.

2. To study the history of the Nana community.

3. To observe Indian community heritage in its interaction with the diverse succession of cultures of the tourists to the Nana precinct, also with the host (Thai) culture and with the cultures of the migrant workers of the streets and stalls (Burmese, Thai-Lao).

4. To seek explanations for the observable phenomena of present Nana.

Expected benefits

1. Nana is to be seen as living heritage

2. Nana can be interpreted to its tourist hordes.

Research Methodology

This study used qualitative research methods. In-depth interviews were conducted to explore the owners in tailor shops, Indian restaurants and mixed shops. In addition, the researcher has observed the Nana precinct with non-participant. Participants are local Nana population and tourists at the Nana precinct. Instrument in this research is the researcher.

A research problem

How is someone to (interpret) the cosmopolitan disorder and spectacle of Nana?

The Nana precinct has not only many kinds of people from around the world, but also they also generally communicate with English. Visitors have been changed from American, European, Middle–eastern people to ASEAN people. It seems to the cosmopolitan disorder. In addition, they seem to live together peacefully with various cultures in one area effectively globalization with different cultures. Its accepted heterogeneity is emblematic of Bangkok, Thailand at its best. In addition, an ambiguity of labels from famous brand name imitation at tailor shop and shopping at night markets leads to spectacle of Nana for visitors such as Giorgio Armani and Hugo Boss. Moreover, the Nana area's physical disorder mixed between commercial and residential including poles loaded with many electricity cables and broken pavements (King, 2011, p. 122, Cohen and Neal, 2012, p. 581, King and Varavarn, 2017, p. 176).

Results

The first objective has been to study the background to the Indian migration to Thailand. The primary reason for the movement was to improve their lives with better opportunities. Second, the freedom granted by Britain allowed them the choice to escape the religious conflict prevalent within the region in the first half of the twentieth century. Third, some of the population

had no choice but to follow their parents in the move. Finally, Thailand was an attractive destination, because it was a relatively peaceful place where foreigners could find work and own a business (Sidhu, 1993, p. 11).

The second objective has been to study the history of the Nana community. Pahurat and Sampeng congestion within certain areas led the Indians to move into the Nana enclave on Sukhumvit Road after that road was completed in 1950. The Indians focused on businesses and services to western visitors on Sukhumvit Road. The businesses they created were tailor shops, Indian restaurants and mixed shops. Their customer base ranged from American on R&R in the Vietnam War period to other Westerners, wealthy Thais, Middle Easterners, and more lately ASEAN tourists (King, 2011, p. 122).

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

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

Table 1: Indian identity in different religions

Source: the author, on May 31st, 2017

Table 1 summaries Indian identity indicators in the various religious traditions. Indian costume can indicate different religious such as Five Ks costume in Sikhism, and white skullcap and hijab in Islam. Moreover, language reflects that different languages come via different religions such as Punjabi for Sikhs, Arabic for Muslims and Hindi for Hindus. Architectures in different religions have own styles, such as a mosque in Islam, gurdwara for Sikhs and a Hindu temple for the Hindu religion. Finally, food reflects that religious authenticities differ in ways such as vegetarian food for strict Sikhs, the prohibition on pork for Muslim people and on beef for Hindu people.

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

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

Table 2: Thai, Burmese and Thai-Lao
Source: the author, on July 31st, 2017

From table 2, the main hosts in the Nana enclave are Thai, Burmese, Thai-Lao (Isan) people having maintained their cultural heritage from their ancestors such as in languages in Thai, Burmese, Thai-Isan, architecture in different kinds of

temple, temples and food in Thai food, Burmese food and North-eastern food. The Buddha religious rules have especially been followed up to the present.

