UDP/BUDD Field Trip Project 2012

Co-Production of Housing at Scale: Collaborative People-Centred Partnerships for Slum Upgrading in Bangkok, Thailand.

Group C

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people

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people

Acknowledgements

Appreciations

"It is no wonder if the Siamese are not in any great care about their subsistence, and if in the evening there heard nothing but singing in their houses"

Simon de La Loubère, A New Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam, 1693 (as cited in Lapcharoensap, 2005)

We wish to thank all the CODI staff, translators, students, architects and academics that made this field research rewarding, insightful and thoroughly enjoyable. Your spirit and enthusiasm made this report possible and allowed us to listen to singing from the houses, people sing about houses and even sing-along about houses.

contents:

Photography Note: For further information concerning the photographs
included in this report please email bangkokpu3@gmail.com

Abbreviations

ACHR: Asian Coalition of Housing Rights

BEA: Baan Eur Arthorn

BKK: Bangkok

BM: Baan Mankong

BMA: Bangkok Metropolitan Administration

BUDD: Building and Urban Design in Development

CDC: Community Development Committee

CDF: City Development Fund

CGov: Central Government

CODI: Community Organisations Development Institute

CPB: Crown Property Bureau

CSR: Corporate Social Responsibility

DPU: Development Planning Unit

INGO - International Non-Governmental Organisation

LGov: Local Government

MoH: Ministry of Health

MoSW: Ministry of Social Welfare

MSc: Master of Science

MSDHS: Ministry of Social Development and Human Security

NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation

NHA National Housing Authority

NULICO: National Union of Low Income Community Organisations

RFM: Room for Manoeuvre

TD: Treasury Department

UCDO: Urban Community Development Office

UCL: University College London

UDP: Urban Development Planning

'Stop the Expressway' protest tee-shirts

1.0 introduction

by Sienna Shuang Dong

Introduction:

This report is the end product of a four-month learning experience and studying process (see figure 1.2) of a group of 10 international students from the MSc Urban Development Planning (UDP) of the Development Planning Unit (DPU) of the University College London (UCL) in collaboration with the Community Organisation Development Institute (CODI) of the Thai government and the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR). The aim of this exercise has been to explore CODI's Baan Mankong Secure Housing programme that centres on 'Collaborative People-centred Partnerships for Slum Upgrading in Bangkok, Thailand' (Terms of Reference, 2012) with a focus on urban planning and design and through the lens of a self-defined framework of transformation. After nearly three months of desk- and lecture-based preparation in London and a fifteen-day practical field trip to Thailand, comprising lectures by both academics and professionals, as well as community visits to 6 different areas of Bangkok, this report represents our working findings and final insights.

Children in Wat Phraya Krai community

The objective of this report is to propose strategic interventions that can reinforce Baan Mankong's transformative potential in order to reach the goal of transformation, which we define as:

'Situated in space and time, transformation is a multi-layered, non-linear process with the potential to achieve socially just development through the redress of unequal power relations at scale. Conceived as such, positive transformation fuels, and is fuelled by, the material improvement of living conditions for poor women and men; the empowerment of marginalised individuals and groups; the access, creation and expansion of the room for manoeuvre; and the emergence of synergies between diverse actors – all sustained by a culture of mutual public learning.'

(Expanded upon in Section 2.0)

This is done on the basis of a diagnosis of the challenges and opportunities for extending the scale of the programme. In order to explore Baan Mankong's process of 'scaling up' to city level, it necessitates the contextualisation of this programme, which focuses on the co-production of knowledge by different actors and public learning, within a space-time nexus of multi-layered and concurrent urban interventions. We therefore tried to understand both the 'transformative strategies [of the programme] in which communities are the initiators and subject, rather than the objects, of development intervention, and the resultant impact of such re-conceptualizations on the formulation and implementation of urban interventions' (Terms of Reference, 2012: 7).

Before moving onto the context, it is necessary to justify this project in the understanding that a similar project was conducted by DPU students last year. The constantly shifting nature of Baan Mankong justifies continual

study; for instance City Development Funds (CDF), were but a fledgling idea last year and now represent the future direction (Boonyabancha, 2012).

Bangkok is the capital, largest urban area and primary city of Thailand. It appears as a city that never sleeps and constantly has a lot to offer, with streets full of vendors, walls flashing with colours, and super-highways giving the impression of great connectivity. Yet, these facets are accompanied by an unseen development. According to the Terms of Reference (2012: 4), 'Bangkok generates 16% of the country's GDP with a combined economic output amounting to roughly 89 billion dollars', and is 'home to approximately 14.5 million people at the level of the Greater Bangkok Area'. However, these numbers do not account for the vast rural-urban migration that is so characteristic for Bangkok and Thailand (Skeldon, 2012). Evidence shows that approximately one third internal migration to Bangkok is temporary and that this floating population is male-dominated (Nusser n.d.). In a context of high and rising land prices, rural-urban migration functions not only as a catalyst to increase the instability of the renting market, it moreover leads to the formation of informal settlements. Although migration is the result of multiple factors, it is seen by the Thai government as a stimulus to deteriorate the environmental and social situation in the context of rapid population growth (Barthakur, Suwannakaset & Swettachat, 2009).

'In the context of Bangkok, 'slums' refer to informal settlements (…), including both slum rentals and squatter settlements' (Terms of Refernce, 2012: 5). ''Slum communities' are often formed alongside canals and the city's waterways, railways, and land rented from both private and public landowners that over time have become significantly dilapidated. In addition, new rental communities are being created but deteriorate rapidly due to inadequate infrastructure and insecure tenure' (ibid.). To overcome the ever growing housing challenge, a proposed countermeasures would be to promote rental housing programmes (i.e. mechanise the private sectors or function to revenue

tax), land reform and decentralisation (Usavagovitwong, 2012).

As to understand the uniqueness of the Baan Mankong programme, it is interesting to review how urban upgrading is defined. The Mit web describes upgrading as a process to cope with basic service concerns, the formalisation of land tenure and the support of infrastructure construction, including sewage, drainage, water and electricity supply, and transport network etc. Moreover, the implications of population displacement are considered important so that on-site upgrading is preferred. While the Baan Mankong Secure Housing Programme is fulfilling all these requirements, it is using these to achieve much more. Focusing on 'collaborative people-centred partnerships' the process of upgrading brings together different actors to facilitate the self-development of the urban poor.

Launched in 2003 under the populist Red-Shirt Thaksin government– within a context of political change and tensions between royalist Yellow-Shirts and aspirant middle-class Red-Shirts (Forsyth, 2010) –the 'Baan Mankong Collective Housing Program' carried out by CODI – a public organisation under the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security – has a certain role within the metropolis: it supports the process of 'developing long-term, comprehensive solutions to problems of land and housing affecting the poorest within the vibrant urban structure of Bangkok' (CODI website). It is doing so by facilitating the collaboration of slum communities, districts officials, local authorities, NGOs, and architects from universities in 276 cities to develop city-wide projects for slum upgrading. The programme aims to give rights and freedom to urban poor communities to design their own homes with the vision that 'CODI is a public organization with a goal to build a strong societal base using the collective power of civil groups and community organizations' (CODI website).

Baan Mankong aims to resolve the problems of poor living conditions through a process based on community organisation that centres on savings groups (see figure 1.1)

BAAN MANKONG PROCESS	ACTORS IN THE PROCESS
Set up collective savings group for housing purposes (if not already in existence). The savings group will need to become a registered cooperative in order to obtain and manage the Baan Mankong loan.	Community residents and community committee
Elect a Baan Mankong management team.	Community residents, under district supervision
Make a decision on type of upgrading to undergo, on the basis of community needs and capacity (financial, technical, planning restrictions), and decide which residents are eligible.	Community residents, CODI architects, academics, district
Negotiate secure tenure over current site / Search for relocation site to purchase or lease	Community residents, current landowner, future landowner, CODI intermediary
Draw up upgrading plan, decide whether to use contractors or community builders, how many phases of upgrading will occur	Community residents, CODI architects, landowner, district
Present upgrading plans and loan and subsidy application to CODI for approval	Community residents, SOC slum network, CODI
Once loan is secured, begin implementation of physical upgrading	Community residents, architects, builders, CODI, SOC

Figure 1.1: Summary of the upgrading process at community level (Archer, 2009)

– a strategy widely applied across Asia with ACHR but also in other parts of the world with e.g. the Slum Dwellers International. Yet (For a diagram illustrating CODI's relationship with those communities involved in the programme, please refer to Appendix 2.0, p.119), Baan Mankong is unique as CODI is part of the government. Its resource distribution happens on the basis of both a grant (on infrastructure, management, a direct housing subsidy per unit, and knowledge exchange) and a loan for housing and land, which is managed as a revolving fund, i.e. every repayment is on-lent to other communities. According to the former CODI director Boonyabancha (2005: 25), Baan Mankong's target was set as '300,000 households in 2,000 poor communities in 200 Thai cities within five years'. Once it has completed, it should mean 'at least half the urban poor communities in Thailand' will be improved (ibid.). In 2003, there were ten pilot communities upgrading (1,500 units) and future planning in twenty cities. In 2004, 174

urban poor communities were upgraded in 42 cities with supports of learning and training courses, and built up linkage between communities and local authorities. For 2005-2007, Boonyabancha (2005) envisioned the upgrading of 285,000 units in 200 cities. During the field trip, she (2012) stated that till June 2011, 91,000 families have taken part in the process.

While these numbers represent how the programme has been scaled up in terms of numbers across territories, we want to describe its other efforts to scaling up more detailed throughout the report. As our research has been framed by our definition of transformation, the next section gives a detailed account of our conceptual framework. Thereupon, section 3 illustrates how we understand Baan Mankong to function and how this sits strategically within the Thai context. Section 4 is an overview of the methodologies that we, as planning and design students, used to understand

the variations of Baan Mankong in different contexts, and also of the process of finding appropriate tools to test our understanding of Baan Mankong and our strategies. Section 5 delves into the observations we collected about these contexts, the various dynamics that impact on them, and their relation to Bangkok. Thereupon follows an analysis of our findings in light of transformation, highlighting the challenges and opportunities – or the conditions under which something is one or the other – with respect to our four criteria. Against all this, section 6 outlines five different yet complementary strategies to reinforce and strengthen the transformative process at work. Finally, the conclusion reflects both on the previous results but also beyond that on our overall learning process.
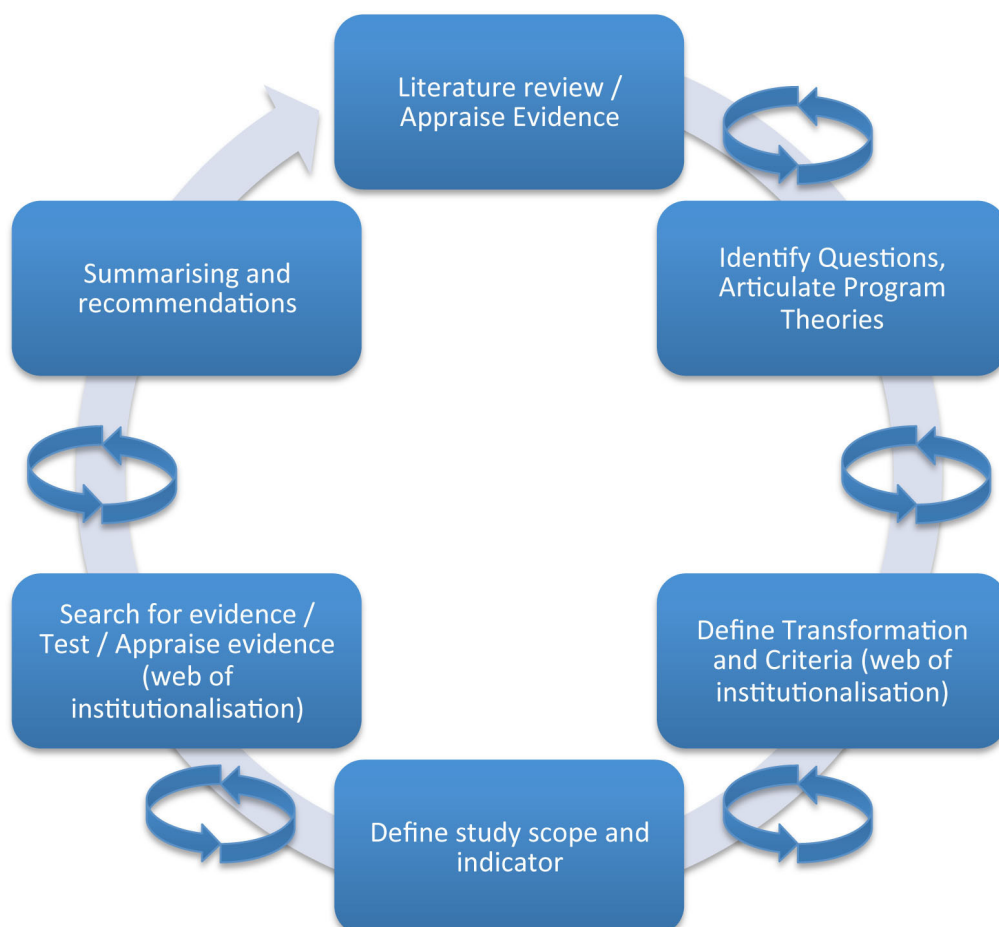
Figure 1.2: Diagram showing our group learning process

2.0 theoretical framework

by Tim Wickson

Klong Bang Bua

Literature Review:

Boonyabancha (2005;2012), former CODI director and architect of the Baan Mankong programme, conceptualises transformation as more than simple physical upgrading. Instead, she conceives this tangible entity as a point of disembarkation for a journey with much loftier aspirations:

'Upgrading is a great opportunity to make changes – changes involving all the communities in the city, changes in the people, changes within the relationships, changes in the way of thinking, changes in people's own attitudes towards themselves and their position in their societies or cities. Upgrading, if it's done properly, can really liberate people.'

(Boonyabancha,2005:45)

These words, very much a battle-cry for extroverted development, underline the importance of conceptualising transformation as a step, both qualitatively and quantitatively, beyond the material improvement of living conditions for poor women and men.

However, this reading does not demean the importance of material improvement as a cornerstone for transformational development (not to mention that, in the words of Levy (2012), at some stage you 'have to eat'), but rather emphasises the importance of looking beyond a comparatively simple consideration of consequences and outcomes in order to maximise the true potential housed within houses! Moreover, the interpretation is designed to challenge those standing in solidarity with the disempowered to turn a

critical-eye onto the structural arrangements at the source of said disempowerment.

From this perspective, Boonyabancha's (2005;2012) position on transformation as a process with the potential to challenge power relations and support 'liberation' sits comfortably within the wider literature on transformation emanating from the social justice discourse. For instance, Castles (2001) work on social transformation argues that transformation involves realigning 'influence' over 'the strategies of powerful institutions such as governments, transnational corporations, and international organizations'. Whilst Sabates-Wheeler & Devereux (2004) go so far as to assert that '[a] transformative approach holds little meaning if it is unable to achieve a positive change in power relations among various stakeholders'.

Such a focus on power-relations necessarily moves the discussion of transformation into the realm of Foucault (1982:208) a theorist who famously conceived power as residing within structures, burrowed deep into 'the social nexus, not reconstituted "above" society as a supplementary structure whose radical effacement one could perhaps dream of.' Through this re-conceptualisation, Foucault (ibid.) recast individuals as less a 'pre-given entity which is seized on by the excise of power' than 'a product of a relation of power exercised over bodies, multiplicities, movements, desires [and] forces'. For Foucault (ibid.) the notion of a society without power relations was anathema and could only ever be 'an abstraction'. With regards transformation, and necessary condition for arrival would be a concerted

challenge to the self-representation of unequal power relations as 'inevitable'.

However, whilst comparatively simple sounding in abstraction, challenging the materiality of these arrangements requires a process of consciousness altering empowerment amongst the oppressed, heavily conditioned by their state of subjugation (Freire,1996-edition). Again, this conceptualization tallies neatly with Boonyabancha's (2005) claim that transformation entails a 'change in people's own attitudes towards themselves and their position[/s]'.

Empowerment, for the likes of Lee (1986), Fromm (1966) and Freire (1996-edition), is the ability for individuals 'to perceive themselves differently, as subjects not objects, as people who can develop a vision of a better world and who can act coherently to achieve it' (Lee,1986:21). Thus, consciousness changing empowerment, understood as the 'freedom to create and to construct, to wonder and to venture' (Fromm,1966:52-53), underpins positive transformation by challenging the master/servant dialectic (Hegel,1967) at the root of all oppressive/disempowering situations. In the words of Freire (1996:50), only after the oppressed recognise that 'they have been destroyed' can transformation begin. Simply put, 'they cannot enter the struggle as objects in order later to become human beings' (ibid.). Transformation, therefore, should be seen as a process driven by consciousness raising empowerments at a variety of scales. Truly, transformative socio-political action begins with a 'thousand tiny empowerments' (Sandercock,1998).

Applying this notion to the concrete reality of the City, empowerment concerns ones ability to be considered as a legitimate agent of knowledge production with the power to influence the production of space within the city. After all, given Park's (1967:3) description of the City – 'man's [(sic)] most consistent and on the whole…most successful attempt to remake the world he lives in more after his heart's desire', a world that 'man created' and is 'hence forth condemned to live' –

to consider empowerment in abstraction from understanding that the freedom to remake the city is, implicitly, the freedom to remake oneself (ibid.) is to ignore a critical dimension. This line of argument, utilised in Harvey's (2012) latest release, Rebel 'Cities, can exist as an entry point into Lefebvre's (1968) Right to the City concept. However, whilst this theory, famously influential in the context of post-dictatorship Brazil and the establishment of City Charters, can no doubt contribute to a climate of social and spatial transformation this is not a criteria of transformation but rather one potential vehicle of transformational empowerment.

A further factor, crucial to positive transformation is the creation, expansion, maintenance and active use of a progressive Room for Manoeuvre. This term, expounded by the likes of Levy (2007) and Safier (2002) should be understood as the degree of freedom enjoyed by actors to advance progressive visions or increase their 'action space' in four intersecting spheres:

1. Improving technical-professional innovations, ethics and behaviours

2. Extending institutional and inter-organisational reforms

3. Expanding social interaction, mobilisation, bargaining and negotiation

4. Enlarging the scope of strategic analysis and tactical responses to the dynamics of urban development in time and place.

(Safier,2002)

Without such action space (and actors sufficiently empowered to enter, expand and defend it) positive transformation is difficult to envision. Moreover, whilst a room for manoeuvre can be created from a top-down initiative it is critical that actors do not become stuck in what Miraftab (2009) calls 'invited spaces', which, all too often, are co-opted at the cost of transformative progress. The key is to comprehend the

potential of 'invented spaces' as a tool of empowerment through the re-alignment of conventional power-relations (ibid.).

Again fuelling and being fuelled by the former factors (material improvement, empowerment and room to manoeuvre) positive transformation is underpinned by the creation of synergies between communities, civil society organisations, and public and private sector actors at a range of scales. Conventionally defined as a relationship which supports a result in excess of the sum of its parts, Levy (2007:2-5) champions synergies as supporting 'collectively constructed social capital, built on trust, experimentation and learning'. Such an understanding ties in with the conceptualisation of empowerment as a process of self-re-imagination, as in this sense the creation of synergies can expand the horizons and self-perception of disempowered individuals to include themselves as a crucial actor within a wider learning process.

Moreover, if positive transformation is to move beyond an isolated project focus and become institutionalised as a process, public learning must be conceptualized as a crucial sustaining factor. Drawing on Freire (1996-edition), the creation of more democratic forms of knowledge (fundamental to challenging power relations) requires all actors to associate through praxis (action/reflection) in order to 'gain knowledge, critically reflect upon their reality and so transform it through further action and critical reflection' (Freire-Institute). Indeed, as Freire (1996-edition:107) writes, leaders/programmes committed to a liberating transformation must not 'treat the oppressed as mere activists to be denied the opportunity of reflection and allowed merely the illusion of action', they must democratise 'the word' (i.e. knowledge) if there is hope to deliver systemic transformation.

Finally, before introducing our group's definition of Transformation it is important to understand that whilst transformation must be understood as process, positive transformation cannot be detached from the question of Social Justice. Indeed, particularly given the context of this project, and our position as students of the DPU, it would be anathema to assess transformational potential in abstraction from the question of Social Justice. Understood, through Young (1990) and Harvey (1988), as concerning a 'just distribution' – ethically funneled to society's most vulnerable – 'justly arrived at' (Harvey,1988), the concept is both distributional and procedural (Young,1990), demanding of thorough participation (appreciating Levy's (2009:i-xi) eight intersecting identities) and, as a consequence, protective against 'oppression' and 'domination' (Young,1990). In this context, if the process of transformation can be seen as possessing an aspirational end point it would be closely related to Fainstein's (2010) utopian 'Just City'.

Definition (illustrated in figure 2.1):

Transformation is more than simple change. Transformation is revolutionary change. Thus, whilst aware of the need to situate the transformational potential of Baan Mankong within a contextual frame of 'multiple transformations' (Bhan,2009), we have distilled an ambitious definition of transformation with space for groups and individuals to become transformers – that is, masters of their own development. Believing that only through unconstrained ambition is it possible to truly grapple with the scale of challenges facing today's urban poor...

'Politics of Change' Lecture at CODI, Bangkok

...definition overleaf

'Situated in space and time, transformation is a multi-layered, non-linear process with the potential to achieve socially just development through the redress of unequal power relations at scale. Conceived as such, positive transformation fuels, and is fuelled by, the material improvement of living conditions for poor women and men; the empowerment of marginalised individuals and groups; the access, creation and expansion of the room for manoeuvre; and the emergence of synergies between diverse actors – all sustained by a culture of mutual public learning.'

Figure 2.1: Transformation Diagram

Transformation Criteria:

(1) Material Improvement
Transformation must generate demonstrable material and institutional imrprovements for the marginalised in all spheres of life (Fainstein, 2005).

(2) Empowerment
Transformation must enable people to 'percieve themselves differently, as subjects not objects, as people who can develop a vision of a better world and who can act coherently to achieve it' (Lee, 1986:21)

(3) Room for Manoeuvre
Transformation must increase the 'action space' for all actors to advance pro-active/ progressive possibilities. (Safier, 2002)

(4) Synergies
Transformation involves/ supports mutually reinforcing synergies between diverse actors, fostering a 'collectively constructed social capital, build on trust, experimentation and learning'. (Levy, 2007:5)
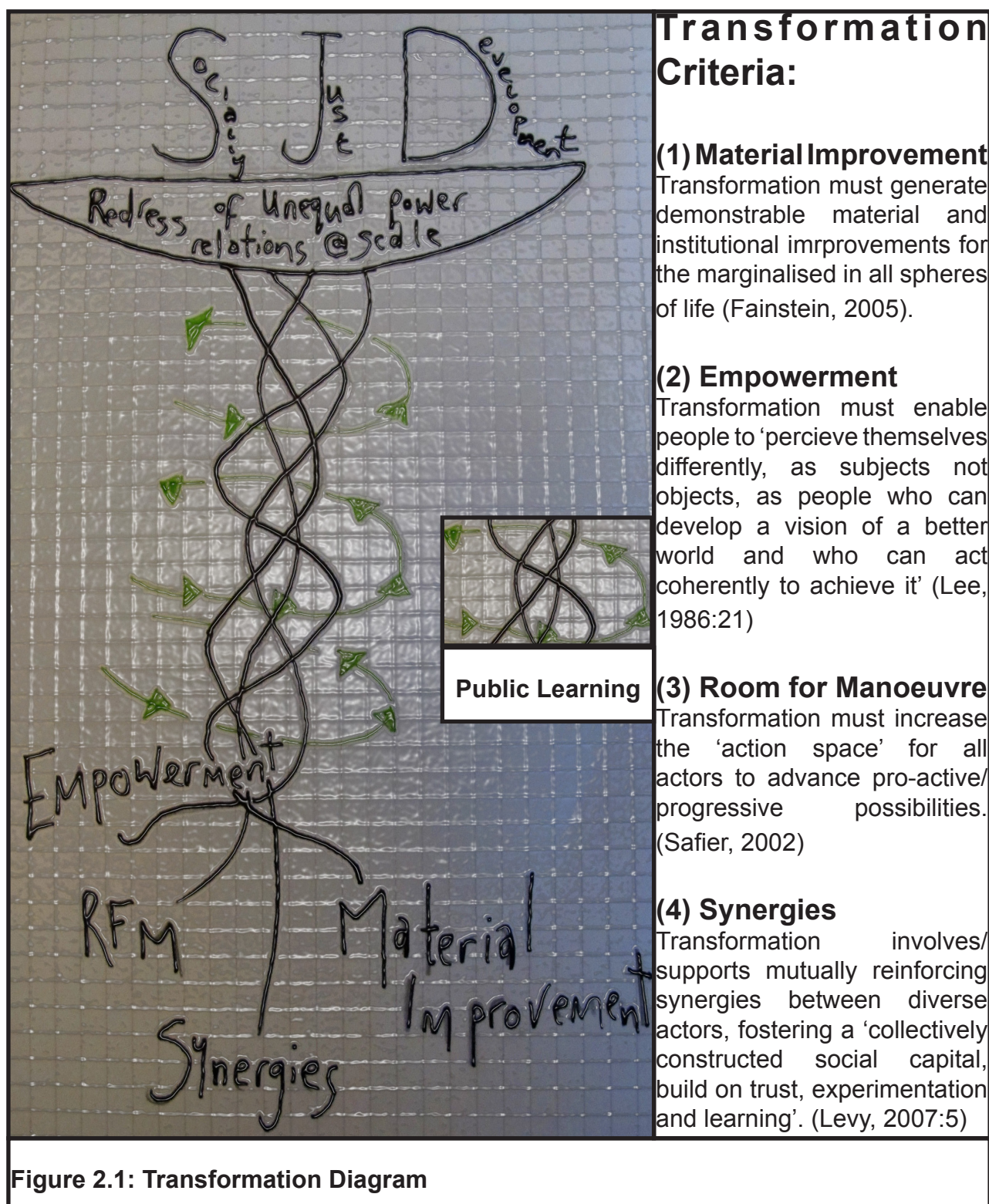
Training pedestals used to practice the traditional 'Lion Dance' in Wangthonglang

3.0 what is baan mankong?

by Emily Kelling

Prior to entering the field our group conducted extensive desk-based research into the dynamics of Baan Mankong. Whilst this research proved valuable in understanding the history of the programme the picture we had constructed bore little resemblance to the Baan Mankong mechanism in operation today. However, through detailed dialogue with CODI officials/associates it was possible to construct a more nuanced reflection of this living, breathing, and constantly transforming mechanism for change. Similar to our conceptualisation of transformation, Baan Mankong seems to be based on the ideal of a transformative process underpinned by the discourse of social justice. Moreover, our transformation lenses of material improvement, empowerment, the creation of synergies, and an expansion of the room for manoeuvre (all sustained by public learning) emerged as key aspects of the ideal model. The following diagram (figure. 3.1) aims to illustrate our understanding of the Baan Mankong process.

‘Let them [the politicians] dance in our song – you have to invent the way’ (Boonyabancha, 2012)

Adapted from a lion-dance training exercise, we reinterpret these pedestals as stepping stones for individuals and communities to jump on and learn to ‘dance’ together. Importantly, this process is not linear but multi-layered. From our experience, we categorised the programme into four rough phases; and while every community has to go through all these phases, there are multiple paths that can be taken – the selection is up to the people involved. While this is partially the community’s decision it is also conditioned by the context. Taking part in this process requires a constant effort, both to climb up to the next pedestal, and also to remain balanced on pedestals occupied by multiple dancers. Importantly, there is a tension between the wish to achieve rapid progress and the threat of overbalancing. Problems appear when steps are disconnected, which impedes the options to step back and forward and test alternatives; or when steps are rushed, missed or elongated to excess, as time represents depth (of the empowerment process) but also strain. This means that the phases and the stones are dynamic in so far as the experience of one influences the ability to use the next. Above this motion prevailing on the steps, the steps are dynamic themselves in so far as their configuration can be changed and adapted, a stone can be removed or added, dependent on the peoples’ experiences.