The fourth objective has been to seek explanations for the observable phenomena of present the Nana precinct in five categories. First, Nana is a spectacle allowing tourists to see and experience something new and strange from their norm. This indicates that tourists are very interested in the ambiguity of labels at the tailor shops, the shopping experience and even the chaos found in the area. The Nana enclave has transformed from homogeneous to heterogeneous and finally to a current state of cosmopolitan display of globalization. The evidence is shown in costume, food, diverse languages, hotels and religious symbols. Third, Nana is also a place of commoditization. Products and services will be displayed as commodities to be sold on the streets in the hotels, restaurants and tailor shops. Fourth, Nana as political economy display political economic power as a key

element cutting through processes of market and social transaction. Presently, the street market is swept away by government policy. Last, there are two kinds of inconsistent, intersecting tourism streams, namely hedonistic and medical tourism. Hedonistic tourists seek pleasure while medical tourists will travel for various routine checkup and/or procedure offered by doctors in Thailand. Muslim Middle-Easterners will often travel to be able to consume alcohol and other pleasures, while others seek services provided by doctors and yet others for sightseeing (King, R. 2017, pp. 2-12; King, R. and Varavarn, P. 2017, p. 176; Cohen, E & Neal, M. 2012, p. 575; Cohen, E. 2008, p. 27; Parsiyar, A. 2009, p. 380).

Discussion

1. Nana as spectacle - spectacle is a tool of leisure, entertainment and consumption as ruled by advertising and commoditized media (Gotham, K, 2002, p. 1737). It reflects that tourists are interested in sign value such as Disneyland, Las Vegas, Mardi Gras Festival, Songkran Festival in Thailand and Times Square in New York City. Spectacle is a

part of the tourist experience. Urry, J. (1990, p. 86) noted the importance of the visual and the gaze. There are large advertising boards and signs over an Indian tailor shops identifying brand names. Some are attractive, because their brand names are very similar to famous brand names worldwide. For example, the "Hugo Boss" brand name is very popular. Some shops will change one word to become "The Boss" or "Boss Avenue" in order to avoid licensing requirements. Moreover, some stall holders on the same stretch of Sukhumvit offer the usual pirated DVDs, imitation Louis Vuitton, Dior, Yves Saint Laurent as well as Rolex and other designer watches (King, R. and Varavan, P. 2017, p. 176). This is where the gaze involves spectacle (Urry, J. 1990, p. 86, 93). It reflects that tourism has become increasingly linked to spectacle.

Poles loaded with electricity cables along Sukhumvit Road are a spectacle for foreigners, because most such wires are put under the ground in developed countries. It means that the wires appear very dangerous for the pedestrians whenever they spark.

Moreover, Bangkok streets are very disordered with broken pavements. It reflects that city management is very important for tourists.

Baudrillard, J (1985, p. 129) has commented that if everything is decreased to spectacle, there will be no spectacle. It reflects that no spectacle means no tourists. For example, the Indian community in Argentina has been developed into a tourist attraction because it expresses Indian identity and economic benefit as a tourist spectacle (Porananond, P. 2014, p. 166). King, R (2017, p. 179) observed that informal settlement of shophouses and improvised houses also disordered in Bangkok, especially Khlong Toei and the Khlong Phra Khanong banks. It reflects that Bangkok space unplanned and disordered.

An ambiguity of label imitation may be seen as illegal. Brand names should be used carefully in terms of licensing. In some countries, imitated brand names seem to be fun but ultimately are not good for businesses.

2. Nana as a unity of diversity - the Thai, Indian, American, European,

Middle–eastern, and ASEAN populations congregate in a manner that is ambiguous and inconsistent in the Nana area (King, R. 2017, p. 3).   This reflects that cross–cultural translation is a dimension of multicultural societies (Staiff, R & Bushell, R. 2003, p. 10). Until the 2010s, the Nana enclave presented Westernization and Islamization in a Thai host embedded in an Indian commercial community with East Asian tourists and sex tourism from Westerners (King, R. 2017, p. 12). There are many nationalities in the Nana enclave.

Middle Eastern men wear turbans and long robes, women in black dresses with their faces covered. Thai people and western people wear casual dress. Some Sikh Indian men wear turbans. The turban is the most notable appearance of the men's clothing. Indian women wearing saris become popular for the elderly people. They all walk through the Nana area. Tourists' dress clearly implies that the differences and inconsistencies of their cultures continue (King, R. 2017, p. 2). All costumes command the attention of the tourist gaze (Urry, J. 2002, p. 45).