Phase 1   **Phase 2**   **Phase 3**   **Phase 4**

Construction Phase

Upgrading Competed

Gauging Interest

Planning, Saving and Design

Construction

Begin Implementation

Elect a Baan Mankong Management Team

Search for relocation site to purchase or lease

Draw up upgrading plan and agree phasing

Set up a collective savings group

Decide on the type of upgrading required and who is eligible to join

Negotiate Secure Tenure

Present upgrading plans and loan / subsidy application for CODI approval
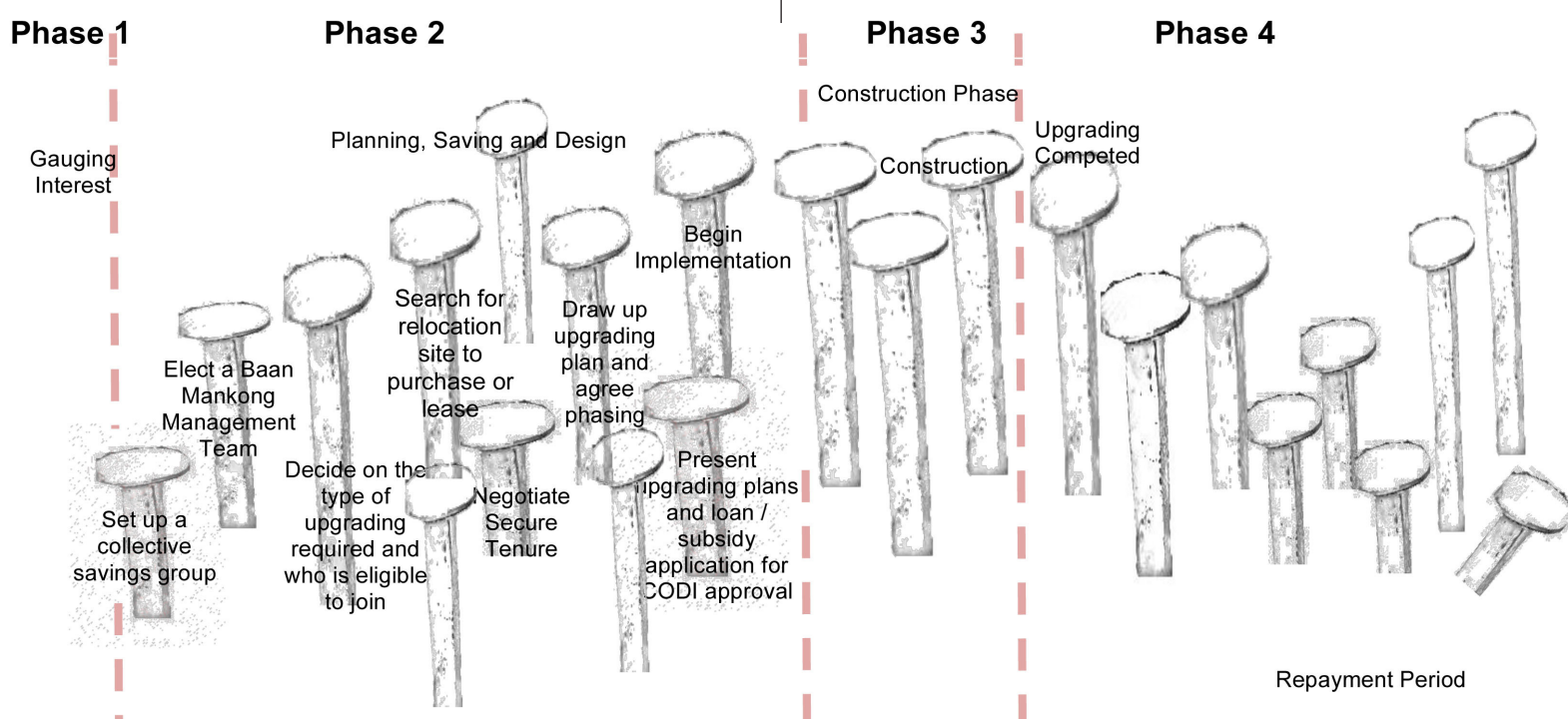
Repayment Period

Figure 3.1: Pedestal Diagram

The defining principle is that the process is people-centred. Even though there is a significant level of support, the developmental path that a community follows is up to the people involved. This refers not only to the members of a potential community but also to other actors involved like local authorities or land owners. It is important to highlight that the programme is focusing less on community as something in and of itself and instead is focusing more on the people – those individuals that learn to act collectively. Each constellation of individuals creates a unique community development that can adapt Baan Mankong to its needs, so that there are as many versions of Baan Mankong as different local contexts and people.

'CODI is adjusting its structure every 6 months – let the people be the driver' (Boonyabancha, 2012)

The emphasis sits on the idea of Baan Mankong as a learning, as opposed to teaching, programme, with CODI learning alongside communities and constantly adapting Baan Mankong. Yet, learning happens far beyond the sense of changing the programme and developing it further, indeed Baan Mankong creates space for mutual learning and the sharing of information across different scales:

a)   Intra-Community;
b)   Inter-Community; and
c)   Between diverse actors of a local context

While all of these are important, especially the last seems crucial for the construction of *synergies* between actors of civil society, the public and the private sphere.

'The physical change is easy, but it creates rules that affect social structures' (Boonyabancha, 2012)

The programme aims to create a learning environment around the strengths and needs of diverse actors, in order to facilitate a co-production of space, in both a physical and social sense, that benefits wider groups. This learning, for instance, takes the form of acknowledging that 'the slum dwellers' are not polluting but in contrast contributing their own knowledge and experience to environmental cleaning efforts; or, the learning of local authorities to listen to poor peoples' needs and equally a learning on the part of the poor into formulating and expressing said needs. The dialogue on housing can thus unlock a change of relationships and perceptions which – building on *material improvement* – makes housing much more than a commodity; instead, it enables citizenship enactment. The institutionalisation of effective communication appears crucial for this aspect.

'Slum-upgrading is the space in which poor people can be part of the city' (Boonyabancha, 2012)

Yet, while this co-production is happening on city-scale, city in Thailand most often means district, so that scaling up, particularly to the conventional city-scale of Bangkok is yet to be reached, despite the prevalence of Baan Mankong communities within the city. At this point, it is important to consider the economic, social, and political context of Thailand and particularly Bangkok. While, as noted above, CODI's mission with Baan Mankong is to create space for people to learn of their individual capacities and collective power, CODI must also defend its own space.

'The people need to be stronger vis-à-vis the central state' (Boonyabancha, 2012)

Thailand is characterised by a thorough bureaucratic order with a strong centralisation

of power, both of decision-making and resource-allocation (Usavagovitwong, 2012; Patpongpibul, 2012). Regarding urban planning, the BMA, despite its Department of City Planning, has relatively little power compared to the central Ministries of Interior and Transport. National economic growth – to which Bangkok is central – has long been the guiding principle of planning in Thailand (expressed e.g. in regional zoning); and has subjugated both social and urban development (Wijitbusaba, 2012). Accordingly, while absent during the 1950s-1970s, housing development has since (until a recent piece of legislation moving some control to local authorities (NHA, 2012)) been planned nationally (Usavagovitwong, 2012).

'The human being is suppressed by the belief in verticality... [that] the people are small' (Boonyabancha, 2012)

Recently – largely in response to the economic crisis of 1997 – Thai society has begun moving from feudal-esque patron-client relationships, towards a growing interest in civil society and participatory forms (Archer, 2009; Mutebi, 2006). With this trend, elections are increasingly seen as a vehicle for expressing political voice. The election of Thaksin's Populist Party in 2001 can arguably be credited to this development. This helped create the condition under which a programme like Baan Mankong could be established. In 2003 Thaksin's government proclaimed a 1 million homes policy targeting low-income demographics. Under this, the NHA's Baan Eur Arthorn (BEA) programme

was responsible for constructing 600,000 dwellings and CODI's Baan Mankong 300,000 (both sit under the auspices of the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security).

'Baan Mankong is a product of luck' (Patpongpibul, 2012)

While BEA represents a fairly conventional state-led low-income purchase-based housing programme (with conventional issues), CODI prioritises affordability and accessibility for the poor, both of which are difficult in this NHA scheme hamstrung by a 60% bank rejection rate of potential buyers trying to access credit (to the extent that insufficient approved demand has scaled down their target by 50% (NHA, 2012)). CODI's flexible savings-group model is more inclusive than conventional loan schemes. Indeed, the financial focus of this programme is strategic in multiple ways.

'CODI tells them first to learn to save and then to borrow ... Self setting of the loan amount leads to less default' (Patpongpibul, 2012)

Firstly, that poor people are not given public money for free (excluding subsidies), and actually exhibit good repayment rates, insulates this housing programme from less pro-poor voices in society. Nevertheless, the programme does consume public money through subsidies and topping-up the revolving fund which has to be justified

Klong Bang Bua

against other departments in annual budget distribution negotiations. Despite relative political security, evidenced by its survival under fifteen Ministers, Boonyabancha (2012) depicts CODI metaphorically as an amorphous entity, swimming in water and adapting to flows and trying to pose as little resistance as possible, whilst creating ripples or 'vibrations' that might evolve over time and space. Interestingly, during a short financial impasse in 2006, the communities of Bang Kent established a City Development Fund (CDF) to increase independence from CODI funds through accessing funds from additional sources (e.g. ACHR). This CDF model, since replicated in more than 290 contexts, illustrates the momentum of community networking that CODI builds upon and that itself finds its source in a financial discourse.

Functional savings groups, fundamental to Baan Mankong, achieve more than a collection of money, indeed they are collecting of people (Patel in Levy, 2012). As saving requires constant group engagement, they create collective capacity building around organisation and management, information sharing, and conflict resolution through dialogue. Furthermore, they *empower* people by demystifying finance and bureaucracy and thus supporting a change in self-perception and confidence, especially with respect to the label of 'the poor'.

'Change the culture and not the law, the law will follow' (Boonyabancha, 2012)

In this context we understand CODI's ambition as not to directly challenge urban planning, but rather to approach this topic horizontally through self-scaling local changes in government/governance culture – detached from direct CODI involvement. Rather than growing as an institution, CODI, it appears, favours a path of scaling down its role. As such, CDFs are an excellent example for how – by focusing on new *synergies* – the communities have expanded their own *room for manoeuvre*. CDFs can furthermore be understood as a decentralisation mechanism in which CODI deals less directly with communities and, instead, passes on organisational responsibility and financial capacity.

'Make the numbers an advantage' (Boonyabancha, 2012)

It seems that it has to do so because of a) its ambition to reach scale without endangering its own position, and b) its emphasis on being a people-centred/owned process devoid of top-down impositions. While we consider this methodology a strategic positioning in terms of self-survival and socially just principles, it creates problems in the reality of implementation. This refers to the dilemma of facilitated self-development, or the question of how much guidance is necessary. Our strategies build on this understanding of CODI and, rather than suggesting scaling-outwards beyond its means, suggest the expansion and creation of support systems, and to continue the development of planning models outside of CODI.

4.0 methodology

by Samantha Shu Fang Lim

Community Architects and Participatory Planning in Chatuchak

Introduction

Following the creation of our theoretical framework by which to define and assess transformation in section 2, and the discussion of the context of the BM programme in relation to planning in section 3, this section analyses the methods we used to ascertain the extent to which BM is creating transformations in Bangkok. This section details in two parts an overview of the methodologies undertaken prior to the fieldtrip, followed by a more detailed section on the methodologies undertaken in the field, including a discussion of the limitations and ethical considerations.

Pre-field Methodologies

In preparation for the fieldtrip to Bangkok, desk-based research was conducted on urban development in Bangkok and Thailand, as well as attending numerous lectures by experts in Thai development and culture. As an initial diagnosis, the group identified gaps in information from the desk-based research and outlined an initial set of problems, opportunities and assumptions regarding the programme to be tested in the field.

Field Methodologies

For the site visits, members split into 6 groups, each visiting a number of communities in a specific district/municipality. This enabled us a greater understanding of the BM process in Bangkok, responding to the decentralised and varied nature of the programme which differs in implementation and impact across context. Responding to differences in context between communities and remaining flexible to changing circumstances in the field, each site group employed a mix of methodologies according to the analytical categories of housing/land, finance, relationships & city scale in Bangkok, in order to assess our criteria to measure transformation in the Baan Mankong programme. Overall each group employed a range and measure of panel/focus group discussions; interviewing & storytelling; participatory mapping & drawing; and observation, with the help of Thai students to translate throughout. Appendix 3.0 (pp.121-125) details the various versions of the methods employed at each site.

Panel/ Focus Group Discussions:

Presentations on-site by key actors such as CODI, NHA, CPB and district governments followed by Q&A sessions were an important source of gaining further knowledge into how communities relate to wider dynamics in the city. Discussions occurred in large groups,

Presentation and Q&A session at Bangkolaem district government office with representatives of CPB and CODI (site 3)

as well as smaller site specific presentations with local governments.

At community level, focus groups were set up in some sites to enable community members to discuss issues collectively. It was important to ensure that a range of different members of the communities were present at these discussions (varying in age/ gender, etc) so that this method could better reflect the overall view of the different challenges and aspirations of the communities. However, it was not always possible to have a truly representative cross-section of the community present. As guests

leaders or landowner representatives.

Interviewing & Storytelling:

Interviews, storytelling and conversations were used to explore the experiences and knowledge of community members. Holding informal interviews in the shape of conversations with community members while walking through sites was useful in that it was interactive and dialogues created further momentum for us to understand and learn more about community relations (Alasuutari, 1998).

Story telling in Wat Phrayakrai (Site 3)

in the communities we had to be flexible to community dynamics and to follow the path presented to us by communities whilst steering conversations and situations as much as possible.

Group discussions proved a good way to tackle some of the bigger issues facing BM communities, but had limitations in terms of power relations and comfort of individuals to speak in front of key actors such as community

Sets of semi-structured interview questions were planned for each actor to test our transformation criteria. Asking the participants to share their life stories, regarding the implementation of the BM programme and the impact of the programme in their lives was a further flexible way of gaining information. The stories were intended to open up new directions and avenues for the group to explore (Alasuutari, 1998), as well as ascertain what was important from the

River of Life exercise with the communiy members of Baan Lern Rod Fai (Site 4)

participants' point of view by enabling them to lead the discussion.

The process of interviewing presented us with a large learning curve, asking the right questions and responding to what was being said, as well as noting what was not being said was hugely important to the collation of our findings.

Participatory Mapping & Drawing:

The participatory actor mapping exercises were intended to allow the communities to evaluate their experiences with various actors in the BM process and to understand their representation of these relations. Extending this understanding of the relations further by situating it in a spatial context, we implemented a number of mapping techniques, in which communities could draw, amongst other things, community relationships to wider planning processes and networks; financial and savings structures; aspirations; community history; material improvements and changes etc.

Although various nuances among sites were adopted, the main approach in using participatory actor mapping was to ask communities to draw and map relationships and circumstances. Through these exercises,

Participatory Timeline drawing in Bang Prong 1 (Site 5)

participants could share how they viewed the local situation, who is related to whom and who was more influential in the programme (Openp2pdesign.org, 2009). These methodologies were intended to allow us to learn about synergies among the various actors, as well as provide communities with the opportunity to (re-)discover their relations with the actors outside and their contributions to their process of "transformation".

The visual and engaging approach encouraged participants to begin dialogues at an early stage of the exercise. While it encouraged

discussions among the participants and conversations between the group members and the participants. Through participating in such exercises, the communities that themselves also reflected on the spatial context of their homes and communities and learnt from the experiences with the group (pathwaysthroughparticipation.org, 2010). For instance: in Site 6 (Nonthaburi), through the participatory mapping exercise, the participants noted that their communities were contained and there was a greater lack of connections than they expected.

It was not possible to unify the use of participatory mapping and drawing across

Participatory mapping with Baan Lern Rod Fai community (Site 4)

all the sites due to differences in levels of trust towards outsiders and community understanding of the BM process. The number of variations in participatory drawing and mapping employed by different site groups reflects the highly personal nature of such methods, we also took the approach that mapping and drawing should evolve in relation to context, thus enabling us to be flexible to modify participatory approaches that did not work well in specific communities.

Observation:

Data was collected, by observing "behaviour, objects, traces, flows, and occurrences" (Tan, 2007) to a checklist to guide the observations across sites. Strategic observations were an important tool to understand the different contexts and circumstances at play in each BM community, and the resulting material and social conditions. Keeping our eyes open was crucial to observing implicit connections and conditions, such as rules, power relations (in some instances measured by who had more say in focus groups) and the way of life of the communities (seen in instances such as which community members were generally at home during the day; interactions between women and men and children; interactions between community members and outside groups) (Tan, 2007).

There is always a danger of interpretation in accordance with observations, that the researcher interprets circumstances in accordance to personal/cultural biases – we tried to limit this by undertaking detailed conversations with community members to test our assumptions and by regrouping frequently to discuss biases and assumptions.

Observation in Bang Prong (Site 5)

Limitations of our Research Methods & Ethical Considerations:

Our research methods presented us with a number of limitations; The process of translation presented a dual challenge of both losing information, as well as addressing cultural differences, and a lack of understanding of some academic terms. The implementation of participatory mapping was time-consuming and required participants to have a thorough understanding of their relations with other actors and communities. The group had to plan for efficient data collection that maximised the participation of the communities in short time periods to allow effective data collection. Working in groups also resulted in the domination of some participants over the others and barriers could be formed when participants disagreed.

Site visits were predominantly carried out during the day and on week days, significantly affecting the possibilities of interacting with those groups who work during those hours. Ethical considerations spanned further than behaving ethically and respectfully in the field, and included the care of the data collected (Tan, 2007). In this respect, due diligence and care have been taken not to misrepresent or misconstrue the data in the research analysis.

5.0 site analysis

by Lizhu Ping
& Sylvia Shuwen Zhou

Satelite Dishes in Wangthonglang

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Figure 5.1: Site Analysis, Key Actors / Pressures Map Key

Catalyst

| Fire | Flooding | Eviction | Awareness | Overcrowding |

Key Actor

| ACHR | CODI | NGO | NULICO | Universities |

| BMA | Local Government | Ministry of Social Welfare | Ministry of Health | Electric Autority |

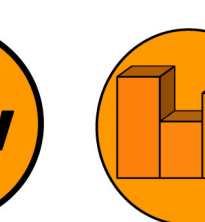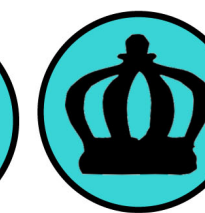| Water Authority | Industry | Central Government | Commercial Property Development |

Land Owner

| Private Owner | Temple Land | Treasury Department | Crown Property Bureau |

Figure 5.1: Site Analysis, Key Actors / Pressures Map Key *continued*

Pressure

Community Connections / Networking

Notable External Sources
Red = Finance, Black = Other

Pilot Community

Most Advanced Community (if not Pilot)

Community
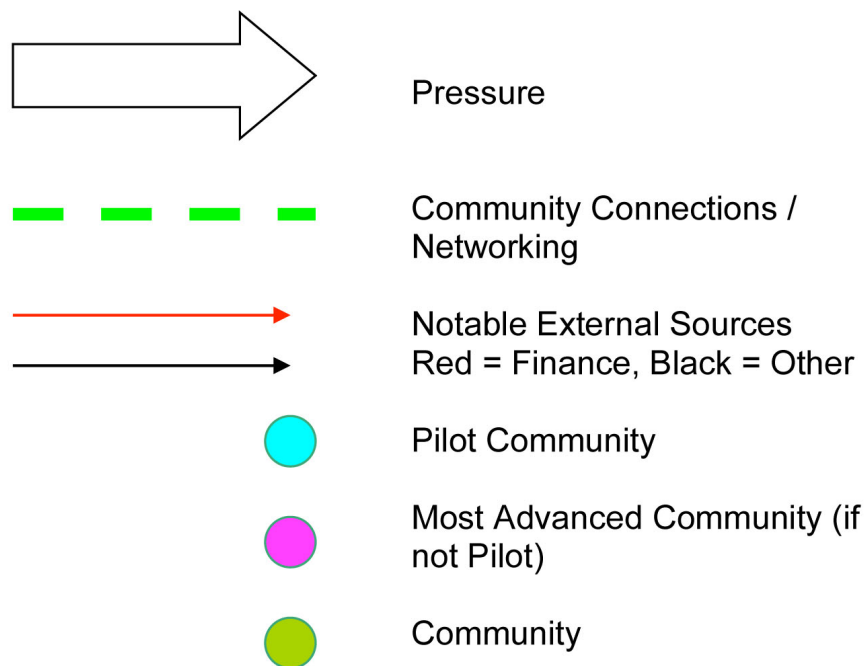
'The root cause is land and capitalist speculation that changes the mode of production which pushes people into the city where they cannot afford the land' **(Head of Baan Mankong Eastern Branch, 'Politics of Change', 2012)**

'The problem is the unemployment that many people face in rural conditions and the high prices if land in the city which makes people have to squat.' **(Community Leader Bang Bua, 'Politics of Change', 2012)**

5.1 Analysis of Field Findings:

As outlined in section 4 our understanding of the communities, individuals and institutions within the Baan Mankong programe, was significantly deepened through two weeks of field research. During our time in Thailand we visited 33 communities in 6 different sites across the cities of Bangkok and Pattaya and the provinces of Nonthaburi and Samut Prakan.

This section aims to analyse the main dynamics affecting the communities within the 6 sites the group visited during the field portion of the research. Divided into two sections, the first one consists of a graphical representation of the main actors, networks, sources of finance and pressures affecting the communities in each site (see figure 5.1). This is complemented by detailed information contained in appendix 1.0 (pp.75-117). The second section analyses the main trends in our findings according to four aspects: land dynamics, finance, relationships between actors and the city scale. These were selected as entry points for the significant impact they have on the way individuals and communities apply the programme and relate to the urban fabric.

Land Dynamics

Across the six sites, when analyzing the upgrading process, the access to land came first and was crucial to understanding communities' experiences. The crucial aspects in their ability to access land and shaping their relationship are:

The Influence of Land Owners: Access to land is affected by geographical location. In Central Bangkok the most common arrangement is for communities to lease land from public bodies such as the Crown Property Bureau, the Treasury Department or Religious Temples. Meanwhile, provinces adjacent to Bangkok, the scarcity of publicly owned land means communities must purchase it from private landowners.

Leases can range from 3 to 30 years which means communities have reduced security of tenure and landowners play an important role in site development. This can negatively impact the communities' room for participatory decision-making and internal cohesion. In contrast, accessing land through leases significantly reduces the costs communities have to incur and allows them to remain in the same centrally located area and close to their sources of livelihoods.

Purchasing land usually means relocation, which implies Baan Mankong projects can comprise individuals that previously did not know one another. Whilst this allows for security of tenure and collective decision-making, it can also make the prospect of building trust and community bonds difficult. It also raises the cost of participating in the programme.

Example from Site 2 (Wangthonglang):

Land sharing is a prominent feature despite struggles between choosing of site upgrading vs. re-blocking. The Crown Property Bureau determines terms of spatial design, housing and layout and the communities lack ability to negotiate housing typologies or land arrangement beyond these terms. The communities able to make the trade-off in favour of

re-blocking are able to secure tenure more quickly. Consideration is made for temporary housing or rent subsidy for those communities and households under-going reconstruction, despite the poor quality. Waiting periods for new housing can be anywhere between 6 months and 3 years.

Influence of Land Pressures: Land in Central Bangkok is expensive therefore communities face pressures from their landowners to increase density of their dwellings and free space for commercial developments to coexist in their plots. Expanding infrastructure networks also impacts communities threatening them with eviction as in the case of the Bang Prong Community. Meanwhile provinces are experiencing the pressures of rapid urban growth, with increasing prices of land means difficulty in purchasing land for relocation. To make things more complicated, many of the communities visited were located in flood-prone areas, which raises the cost of making land adequate for development and adapting house typologies.

Finance:

The BM emphasises expanding the financial capacities of individuals and communities through collective savings. Finance is thus a cornerstone of the programme and the following have been our main findings:

Diversity of Savings Groups: Savings groups are heterogeneous, there are consolidated ones which save for the upgrading programme but also develop alternative job creation and welfare schemes, and those which fragment and are unable to complete housing upgrading. There is a connection between community cohesion, participation and the strength of the savings group, meaning both aspects must work hand in hand to assure success in the process. Across the sites there is a tendency to exclude certain groups from participating in savings group such as renters, children and the elderly.

Community Development Funds (CDFs): CDFs are district or provincial level funds to which many communities contribute. In the past year, they have multiplied in numbers and in importance. CODI envisions them as a decentralization mechanism allowing communities more independence whilst contributing to the sustainability of the programme.

Access to Additional Funds: Communities participating in BM are part of wider networks which often provide them with additional financial sources. Local authorities, central government ministries and NGOs contribute considerable funds that are crucial in the success of implementing the upgrading.

For example, in Chatuchak, the Ministry of Health were offering training and grants for clinics. One community member who attended the training, subsequently built a clinic and is running it. This is an example of another source of funding that is being accessed; yet not all of the communities along the canal are aware of this grant. They have also had access to the Village Fund, which they have successfully turned into a successful revolving fund that is used for more than just housing.

Relationships:

The political and administrative structures of the site's location can have significant impacts on the types of networks communities can access and the levels and types of support they receive. In areas outside of Bangkok, such as Nonthaburi, Samut Prakan and Pattaya, relationships with local governments can become crucial for project implementation. They assist in negotiation on land acquisition, finance infrastructure and access to services. The closer the relationship with municipal government, the better the chances of the project's success. Communities in Central Bangkok meanwhile are more affected by the relationship they have with their landowners. The CPB, Treasury Department and Temples can have significant influence on the upgrading process and their relationships tend to be more tense and harder to manage.

Example from Site 4 (Pattaya)

Kao Noi enjoys a uniquely close relationship

with the City's Social Welfare Department who have been instrumental in offering support and training for the community leaders. Testimony to this relationship is the fact that the Kao Noi Savings Office is located within the Social Welfare Department (this symbolism is credited with instilling a confidence in the programme). Similarly the Mayor, before completing his term in office signed a Memo of Understanding guaranteeing the financial future of the programme, he has also spoken publicly in support of Baan Mankong as a mechanism for providing low income housing and was present at the Holy Stone ceremony (when the first stone of construction was laid).

Horizontal networks of support are crucial for the programmes' implementation. NULICO provides knowledge through information exchange between different communities. It takes problems from community level and proposes them to city councils and CODI. NULICO is present in almost every community, and several communities' leaders are members. However, NULICO is not as strong at the provincial level as it seems to be in the city centre and communication appears fragmented at times.

Other supporting networks include the community architect network, community builders, ACHR, the 4 regions slum network and local NGOs. BM works through developing connections and in order to assure the sustainability of the programme, these mechanisms of support between people, should consolidate and expand.

City scale:

BM communities are fragmented over the large territory that is Bangkok. Communities in the peripheral areas are hardly connected to the transport and service infrastructure. Due to the multiple levels of fragmentation, scaling up from a community level to a city level will be difficult. It is easy for communities participating in BM to focus only on their own housing upgrading. To achieve the scale at which communities plan to increase, networks must be reinforced and supported to implement the 'politics of change'.

Communities in both Nonthaburi and Samut Prakan Povinces have set up CDFs, which provide a platform for scaling up interventions. Community leaders see the need to us CDFs as planning tools beyond housing needs. It is necessary to mobilise community leadership to enable collective thinking across different sectoral needs.

Ruamjai Saiyai Community in Nonthanburi

5.2 Problems & Opportunity Synthesis:

Structured by transformation criteria

Material improvement:

The material improvement delivered through the Baan Mankong program can be truly transformational. In communities such as Charonchai Nimitmai, Chatuchak District, houses are carefully designed, well constructed, and atop secure land. Additionally, collectively managed community centers in Lang Witthayalaikru, Chatuchak District, provided additional support/services e.g. childcare, workspace etc. Such facilities, take pressure away from the female members' reproductive family role, facilitating increased income potential.

However, the absence of a mechanism to challenge environmental issues, coupled with minimal attention to outward looking connections to the city at times undermines housing improvement. Indeed, for the community of Lang Witthayalaikru the lack of garbage removal service provision undermined the quality of public space; whilst the community in Bangkorlean swiftly reverted back to original slum conditions. In Bang Prong community, people long for ventilation into houses through walls because they cannot afford air conditioning, whilst poor public transport connections in and out of the city decreases its accessibility. People who heavily rely on public transport are usually the most disadvantaged group of people. Additionally, though the core of Baan Mankong program is to make land and houses affordable through collective savings, the case in Kao Pattana, Wangthonglang District tells that there are still difficulties for participants to afford secured land if the number of people in savings group is not big enough. Similarly, in Pattaya the community of Baan Lern Rod Fai found itself unable to access the programme due to insufficient savings group engagement.

To deal with such issues, opportunities can be found within communities and the Baan Mankong mechanism. In the step of

Samut Prakarn - Klong Takok Community

design, participatory approaches embedded in Baan Mankong make incorporation of vernacular design highly possible (as long as the challenges of resourcing and architectural staff-training are addressed). When construction is finished, community members can establish self-maintenance mechanisms to clean their communities (as occurred in Lang Witthayalaikru) as part of a wider flood prevention strategy) as collective action is encouraged by Baan Mankong program. Additionally, Kao Noi community, Pattaya, illustrates a replicable mechanism for inclusivity driven subsidised welfare-housing.

Empowerment:

Transformation is a process driven by consciousness raising empowerment. Capacity building is one of the ways to achieve this kind of empowerment and transformation. In Baan Mankong program, collectivism is the ideology underpinning capacity building. Savings-groups and participatory planning/action approaches are key vehicles for capacity building and consciousness raising amongst the poor, allowing them to 'not feel stupid anymore' (Kao Noi community member) and take

ownership of their development rather than waiting for official aid. To be transformative, it needs 'thousand tiny empowerments' (Sanderock, 1997), and empowerment needs to extend beyond community leaders.

Observing a number of participant communities, at varying phases of engagement, it is clear that the Baan Mankong program is currently excluding certain groups. For example almost everywhere, with the notable exception of Kao Noi's 14 welfare-households, those unable to make regular contributions (the poorest of the poor) were excluded. Similarly, youth and children are often unconsciously excluded from participatory process during the planning/design phases. Secondly, the Baan Mankong model is unable to incorporate new migrants and seasonal workers (this is particular prevalent in Pattaya's tourist economy and in Bang Prong, Samut Prakan District). Community building relies on a mutual trust that is difficult to build between newcomers and old community members fostering exclusion. Meanwhile, participatory approaches that should be the means of capacity building itself can exclude certain groups (such as motorcycle taxi-drivers in Pattaya) due to time commitment requirements. Current participatory practices must increase inclusivity if the programme is to maximise its potential for empowerment. Additionally, it has been observed that community interest in participatory processes post-upgrade-completion occasionally fades, this must be reversed if empowerment is to continue.

Again opportunities to maximise empowerment exist within pre-existing conditions such as supportive authorities, community networks, and precedent setting exercises. The relative political stability of CODI provides a strong foundation upon which to build Baan Mankong's undoubted empowerment potential. Secondly, the welfare houses of Kao Noi community (Pattaya) sets a potential learning precedent for other communities to follow. Thirdly, that existing networks, such as NULICO, facilitate mutual learning presents opportunities for community members to collectively

inspire and generate alternatives to specific issues. This learning can start even before saving – for instance Baan Lern Rod Fai (Pattaya) area presently using community networks to trouble shoot issues. Equally, communities can follow the example of Nomklao, Wangthonglang District and re-imagine their savings group functions post-upgrade-completion to capture momentum and include livelihood economic activities.