English is widely spoken in the Nana enclave, though everybody does not understand it as much as the English speakers do.   Especially, Thais have a habit of smiling and saying "Yes" to almost anything (Evans, C. & Evans, L. 2009, p. 27) because they do not deeply understand the meaning. Languages is a key aspect of identity (Medina, L. 2003, pp. 353-368), it is also a factor to determine ethnic classification.

Globalization has extended international tourism flows. Tourism is growing in political and cultural importance. These changes also derive from international migration that has impacted upon non-residential areas. For example, restaurants and cafes come with the emergence of ethnically distinct districts e.g. London's Brick Lane, Little India in Singapore and Chinatown in Chicago (Ashworth, G & Page, S.J. 2011, p. 5). Thus, within the global community there is diversity from the blending of religion, culture, politics and historical influences (Jafari, J & Scott, N. 2014, p. 2).

In a somewhat similar case, Morocco's emphasis on diversity from the broad types of tourists that it receives, has proven to have both positive and negative influences on the development

of its tourism division (Gray, M. 2000, p. 397). Meanwhile, some countries such as Malaysia focus on attracting Muslim visitors and developing their tourism industry accordingly (Cohen, E. & Neal, M. 2012, p. 572; Jafari, J & Scott, N. 2014, p. 8).

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

Some researchers argue that Muslim women wearing a bikini at the beach have been criticized as posing a possible appeal to westerners and that this impacts on the decision–making process for a Muslim holiday (Jafari, J & Scott, N. 2014, pp. 12 - 13). In addition, Rimmawi, H.S. & Ibrahim, A.A. (1992, p. 93) have argued that tourism is widely misinterpreted as a waste of time, as Muslim people should be spending their time in pleasing Allah (God). Further, pork

and alcohol are proscribed and food should be prepared correctly; especially, Muslims are to eat halal meat (Jafari, J & Scott, N. 2014, p. 8). Hence the view that tourism is not a proper Muslim activity. Thus, the requirements of Muslims in terms of food, travel pattern, daily prayers need to adjust in the tourism offering of most destination, as some non–Muslim people do not respect the Muslim requirements in every destination.

The researcher strongly agrees with Arthur Richardson who has described the concept of getting along as "intercultural" meaning that they make diversity work in a sense of ethnic harmony as body a humanitarian and an economic force (Liu, J. 2005, p. 5).

3. Nana as commodification - Goods and services are valued by consumption over production (Cohen, E. 1988, p. 380; Gotham, K. 2002, pp. 1735). The visitors always buy a variety of goods and then they buy services as well. For example, when tourists buy a suit in the Nana area, they will buy service from the owners such as sending a suit to the customer's room at the hotel. The

transformation reflects the changes in values and meaning for the community (Porananond, P. 2014, p. 166).

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

Commoditization ranges from buying goods to selling services. However, both goods and services have to be good and stay in visitors' memories, so that customers will come back or tell their friends to come.

4. Nana as political economy

American soldiers were sent to work in Vietnam because of political conditions. When they took rest and recreation leave (R&R), they came to Thailand. This lead to increasing sex industry presented by massage parlors, dance halls, and other marketing of sex (Leheny, D, 1995, p. 373). The Thai government tried to control the sex industry, while the numbers of women working as prostitutes increased. However, it was not only one or two countries to focus on Thailand in terms of sex tourism, especially on Silom Road, soi

Cowboy, and soi Nana, but also people from many countries concentrated on Thai sex tourism also. The political sphere associated with government is strongly related to social, cultural, and economic spheres (Wang, U & Bramwell, B. 2012, p. 988) and hence to all aspects of tourism. Thus, changes in government behavior directly affect tourism as well (Leheny, D. 1995, p. 374).