Room for manoeuvre:

To scale up Baan Mankong program and accelerate transformation, the room for manoeuvre should first include political structure and flexibility in finance. In general, there is good political support for Baan Mankong programme in Thailand, whilst existing cooperation with banks open the door for scaling Bang Mankong programme horizontally.

However, many cases indicate that political support at local or district level still relies on informal relations between community members and official's kindness – in the case of Pattaya, Baan Mankong was very much the project of the Mayor – rather than on an institutional arrangement. Although the success of Bang Mankong in some communities benefits from this quite a lot, it is questionable whether this represents replicable room for manoeuvre on a larger scale. In terms of finance, a lack of multi-

source financial support reduces room for manoeuvre to scaling up and transformation. Subsidies and loans from CODI for housing helps people access secure land and house construction, but to many poor people the burden of loan repayment prohibits considerations of other services / expanded visions such as rental, education and healthcare. Meanwhile, as CODI funds are often the only source of external financing this can constrain ambition.

To enlarge room for manoeuvre in political dimension, mixed political culture – co-existed top-down/bottom-up system – is one of the cutting points. In cities such as Pattaya and Bangkok, bottom-up election gives local governors motivation to support pro-poor scheme. In cities where key officials are selected, CODI as a public institution under central government can reduces political resistance to scaling up Baan Mankong from local authority to some extent.

In terms of finance, diversifying financial sources can be one of the ways to enlarge room for manoeuvre. It increases flexibility so that communities can better control community development processes. In many communities, people have started looking at different financial sources from government and private sectors. People in Lang Witthayalaikru built a clinic with funding from the Ministry of Health, and a learning center with funding from Ministry of Education. Private companies such as

Creative use of space

Red Bull have established a Corporate-Social-Responsibility agenda to help poor communities. Whilst in Lang Witthayalaikru community, again, INGOs such as World Vision have provided funding for community development projects. Setting up alternative funds such as CDFs has proved another way to increase flexibility. In this way, community members do not need to wait for any other resources for community development but take action as soon as possible with their own money.

Woman sewing at Suan Plu

Synergies:

Synergies created at different scales between civil society, public and private sector actors needs all actors with different interests to work in the same direction creating periodic consensus. Baan Mankong Program demands for the involvement of diverse actors and the involvement of more actors remains one of the biggest challenges for scaling up and transformation. External actors need to work together to help the poor get out of poverty by providing services or assistance around housing. Internal actors in communities largely focus on collecting people to join savings groups.

As knowledge sharing, trust and relationship building are usually the basis for sustainable cooperation, any lack of them can lead to failure of scaling up and transformation. Before the formation of savings groups, knowledge sharing and communication about the Baan Mankong Programme is reflected

as a common challenge faced by many communities. Cases in Pattaya indicate that it usually takes one to two years for people to understand Baan Mankong's potential to bring substantial material improvement. Once the program has commenced, the process of planning, saving and design is not always linear, often trade-offs made during this phase are due to limited information about planning and design, and limitations set out by landowners such as CPB. In other cases such as Pattaya, Baan Mankong is communicated in a top-down manner, often leading to increased knowledge of the program amongst governmental officials but neglecting wide sections of communities. Officials from different departments – social welfare, architecture, planning etc. – can share knowledge and information about Baan Mankong, however, awareness of this knowledge differs at the community level.

Opportunities can be found in existing civil society networks, local government, and in some cases private companies. Firstly, NULICO as a civil society network is one of the channels that can spread the influence of Baan Mankong program and build connections between different communities, but also different sectors. It has built good relations with national/district government, media, some private companies and so forth. Secondly, engaged government agencies increase the likelihood of community-private partnerships to occur, either through direct brokerage or introduction as a means of partnership. Building relations with private companies holds more potential for exploration given the mutual benefit gained from upgrading material improvement and provision of on-going services.

Wat Phraya Krai community

Elisabetta Bricchetto, BUDD,
2012

6.0 strategies

by Mariana Fulgueiras, David Sweeting
and Nina Staebler

Strategies Introduction:

Analysing the problems and opportunities experienced by communities across the six sites deepened our understanding of the complexity and diversity housed within Baan Mankong. From this we have developed five strategies, to address three strategic areas (see figure 6.1 & 6.3), designed to increase the transformative potential of this intervention in line with our definition. The strategies developed seek to complement and reinforce each other, whilst treading a careful line between the need for detail and the need to respect diverse local contexts. Moreover, they respond to the programme's guiding principles of people-driven flexible interventions. This task is not easy, and the strategies are proposed as contributions, in the awareness that local actors will adapt them through a lens of local knowledge we have only started to understand.

Participatory Mapping Process

Phase 1

Gauging Interest

Phase 2

Planning, Saving and Design

Phase 3

Construction

Phase 4

Community Development

Upgrading Competed

Begin Implementation

Search for relocation site to purchase or lease

Draw up upgrading plan and agree phasing

Elect a Baan Mankong Management Team

Decide on the type of upgrading required and who is eligible to join

Negotiate Secure Tenure

Present upgrading plans and loan / subsidy application for CODI approval

Set up a collective savings group

The programme retains barriers to entry for certain individuals and groups.

Transitioning between stages can be time consuming, often causing savings groups to disintegrate.

CODI resourcing issues can lead to crucial participatory community empowerment steps being rushed or skipped.

Post construction completion there is potential for savings group disintegration leaving the programmes aspirations for housing + in danger.

Strategy 1 – Making Baan Makong More Accessible Through Rental Schemes

Strategy 2 – Making Baan Mankong More Inclusive: Diversifying Savings groups to fit different populations and phases

Strategy 3 – Community action planning + budgeting + financial blending

Strategy 4 – Volunteer Network of Students and Professionals to Enhance Public Learning

Strategy 5 – Empowerment through Participatory Design of the Built Environment
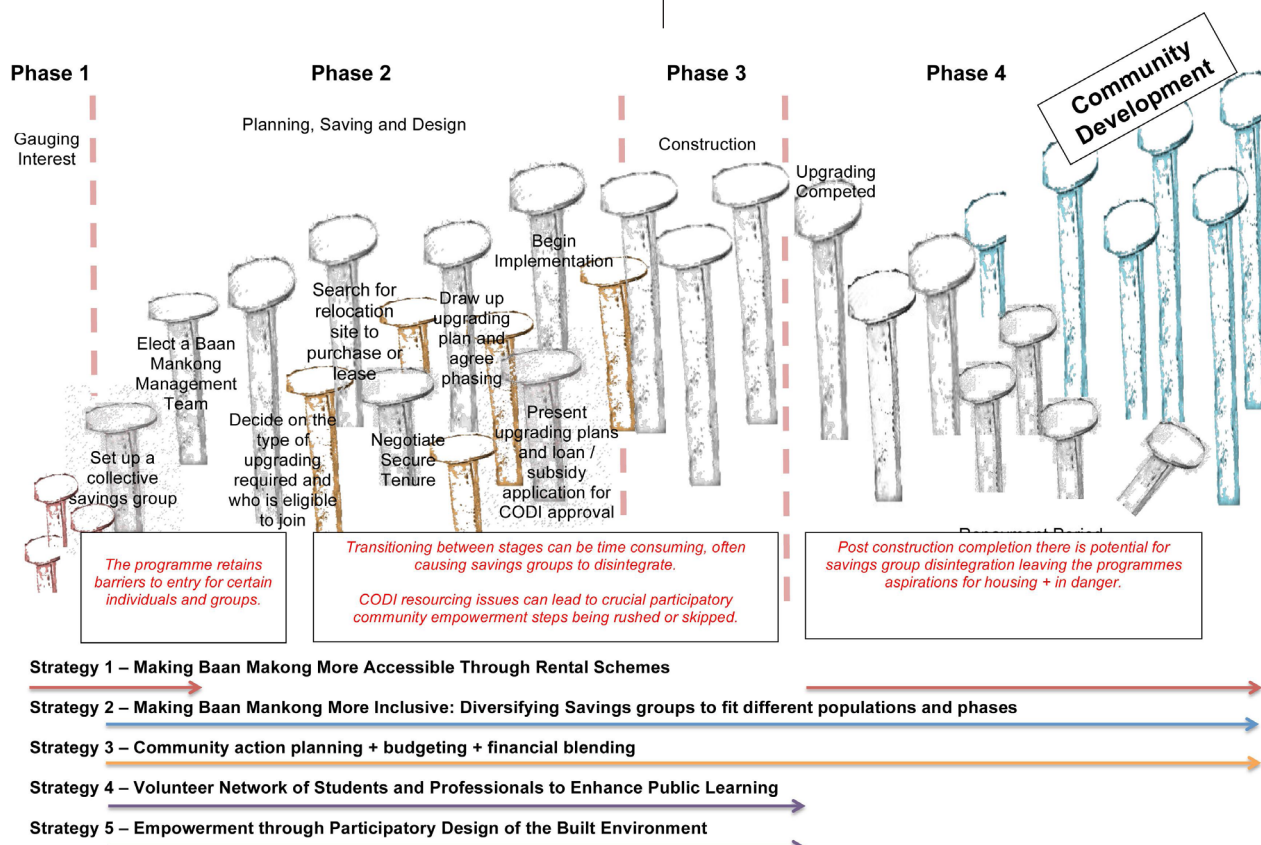
Figure 6.1: Pedestal Diagram illustrating strategy locations responding to key problem areas.

Strategy 1. Making Baan Makong More Accessible Through Rental Schemes

"Tenants should be taken into consideration when planning upgrading programmes because upgrading can create tension between owners and tenants. Since it is known that tenants are less motivated to join community projects, community organizations must be encouraged to include more members from among this group"

(UN Habitat, 2003:145)

Justification

The first strategy aims to facilitate access for individuals and households currently unable to participate in the programme. In order to maximise the transformative potential of Baan Mankong, as defined earlier it is necessary to strengthen synergies between diverse individuals within communities, in order to empower and deliver material improvement to those vulnerable without compromising the programme's financial viability.

Contrary to the programme's ethos when certain communities initiate upgrading some of the most vulnerable within them become excluded. Broadly, these individuals can be split into two groups:

a) Individuals financially limited from entry; and

b) Individuals for whom home ownership is not an appropriate solution.

Many communities have realised these limitations and proposed pilot solutions that accommodate such groups. For instance, Kao Noi Community (Pattaya) has collectively subsidized the construction of 14 'welfare houses' for poorer savings-group members; whilst Ruamsamakee Community (Wangthonglang), post upgrade completion, invested in collectively managed rental units for more mobile groups.

Although rental schemes may emerge later

in the upgrading process, the success of this strategy relies upon CODI and communities considering rental needs from the initial phases and throughout the process.
Proposal

The strategy, presented in operative steps below, suggests that the CODI and community upgrading processes consider renters and migrants as groups with specific needs throughout:

a. Initial Survey – When conducting the provincial/district survey further emphasis should be placed on assessing the ability of households to access Baan Mankong. As a result the survey should contain approximate numbers of those unable to participate should upgrading begin.

Moreover, communities must differentiate between welfare rental and temporary rental needs. Each group has specific characteristics, different financial implications, and thus require specific eligibility criteria. Welfare rentals will likely require subsidies and most often involve pre-existing community members. Temporary rentals, by contrast, may profit through engagement with a wider range of individuals including seasonal migrants and non-permanent rural migrants. Communities may also consider leasing schemes for rental members, allowing renters to eventually buy the unit they occupy.

b. Land Allocation – Whether during land acquisition (relocation); reblocking or reconstruction (upgrading sites), community planning should indentify prospective rental-space. Even if communities cannot currently implement rental schemes, it is critical that space is identified. Interim uses (e.g. markets, communal-areas) can be developed until implementation.

c. Financial Sources – Suggested sources that can work independently or in combination:

• As CODI acknowledges current accessibility barriers to communities' lowest-income and transitory groups,

a 'Rental Grant' system is suggested, following similar lines to the current investment grants. If this option is not financially viable, CODI could also finance the scheme through a 'Rental Loan', separated from the upgrading-loan and with a longer repayment period (c.25 years) and lower interest rate, to allow communities to cover repayments from the rental income.

• CDFs or Urban-Poor-Funds – Consolidated CDFs could be an ideal financial source. As with CODI funds could be provided through loans or grants depending on their financial standing and community needs. Connecting with Strategy 3, Urban Poor Funds, if implemented, would prove an appropriate financial source.

• Communities' Own Funds – Particularly successful savings-groups have been known to generate a surplus capable of financing such a scheme. In such a case rental income must return to collective investment pool.

• Landowners – In contexts where landlord influence is significant, agreements might be reached to co-manage and fund rental schemes. In Bang Prong, for instance, landlords are already providing affordable low-income rental.

d.   Management Board – Ensuring transparency, an independent management board should be elected. Additionally other relevant actors such as NULICO, CDF, CODI and landowner representatives should be included as applicable.

e.   Internal Regulations – Communities must make arrangements to manage the three following aspects:

• Eligibility for Access – It is fundamental to establish criteria for participation in the rental schemes. To maintain internal cohesion it may be necessary to limit welfare rental to individuals already constitutive of the community, whilst

Housing Model in CODI

temporary rental open to a broader selection.

• Tenant Agreements – Communities must develop clear tenant agreements. Aspects to be addressed include: rental amount; payment frequency; roles and responsibilities; vacancy procedures; eviction procedures and conflict resolution mechanisms. Communities may tap into the volunteer network proposed in strategy 5 to develop/implement such agreements.

• Maintenance – The cost of maintenance must factor in any financial assessment, making clear upon whom the burden falls. In the case of welfare rental, to increase affordability, the cost could be covered by labour instead of money.

f.   Repayment – Post-upgrading-loan-repayment there are two possible management strategies for rental units. If the community maintains a savings group then the scheme can carry on until the rental loan is repaid and beyond. In case the savings group disintegrate the units can be sold and the money used to pay any outstanding collective debt.

Considerations:

Rental scheme implementation demands communities' investing additional financial and human resources. Moreover it places pressure on participation and, if not well manage, could create internal conflict. Thus, it is recommended that rental schemes be implemented once the initial upgrading process has completed, allowing members space to self-asses their financial and organizational capacities before commencement.

Even if the proposal of grants seems to impact CODI's stretched budget, it remains a relatively cost-effective mechanism for the government to tackle the rental question. Centralised rental schemes are "notoriously difficult to manage at scale, presenting numerous sustainability challenges, and yet 'private' landlord schemes work well informally and are a way forward" (UN Habitat 2003:222). Baan Mankong has the potential of combining the benefits of 'private landlord' schemes with the transformative power of collective action.

The relationship between landowners and communities has the potential to affect the viability of the scheme. Communities must take this into account when assessing their readiness.
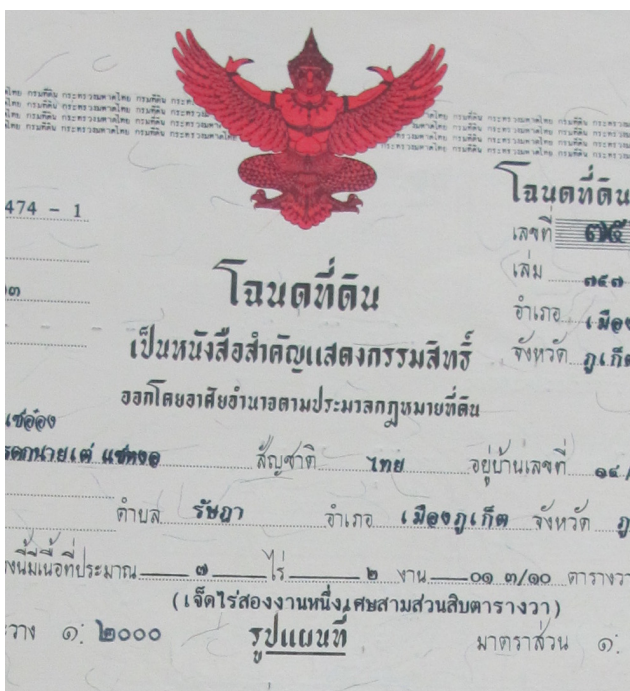
Land Title-Deed

Strategy 2. Making Baan Mankong More Inclusive: Diversifying Savings-groups to Fit Different Populations and Phases

Justification

This strategy aims to ensure that the transformative nature of Baan Mankong reaches all community members equally and is sustained over time. Baan Mankong works by the generation of common bonds amongst individuals. In order for the programme to empower individuals and expand both individual and collective room for manoeuvre, all members must participate in daily community operation and management. Currently the programme faces at least two additional barriers to full inclusion: the exclusion of children and the elderly from participating in savings-groups and the decrease of interest in community participation post-upgrade completion. The proposal is divided in two parts that correspond to Phase 1 and Phase 3 of the process.

Proposal

Phase 1: Creation of sub-saving-groups for children and youth and the elderly:

• Children and Youth: The objective is to include children in the logic and benefits of collective savings from inception, thus assuring knowledge transfer. It also strengthens community ties and allows for after-school activities to emerge capable of tackling concerns over unsupervised children succumbing to drug addiction. Savings could be used for activities such as: school fee funding; sports/recreational activities; or health awareness. Communities themselves identified these priorities.
• Elderly: In most communities members over the age of 55 are not allowed to participate as household savers. Creating an elderly-savings sub-group, focussed primarily on welfare, would

allow them access to the empowering process. It would also help tackle welfare issues for this demographic, common across communities.

• Renters: Renters, currently excluded, could form a sub-group that takes into account their circumstances. This group could be directly related to the implementation of the first strategy adapting the Baan Mankong logic to rental payments.

Phase 3: Diversifying the utility of savings-groups. To capture/maintain the momentum derived from upgrading post-completion, it is important for savings-groups to diversify and finance other activities able to sustain common-bonds. Communities have started doing so already and the following exemplify funds that have been/could be developed, according to our observations:

• Job Creation Schemes
• Micro credit for enterprise setting up
• Health Insurance
• Welfare Funds
• Risk Prevention Funds

Investing the funds of the savings-groups in income generation activities would have the dual role of helping secure repayment

as well as sustaining those collective-bonds crucial to transformation. Clear rules must be set in place to ensure the financial viability of the activities the communities will invest on. To better suit these activities consolidated savings-groups could organize themselves as cooperatives, making their internal structures more adaptable to new functionalities and facilitate scaling up.

Considerations

The inclusion of additional groups makes savings group organization more complex and demands more participation. This can be a strain for community members. Furthermore diversifying the use of the savings-groups also complicates monitoring and transparency. Communities must reinforce internal auditing mechanisms to reflect new structures.

The diversification of savings-groups should be carried out after communities assess that they have appropriate organizational structure. Not all communities will reach this stage and it is important that assessments are realistic. Changes must also be agreed by consensus; fragmenting communities around such issues would be counterproductive.

Pictures of Savings Booklet in Far East Baanyai Community

The River of Life Exercise

Strategy 3 – Community action planning + budgeting + financial blending:

Justification

This strategy expands the room for manoeuvre and strategic collective action by providing a platform for local planning and budgeting, and through the creation of financing options reinforces positive synergies. Critical to this strategy is strengthening citizens' engagement across planning, budgeting, policies and practices of government that can improve housing and service delivery. This reconfiguration enhances processes and outcomes pertinent to social justice by encouraging communities to act as place-makers through active citizenship beyond the upgrading process.

The relationship between the strategy and transformation is set out below to assess the degree of strategic intent.

a)   Material improvement – Community action planning and budgeting supports the distributional, institutional and material dimensions of improvement at different scales by reflecting the changing social, political and economic needs through material improvement.

b)   Empowerment – Planning reinforces advocacy to redress district and citywide issues by building networks and partnerships with different actors in government sectors, private industry and civil society,

c)   Synergies - Constructing and reconstructing periodic consensus builds relationships, encourages systematic public learning and develops trust over time that sets grounds for precedent (Levy, 2007). Financial blending provides additional resources for multiple synergies to galvanise through the planning process.

d)   Room for manoeuvre – Expanding community social capital and agency to respond to various issues through strategic planning, budgeting and resource acquisition at community, district and city scale.

Proposal

a)   Community planning and budgeting

This section of the strategy builds on the demand driven and action-orientated approach promoted by CODI to support upgrading and people development. This approach also identifies with collective actions in a conscious manner to plan for collective needs and special interests of heterogeneous groups. Community action planning complements and galvanises savings groups to think and plan beyond housing – generating momentum and co-production through cyclical planning and systematic learning. It does so by building and strengthening citizens' engagement in planning, policies and practices of government that can improve tenure, housing and service delivery. This strengthens local systems, structures and relationships promoting long-term sustainable change through existing networks such as NULICO, savings groups and CDF's.

b)   Financial blending

Leveraging different financial resources and assets is critical to financing community and district plans. Financial blending incorporates scaling up savings groups by diversifying savings options enabling CDF's to provide revolving funds to communities for community-led projects. For example, Bang Khen district set precedent for other CDF's to emerge by creating a CDF in response to CODI's funding shortfall in 2008 (Archer, 2010). Similarly, other districts could establish CDF's as another step in the upgrading process. This step is a necessary condition to connect different sites and districts across the city to reach city scale through a City or National Urban Poor Fund. Both the CDF and City or National Urban Poor Fund can provide a variety of pro-poor finance options including provision of revolving loans similar to CODI, land banking and land allocation to most vulnerable groups (e.g. seasonal migrants and renters), district and community grants for slum upgrading and community projects and loan guarantees to underwrite loan financing to community-led projects.

Timescale

Phase 2 (see figure 6.2) – Community action planning, budgeting and finance processes straddle existing processes connected to community surveys, savings group formation and planning and budget revision during tenure negotiation.

Phase 4 (see figure 6.2) – Community action planning, budgeting and financing occurs continually by evolving with the changing needs and priorities of each community after upgrading. Effectively, this replicates moments of building periodic consensus, simultaneously underpinning systematic learning around those needs and priorities. In turn, this can lead to advocating for rights, strengthening resource networks and finance acquisition supporting those plans. Community savings groups can scale up in order to continue momentum connecting community action planning to CDF planning and budgeting.

Guiding principals for community action planning and budgeting (see figure 6.2 6.3):

• Community action planning builds on existing savings groups and enables community members to regularly assess the quality of public services, housing and identify possible ways to improve planning, design and delivery.
• **Building networks and coalitions** with stakeholders, academics, students, architects and planners is critical to place-making, such networks are invited to participate in the upgrading and community action planning process, including household members who use the **services** (service users), service providers (local government staff) and government officials (both administrative and political), who have responsibility for, or can influence, decisions that affect the quality of housing and service delivery.
• The process should lead to a community action plan and budget that reflects the different needs of the community. This continues to evolve over time and address new issues at local, district and city level.
• Community action plans are used as a strategic planning and advocacy tool by intentionally feeding up the ladder to district and city level planning, such that, communities can influence decision-making on pro-poor policy.

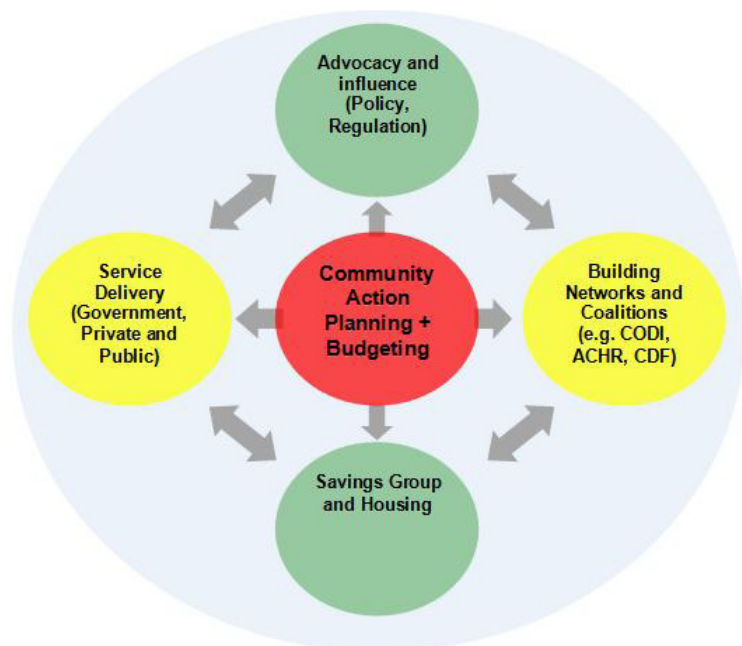**Figure 6.2: Bridging Community Action Planning + Budgeting on the pedestal pathway**
By creating an additional pedestal or step in the upgrading process – community action planning and budgeting (in red) – this strategy can bridge activities across savings groups, service delivery, building networks and advocacy. This movement can be recreated throughout the upgrading / development process.
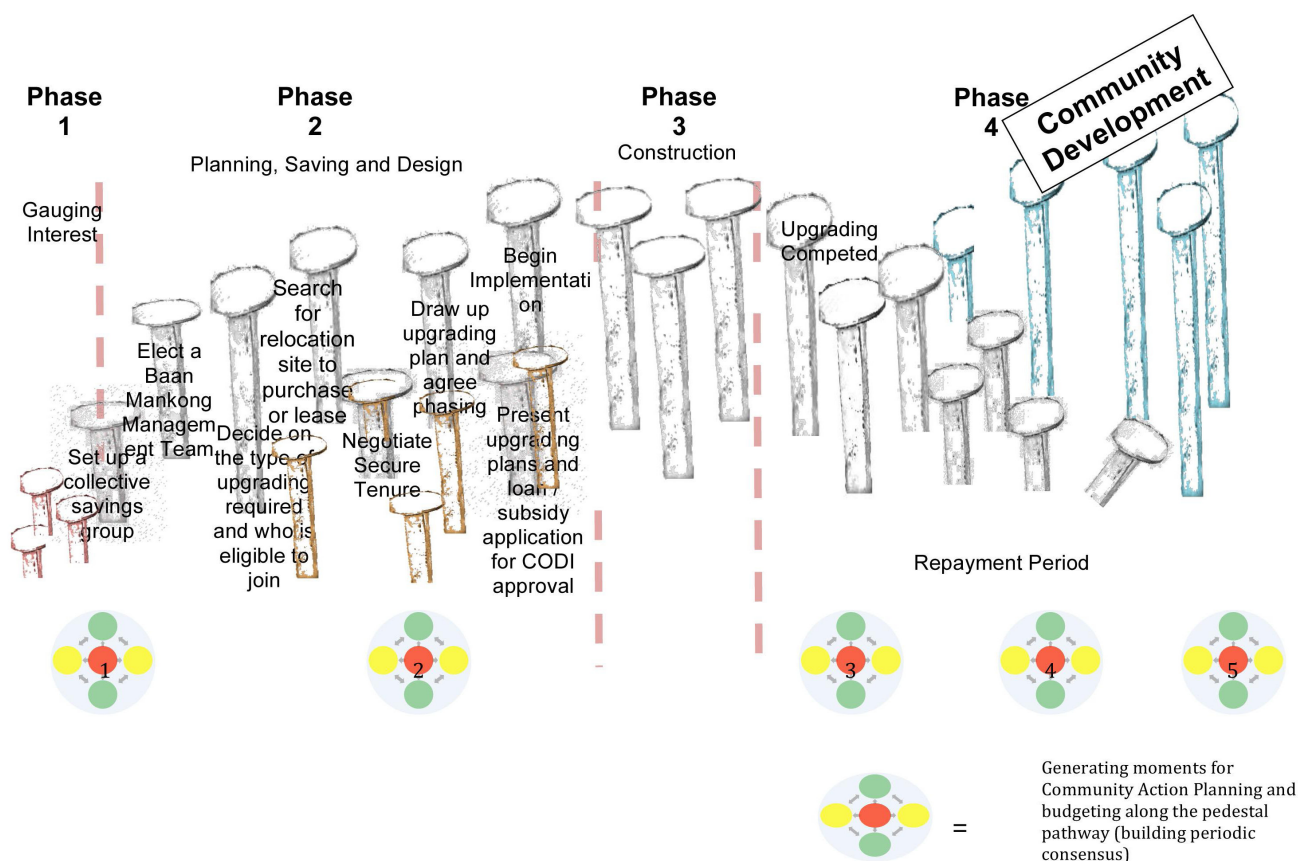
Phase 1

Gauging Interest

Set up a collective savings group

Elect a Baan Mankong Management Team

Phase 2

Planning, Saving and Design

Decide on the type of upgrading required and who is eligible to join

Search for relocation site to purchase or lease

Negotiate Secure Tenure

Draw up upgrading plan and agree phasing

Present upgrading plans and loan / subsidy application for CODI approval

Begin Implementation

Phase 3

Construction

Phase 4

Community Development

Upgrading Competed

Repayment Period

= Generating moments for Community Action Planning and budgeting along the pedestal pathway (building periodic consensus)

Figure 6.3: Linking strategies along the pedestal pathway
This diagram shows the connection of community action planning as it progresses along the development pedestal. This is represented through the insertion of 'new' pedestals along the pedestal pathway at different moments in time

Guiding Principals for financial blending and scaling up to City/ National Urban Poor Fund (see figure 6.4)

• **Strengthen local government planning and budgeting mechanisms** – Communities who have completed surveys are required to register with local authorities, in turn, creating a relationship that can be leveraged through planning, budgeting and financial linkages. By doing so, communities open the possibility of accessing BMA resources, support and funding. By aligning with local government planning systems and budgeting cycles, communities and CDF's are strategically scaling-up political influence and negotiation capacity inline with government development plans. This strengthens citywide planning systems and processes and allows local government to incorporate such plans into annual budgets, which are submitted

to the legislative branch (Bangkok Metropolitan Council) for debate and approval.
• **Scale-up savings groups**, networks and social relations by diversifying savings options. This sets precedent for savings groups to transform into co-operatives that can coordinate and operate shared CDF's at the district level.
• **Replicate the CDF model** to provide revolving finance to community and district wide projects.
• **Create a City/National Urban Poor Fund** that can link to CDF's and international funding sources such as international organisations (HI - CLIFF), Trusts and Foundations and bilateral/ multilateral donors. This fund can provide revolving loans to district housing and infrastructure projects, or grants to scale-up finance to communities such as renters and seasonal migrants, especially those who find it financially

difficult to sustain savings groups due to vulnerabilities associated with their transient nature. A City/National Urban Poor fund can also provide a sustainable and viable alternative to CODI funding.