Tourism will be considered as a set of economic activities in terms of taste, fashion, and identity (Rojek, C & Urry, J 1997, p. 2). They all buy local products, pay for hotels, transportation and so on. Thus, tourism would create employment such as hotel staff, chefs, and guides related to economic restructuring and earning valuable currency (Gray, M, 2000, p. 396). The Mardi Gras festival combines with political economy aspects to satisfy needs to structure a spectacular environment (Gotham, K. 2002, p. 1748).

Meanwhile, Wang, U & Bramwell, B (2012, p. 993) argue that it is important to think about both economic growth and culture protection at the same time. For example, the Thai government tried to limit sex tourism, but it responded

ambivalently to economic boom linked to the sex industry. Thailand looks negative in comparison to other countries. It is important that AIDS had rapidly grown in Thailand, but the Thai government reacted positively to that crisis. It reflects that tourism is seen to be good for the country, but that it also brings disease to host countries. In contrast, North Africa had faced serious problems in the global financial crisis so that the tourism sector resisted economic development (Gray, M. 2000, p. 394). Some countries give wrong information.

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

5. Nana as tourism - tourists are established almost exclusively on hedonistic motivation, for seeking personal, relaxation, interpersonal rewards, and escape from their same environments (Sundstrom, M, Lundberg, C, Giannkis, S. 2011, p. 213). Clarke, J. & Critcher, C. (1985, p. 229) cited that "the very idea of leisure is itself central to the struggle for hegemony". Moreover, Goossens's hedonic tourism motivational model stated that cultural travel motivation, cultural interest, destination constraints and hedonic response are linked together (Goossens, C. 2000, p. 316; Ashworth, G & Page, S.J. 2011, p. 7; Wong, I.A. McKercher, B. and Li, X. 2014, p. 1)

5.1 Hedonistic Tourism - a hedonistic tourist is a kind of traveler that seeks pleasure only. The tourists are traveling for recreation and fun activities only instead of business. The visitors consist of Westerners, Middle–Easterners and Asians. Westerners are mostly Americans, Europeans, and Australians. Middle–Easterner tourists in the Nana enclave come mainly from the UAE, Oman, Kuwait, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia. Finally, Asian visitors comprise Indian and Chinese people. Islamic travelling presents as an aspect of this hedonic conceptualization of tourism (Jafari, J & Scott, N. 2014, p. 9). For example, single Saudi Arabian males wear

western outfits rather than their cultural/ religious clothing while hedonistic opportunities constitute the main motivation for their visits in Bangkok, Thailand (Cohen, E & Neal, M. 2012, p. 575), as they escape from religious regulations and family restrictions. Hedonistic tourism demand is driven by different motivations. One of them is "shopping" (Sundstrom, M, Lundberg, C, Giannkis, S. 2011, p. 211). Shopping opportunities are found in abundance around the Nana enclave. However, a low price destination attracts visitors as bargain hunters (Sundstrom, M, Lundberg, C, Giannkis, S. 2011, p. 212). For example, copies of the latest Hollywood movies are made and lauded to Thailand street markets within 1–2 days of their release. The copies' price is 100 baht. Although it is illegal, there are a plenty of buyers. The movie sellers may not understand much in English, but they know about the films and their content (Evans, C. & Evans, L, 2009, p. 26). It reflects that the challenge to buy counterfeit products is commingled with pleasure.

Since a group of restaurants provides entertainment, it attracts more Middle Eastern tourists and more customers (Cohen, E & Neal, M. 2012, p. 585). Although Muslims are forbidden to consume alcohol at the bar, such restrictions might be forgotten when they arrive in Bangkok. Thais and Westerners do not shop at Sukhumvit street market unless they are seeking fun. While Middle Eastern men might seek only pleasure when they stay far away from their country, if the girls, the alcohol, and the massage parlors were to disappear, there would be no Arab tourists in the Nana enclave (Cohen, E & Neal, M. 2012, p. 588). These accommodation establishments are cheap and have easy access to the facilities and leisure opportunities in the enclave. Moreover, the hotels allow the men to bring a partner to their rooms (Cohen, E & Neal, E. 2012, p. 584). It also reflects that Middle Easterners can have extra wives without asking the real wife.