• City/National Urban Poor fund must **establish criteria** for large-scale projects that benefit the poorest and most vulnerable. Criteria should embody notions of scaling up, replicability, pro-poor policy change, long-term planning and sustainability and financial viability. Furthermore, such projects should incorporate management, maintenance and knowledge sharing strategies.

Further Considerations

a)   Conditions
The conditions under which this strategy can be most effective relate to the presence of social capital defined in the Thai context acts as a 'vital safety net' that requires participation, trust, and reciprocity within communities (Archer, 2009, p.8). Although not a requirement in the strictest sense, the presence of social capital in the form of leadership, negotiation, organisational and financial management skills and experience can greatly accelerate the operationalization of this strategy. Therefore, increasing the

likelihood of sustaining systematic, learning, planning and budgeting. Furthermore, this requires groups within heterogeneous communities to organise themselves according to interest, networks or identity that best represent commonalities and claims, but also through advocacy to gain support, resources and funding for community plans.

b)   Connections to Strategy one, two, four and five (see figure 6.3)
Strategy three provides a platform for strategy one (rental schemes) and two (savings groups) to support such initiatives through conscious and strategic planning and financial options that enable more renters to participate in the BM programme. It connects to strategy four and five through the planning and design of community and district social infrastructure — e.g. market stalls and livelihood improvements. Together, these strategies enable communities to adapt space to social circumstances and to the productive requirements of a predominantly informal economy.
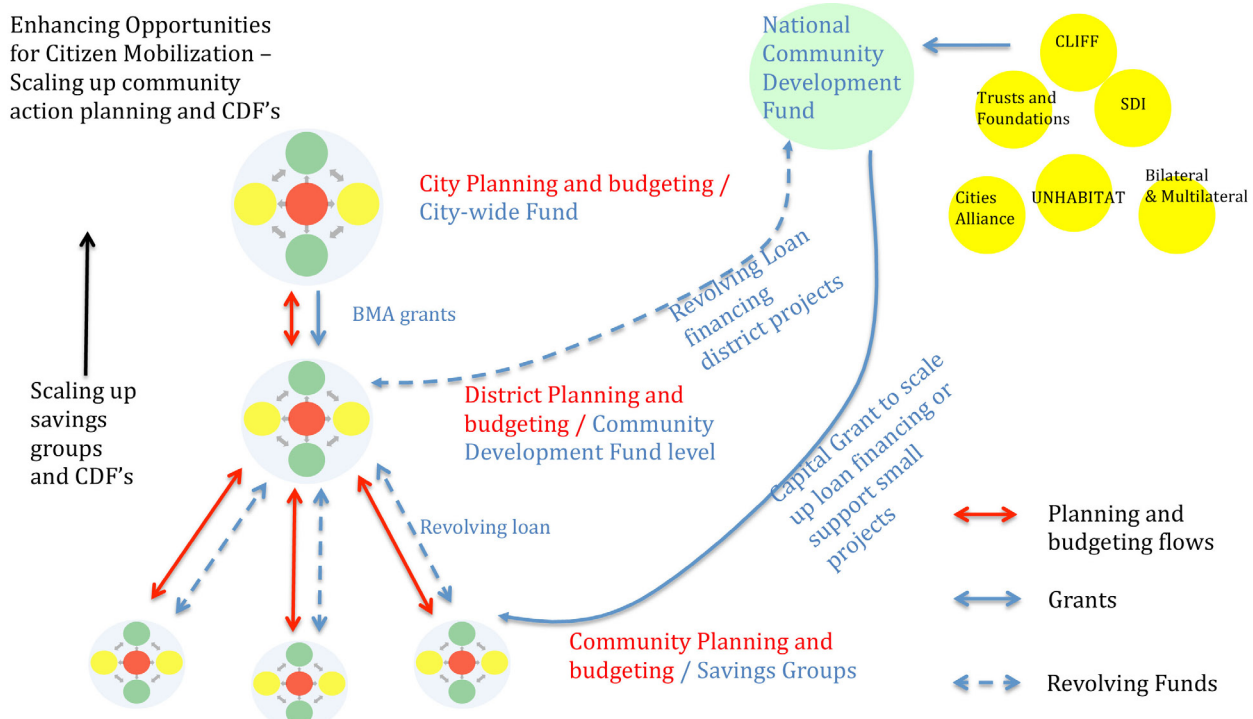
Figure 6.4: Enhancing opportunities for citizen mobilization through financial blending and creation of a City/National Community Development Fund

Strategy 4: Volunteer Network of Students and Professionals to Enhance Public Learning

"Community-learning is as important as savings and loan activities… What is needed is an open and inclusive process that engages the many other groups that are relevant to development within a process that is determined and controlled by the poor."

(Boonyabancha, IIED Working Paper 12)

Justification

Recognising the importance of public learning as paramount to community development, there is an opportunity to build on CODI's core principles of knowledge sharing and 'community strengthening', in enhancing existing links with universities and networks of professionals, so as to expand CODI's network of support to communities without necessarily expanding the size of CODI's itself. CODI already excels in facilitating voluntary support in community planning, design and construction. We propose support can be extended, especially beyond the construction phase. Supporting communities in the longer-term to remain economically and socially cohesive, as well as building networks and synergies with the wider city will be highly significant to the success of BM communities during later stages of development and after the loan repayment period, that will translate to improvements in material and social conditions.

There are positive examples in Thai society of voluntary social engagement & CSR that have led us to believe voluntary involvement in the BM process from wider society is a feasible option. Developing 'human capital technology' (Boonyabancha 2005) will enhance the possibilities for communities to manage their own realities by connecting them with specialist knowledge, thereby, both supporting and empowering communities at initial upgrading phases, as well as in later stages by enhancing community capacity.

The proposal is particularly applicable to Bangkok, as the city is home to over 30 universities, therefore presenting a large potential resource of skilled volunteers and a clear opportunity to maximise public learning and awareness of the BM program among students and professionals.

Timescale

Volunteers can be partnered with communities at all stages of the BM process in relation to demand and required skills/knowledge.

Proposal

This strategy proposes the extension of volunteer networks of students and professionals to offer an increased range of voluntary consultancies and services to communities. The proposal would build on the variety and decentralisation of BM communities to offer tailored partnerships that support the diverse needs of individual communities beyond housing. The proposal is to build on the already successful

Actor-Mapping in Kao Noi Community, Pattaya.

Constructing a community savings office in Kao Noi Community, Pattaya.

partnership between architects and planners, to move beyond housing and neighbourhood design and planning, to community support at a wider, more varied level. The programme would be led by communities in partnership with universities, CODI and with possible extension to including volunteers from interested private sector organizations. It would offer support to communities as well as valuable work/ life experience to students and young professionals, forging links and trust between communities and the next generation of professionals, and making professional networks more accessible to communities by addressing technical and communicative barriers.

The proposal involves the creation of a standalone program, or an extension of existing programs at interested universities that would recruit volunteers from student bodies on a demand led basis steered by communities. Volunteers would undertake flexible, long-term placements on a part-time basis according to partner community needs. Administration and management of the programme could be undertaken by existing staff at CODI or by universities, to ensure suitable partnerships between volunteers and communities, as well as offering training to manage the expectations and needs of both parties. Placements offered are intended to move beyond housing design to

address diverse community needs and take advantage of the variety of courses offered at Bangkok universities, and could therefore encompass services such as (and not limited to) advocacy/ legal advice, financial advice, business and marketing consultancy, youth work, information technology services, documentary film-making, media/public relations. Placements are intended to occur on a demand basis led by communities, with volunteers acting as advisors and as a platform through which communities can enhance their access to specialist knowledge.

Considerations

The proposal requires initial investment & long-term management and administrative capacity, albeit small, between CODI and the universities to ensure that communities and students are adequately supported throughout the program. CODI operates within a particular political space, and does so effectively due to its small size and the emphasis on community driven development. The widening of CODI's facilitation role of services that go beyond housing improvement therefore has the potential to affect CODI's political position and thereby their funding. In addition, there would of course need to be demand from communities themselves for such a service.

Oby Yubyooyee, 2012

Strategy 5: Empowerment through Participatory Design of the Built Environment

"Humans have a responsibility to find themselves where they are, in their own proper time and place, in the history to which they belong and to which they must inevitably contribute. Either their response or their evasions, either truth and act, or mere slogan and gesture."

(Thomas Merton (Monk, Writer, Activist), 2011)

Justification

Enabling individuals and communities to take an active role in designing the built environment will have far-reaching consequences for present and future possibilities for interaction, significant impacts on public learning and collective confidence building, as well as facilitating tangible material improvements to the physical environment of the city. Building upon the empowerment process that is already occurring through BM, participation in the design of the built environment, beyond the house, has strong potential to enhance synergies, learning and empowerment by use of "the architectural design process as an empowering tool for community members"

Housing model at CODI office

(Tovivich 2010 p14). Participation in design can play a key role in city integration as well as being an important factor in place-making; the planning and design of neighbourhoods to create an integrated future that caters for all of society's diverse members. This will be valuable in addressing instances of fragmentation in urban development that are apparent in Bangkok, as well as seeking to address sensitive issues around density and common spaces, and ensuring a method of designing alternatives that is available to everyone.

Participatory neighbourhood design is happening well in some districts, especially in areas where there are favourable conditions, such as private landowner and political support for participatory design, however, increased support is required in other areas. There is an opportunity to build on proven community interest in design and planning, and the already extensive participatory design process occurring in the BM model, supported by strong networks of community architects, community builders, architectural students and city planners, to expand such public learning and the production of synergies in the design field.

Timescale

The proposal is intended to compliment the initial planning and design phases during phase 2, but would also be appropriate after construction during phase 4 to make district level planning and designing more accessible.

Proposal

We propose to extend current networks and partnerships between communities and architects to the creation of a forum for participatory design of the built environment at district level, with a role to maximise communal spaces (by which we refer to parks

and green space, children's playgrounds, community centres and other communal spaces utilised for social interaction) for use by all sections of society. Moreover, to recognise a need to place adequate consideration to the long-term significance of good design for community cohesion and integration, the strategy aims to support community involvement in designing culturally, socially and environmentally suitable housing and neighbourhoods, which maximise social space, limit environmental degradation as well as mitigate flood-risk through design in the long-term.

In undertaking such an endeavour, we propose that collaboration with landscape and community architects can be scaled up to district level, whereby a range of actors in the city can build knowledge together in the design arena and thus enabling a greater mix of people to have a say in the design and consequently the use of their surroundings. This strategy compliments strategy 3 (to acquire a greater role for communities in city-wide planning and management of city budgets), and could be realised in a number of ways such as the creation of district level design committees or through enhanced networks of voluntary support (see Strategy 4). The proposal places emphasis on community and particularly youth involvement in design as well as intending to bring cultural sensitivity, environmental concerns and the maximisation of communal space to the fore as design priorities, which we argue will have long-term beneficial effects for community cohesion as well as being a tool to integrate communities with the wider city.

Considerations

The strategy extends beyond CODI influence to district level planning and design, and there are therefore cost and administrative considerations to the feasibility of the strategy. Funding for communal space at district level may be difficult to secure, and communities, as well as municipalities and CODI may not have the capacity to allocate time and resources to such a scheme. We propose that financial support for the programme could be acquired through a direct link with

Strategy 3, whereby money raised, and capacity built through Community Action Planning and Budgeting could be utilised for dedicated design forums at district level. Funding could potentially also be blended with infrastructure grants from CODI/ local governments, or from a City / National Urban Poor Fund. A further consideration is the potential political risk to CODI of supporting community involvement in planning and design outside of community boundaries. In order to be successful, certain conditions would be necessary, including supportive local governments and landowners, as well as technical, facilitative & administrative support at district level, and adequate funding.

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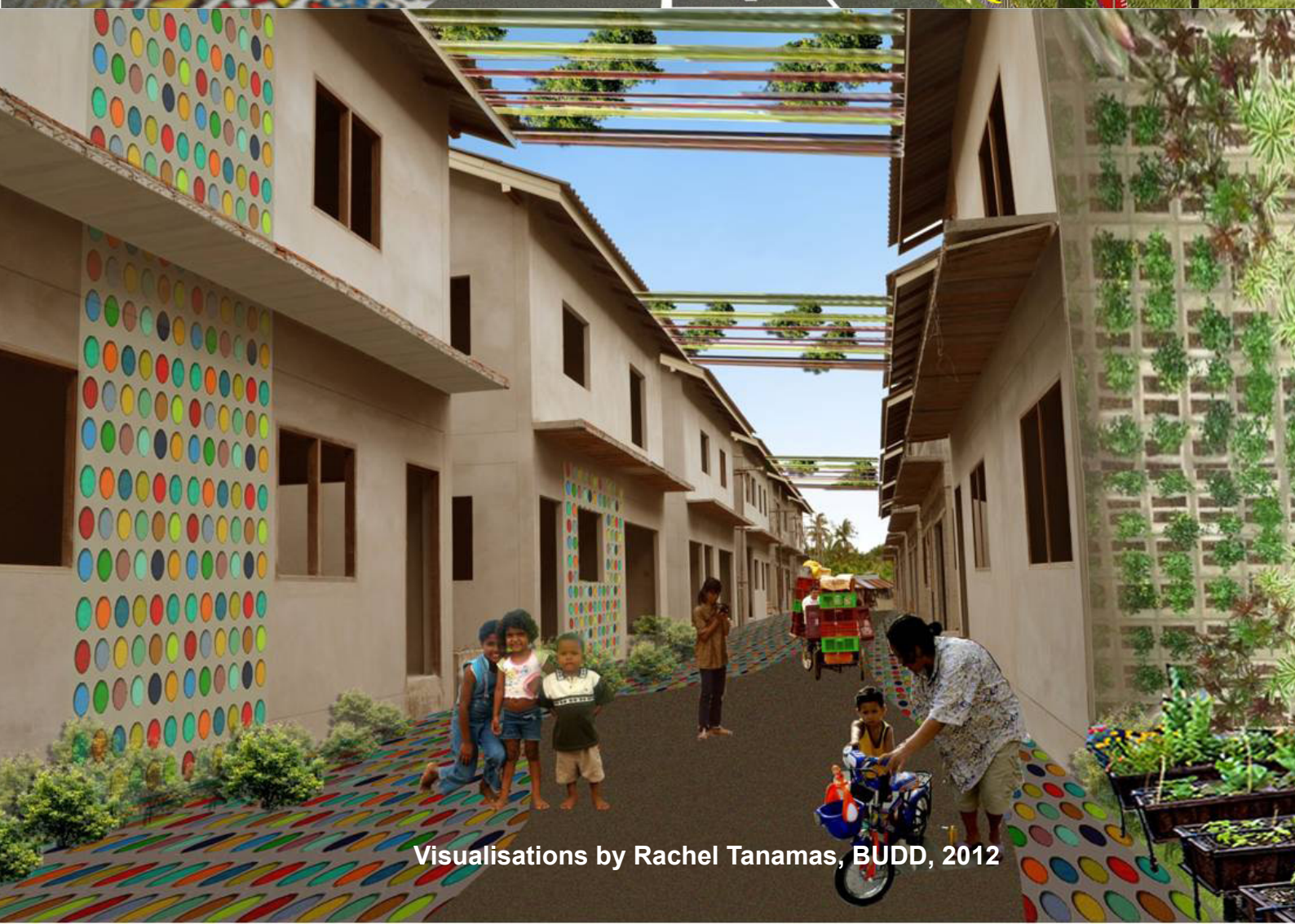
Visualisations by Rachel Tanamas, BUDD, 2012

7.0 conclusion & reflection

by Zahra Kassam

Student presentation in the CODI building

Reflections and Conclusion

As a group we highly appreciate the opportunity to learn from the programme and acknowledge the efforts the communities have undergone in order to accommodate us. We respect CODI for showing us the six diverse sites, as said by Somsook Boonyabancha, "it's not perfect, it's okay" reflects their strong sense of security and openness to admit problems and imperfection and accept that there is always room for growth. This is a lesson that we will surely take from this endeavour into our future.