Some scholars cite that Macau is developing into the Asian gambling destination for casino visitors, following Las Vegas in the USA (Gu, Z. 2004, p. 89). It suggests that the Nana enclave will become a Macau or Las Vegas in the

future. Macau makes a major contribution to the economy in terms of gambling or hedonistic tourism. Hedonistic tourism also suits non–Muslim tourists.

On the other hand, some Muslim tourists drink alcohol so much so that they have heart attacks. It seems that some Muslim are not "good drinkers" (Cohen, E & Neal, M. 2012, p. 588). Some Muslim male travelers try to mimic the hedonistic western behavior when they go out from their home countries (Jafari, J & Scott, N. 2014, p. 13) in order to release their emotions from religious constraint.

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

5.2 Medical Tourism - the medical tourism concept is that travelers receive medical care outside Their country while they can take advantage of their visit by taking day trips, a vacation, and sightseeing (Cohen, E. 2008, p. 27;

Parsiyar, A. 2009, p. 380). It reflects that medical tourists normally have high purchasing power (Pornphol, P., Naveevong, C., Chittayasothorn, S. 2015, p. 378). The majority of medical tourists came from Myanmar, United Arab Emirates, and Oman in 2016 (www.bumrungrad.com). Bangkok's Bumrungrad International Hospital is in the heart of the city's Arab quarter with Islamic prayer rooms, Arabic interpreters and halal kitchens (Edey, C. 2002, pp. 77-78; Cohen, E & Neal, M. 2012, p. 592). In addition, several Thai hospitals have signed agreements with Middle East government to outsource for medical service (Cohen, E. 2008, p. 31). It reflects that there will be Middle-Easterners coming to Thailand.

Some scholars argue that the reputation of Thailand as a tourist destination has encouraged medical tourism. Medical tourism extends to the Bangkok Dental Spa that treats many thousands. The patients know Thailand because they love Thailand as a holiday destination. Medical tourists are not a homogeneous group but a mix of patients travelling with both serious health issues and seeking minor treatments while they

are taking a holiday (Noree, T., Hanefeld, J., Smith, R. 2016, p. 34). It reflects that some hotels turn from sex tourism to medical tourism.

Some scholars have noted the travel of patients from less–developed countries to developed nations in pursuit of treatments not available in their homeland (Parsiyar, A. 2009, p. 382), reflecting that some medicines do not come to everyone. Some patients face serious drawbacks, with the risk of inappropriate of faulty treatment after returning home. They also need to travel for serious problems to other places (Connell, J. 2005, p. 99), sometimes because they need to escape from their family and friends in terms of cosmetic surgery. In addition, tourism still promotes the rise of low– wage job with few benefits that lead to harmer than good (Gotham, K. 2002, p. 1736).

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

Some procedures are good, some are bad.

Suggestions

Despite this great strength, sadly the Nana Indian commercial community will evolve and lose some of their core identity by four specific reasons. Firstly, culture conflict - presently the younger Indian–Thai generation have accepted new cultures and have changed their routine activities. Some Sikh Indians now keep short hair and some will alter Sikh ceremonies to suit their specific situations. Secondly, less attractive careers - currently, the majority of young generations seek higher education, to move into different careers such as dentists, doctors, architects and nurses. The trend of the future indicates there will be fewer tailor shops and possibly their disappearance altogether. Thirdly, lost identity each generation has different levels of proficiency in Punjabi, Arabic and Hindi. Indian-Thai people can communicate in multiple languages such as Punjabi, Hindi, Arabic, English and Thai. Due to a consequently flexible identity, the young generation speaks in English

more than local languages i.e. Punjabi. Now they can only *listen* to and understand Punjabi, Arabic, Hindi languages. Now they can *speak* only Thai and English. Finally, less spectacle - the Sukhumvit night market has been swept away by heavier regulation and heavier-handed police action. The vendor stalls previously occupied both side of the sidewalk.

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