The experience of recording the multiple dimensions of the journey from different perspectives and experiences has shown us different realties, the dynamism of the country, the city and the programme as well as the people in it resulting in deep complexities. This report is a combination of various learning sources and was complimented with the field study that allowed us to put all the theoretical knowledge into context and apply it to a practical setting. For example, studying various participatory methodologies in theory and in fact doing it with the communities has grounded the realism of such discourses. We saw Baan Mankong in different forms as our comprehension and awareness grew with time; starting with a limited understanding of Baan Mankong in London, a Baan Mankong presented by the institution CODI and the real Baan Mankong on site where we attempted to test the initial strategies formulated, whilst careful to keep an open mind, learn about the programme and people and to connect theory to practice. Recognising that our analysis was at a specific time in an ongoing programme, our definition of transformation took on a deeper and richer meaning as the reality of the programme emerged. Much of what had been prepared beforehand did require adjustments, however our definition of transformation seemed to hold strong to the reality we saw on site. We found that the criteria set out to measure our definition of transformation were particularly applicable to the Baan Mankong programme. Overall, we found that CODI and Baan Mankong, score well on what we define as material improvement whilst improvements can be made in the empowerment criteria. We also see opportunities in their room for manoeuvre and to ultimately achieve a higher rate and degree of synergies as well as learning.

Through our research and findings, we conclude that public learning is the underlying driver of change. Furthermore, we see the communities aS rich in resources and capacity, however, at times lack the awareness to fully capitalise on them. A great asset discovered was the collaboration of different expertise to understand, analyse and contribute to a programme that is already collective in nature. In studying the collectiveness in communities, it was found that there is value in communication that holds the foundation to utilising resources in the most effective manner, whether it be relations or finance. We find it crucial to note that individuals make up communities and so learning to be part of a community and working together can only prove to be beneficial to them. The vast array of networks available to the communities and the programme as a whole was pleasantly shocking. Moreover, it seems the complexities of CODI and Baan Mankong protect the programme from political instability as if no one understands it fully, no one can shut it down easily.

An essential finding was the lack of alternatives. The rigidity of certain rules and regulations has closed communities to thinking of alternative solutions to proposed problems and as discovered on the Chatuchak site, this has caused a pause in the upgrading process and this serious time lag has caused members to leave the programme. Similarly, in Wangthonglang, communities are working in partnership with the CPB under specific rules and conditions that allow secure tenure on one hand, however, at the same time limits choice in the design and upgrading process. Common across all sites was the pressures of loan repayment and creating and then maintaining social capital. Our strategies, are interlinked in order to address these issues by drawing

UCL students at work in Samutprakan District

on scaled-up . Appreciating that the existing legal, political and economic frameworks limit the room for manoeuvre, the proposed strategies have the objectives of inclusion, participation and long term planning as well as increasing awareness, knowledge and capacity.

Our strategies are interlinked as we believe that the internal and external pressures on a community can be addressed by a combination of strategies to achieve the most suitable results. Given the Thai culture, we have seen that trust is a motivating factor to organisation and knowledge sharing. We recognise that each context is diverse and appreciate the flexibility of the programme. Hence, our focus on diversification of some existing processes and scaling up savings group options. Strategies are built on existing resources and capacity and we have aimed to show the people their significance in a people-driven programme and how their aspirations are achievable within but also beyond their immediate 'community' (a very territorial-administrative term in Thai culture), embracing what their city can offer them.

Cultivating our various methods of learning, we see the importance of instilling the sense of community and grounding the potential of what benefits a community can realise if they can first think and visualise it possible. Such empowerment comes from dialogue, communicating diverse interests both with other actors but equally important are all diverse members of a community. On this basis, we have stressed the need for greater inclusion, for instance through a participatory neighbourhood design process, in order to mitigate further marginalisation. This could additionally bring those into the conversation that were not able to, or did not want to join Baan Mankong.

Enforcing that the momentum should not be lost, our strategies promote planning, budgeting and finance beyond the house, using Diane Archer's term, "growing a house" (Archer, 2012) to include the various external and internal aspects involved in such an endeavour. The communities have proved themselves to be creative and highly resourceful, accessing funds from various sources and in a way hedging them to reduce their risk. We propose that such initial attempts be taken further to exploit the benefits of possessing such advantages and using them to impact on an area's spatial, but also social, economic, and political development.

Taking the notion of on-going development, emphasis throughout the report has been on the importance of flexibility within any process to deal with diversity, and the recognition of evolving and changing interests; hence, the need for continuous updates of such processes. Looking at it not only from the communities' point of view, we find it necessary that societal and public institutions be strengthened in order to better incorporate change and diversity. It should be noted that the savings groups are the backbone to the success of the programme in multiple ways, as with the savings group come crucial, non-tangible aspects, embedded in them that contribute to the success; such as motivations, a sense of belonging and achievements, personal connections and strategic coalitions, dialogue and influence as well as creativity and resourcefulness. They impact thus beyond the group on its outward relations. We see the Baan Mankong programme as part of a process that creates horizontal linkages and relationships and uses them to better facilitate the communication of poor peoples' needs and the realisation of their aspirations. As such, it does contribute to more socially just development, even though there are yet numerous problems experienced during implementation.

And although the focus for transformation was on the Baan Mankong programme, the experience has transformed us and we discovered that the communities as well as us, are constantly evolving. Learning and living the culture enhanced our understandings especially in regards to the generous and accommodating ways of the Thai people and their sense of welfare and quality of life. This had led us to view transformation as a process that the communities work at, but that we as practitioners can keep it moving too. Inspired by Khun Somsook Boonyabancha, as practitioners we hope to take on our learning and findings of CODI and the Baan Mankong programme and apply it in our own countries, in hope to create change at a global scale and continue to "grow pedestals".

A collage of the group members across various sites, May 2012

'It seems the basic assumption behind this programme is that everyone can learn, whether it is 'small' informal residents to feel greater, or government officials about the value of collaboration with, instead of determination over or neglect of, 'the poor slum dwellers'. This experience has allowed me to feel the potential of this beautifully pure idea of learning, the importance of dialogue for that learning, and the value of taking housing as a vehicle for that dialogue. Lets belief in the value of 'a thousand tiny empowerments' (Sandercock, 1998:219) and that learning can be scaled up in whichever context.' **(Emily Kelling, Germany)**

'Baan Mankong to me is about helping people become aware of human being's endless potential, giving them the chance to think differently and the power to act upon their thoughts. I take home with me the incredible potential of people working together as a community. At a time when so much emphasis is placed on the individual, it is inspirational to see how much more we can achieve when our wills and efforts are brought together.'
(Mariana Fulgueiras, Peru)

'The inquisitive nature of people in Bangkok, coupled with their desire to transform their houses, neighbourhoods and lives, undoubtedly transforms Baan Mankong from merely financial support into a programme of transformational potential. Far from being perfect, the programme thrusts the urban poor into a political reality and dialogical struggle to upgrade homes and lives, in doing so, the programme challenges the consciousness of those very people to recreate their city realities.' **(David Sweeting, Australia)**

'The complexity of the social relations within the Baan Mankong programme was exhibited, but could not be fully comprehended within the short period of time. In other words, the research project has only examined the tip of an (very large) iceberg. Their extraordinary experiences have shown me that anyone (and everyone) can participate and make a difference to their lives and inspire changes unto others! I will definitely take back to Singapore and share with the various grassroots communities the remarkable strength and resilience from the communities I have learnt in Bangkok' **(Samantha Shu Fang Lim, Singapore)**

'Achievement of Baan Mankong Program witnessed by us is powerful to support the idea of empowering people through collective action. For China where collectivism is deeply embedded in its culture, I am confident that the methodology of Baan Mankong can be applied to there with proper adaptation to help the urban poor.' **(Sylvia Shuwen Zhou, China)**

'In facilitating a people led, decentralized approach to slum upgrading, Baan Mankong is creating the conditions for more than just better houses and neighbourhoods. Under the right circumstances, the programme offers normally disempowered people the dignity to plan and design their own realities, as well as access and eventually even guide networks of support at community, district and city level.' **(Nina Staebler, UK)**

"It's okay, it's not perfect" (Boonyabancha, 2012)

'Hearing such an appraisal of the inspiring Baan Mankong programme hase certainly made me feel a lot better about my 5th-grade Art class report: 'Tim's drawing quality is okay, perhaps a little less than average for his age'! Over the past months I have been fortunate to learn from a programme made all the more remarkable by its willingness to acknowledge its own weaknesses in order to constantly reinvent itself in the pursuit of improvement. A strong lesson for all.' **(Tim Wickson, United Kingdom)**

Through learning about Baan Mankong, I realise how powerful the community can be and the importance of organising poor together. The programme really shows the poor can flight for a better life if they can get together and CODI really helps the poor to believe in this ideology. Although, China and Thailand suited in a very different context, but I believe this people-driven process can be adopt by dealing with similar issues, such as "Urban Villages" in China.
(Lizhu Ping, China)

'"The super highway for change is open, so lets go!" (Somsook, opening speech, 2012). People are the focus and people make communities. Not all aspirations are individual, realising this and recognising people as assets will strengthen long-term collaborations and move forward the "collective consciousness" (Levy, 2012). If the people have a passion to grow then they will find a way to do this. I would take this as a confidence-building process and show communities in Kenya that it is possible to talk to the government with the right leverage'
(Zahra Kassam, Kenya)

'In the context of Baan Mankong, I recognise that the priority is given to the communities to ensure that the Baan Mankong is a people driven scheme. People in China could get more benefits and become more powerful by learning from this learning process'
(Sienna Shuang Dong, China)

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9.0 appendices
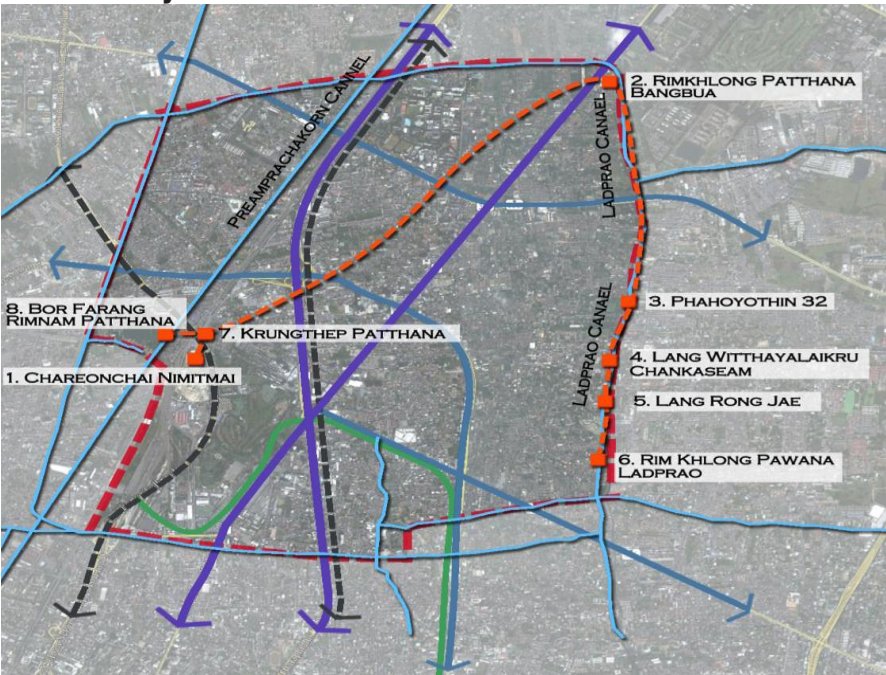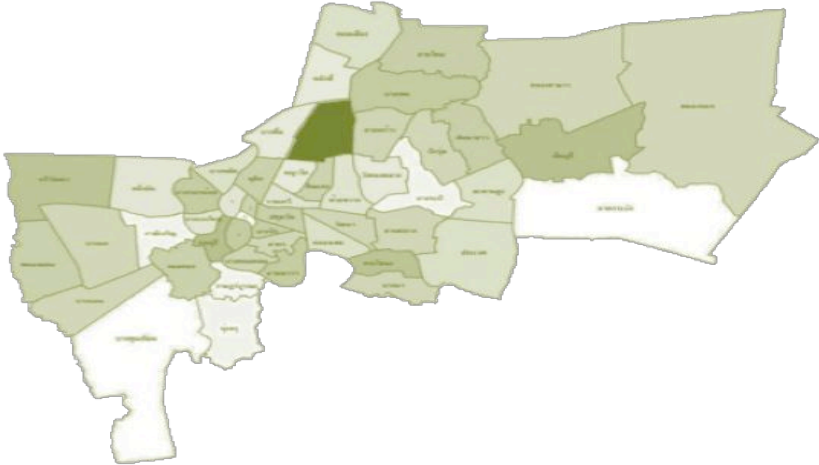
appendix 1.0

site information sheets

Please Note: Where possible the 'Participants in Research' have been assigned a specific indicator code to allow the information provided to be tagged to specific sources.

Basic Information

Community Name: Lang Witthayalaikru	**Community Location:**
Community Size: 130 households	
Date joined programme: They registered as a community in 2004	
Phase of programme: Savings but are at a halt in upgrade due to one man	

Participants in Research

1: Community Leaders and Savings Group Committee Members

2. The member that had caused the 2 year halt

3. Representative from the Treasury Department

4. CODI architect who has been working with the community for a while

5. NULICO representative

6. Man from neighbouring community

Key Observations (tagged by source if possible)

Land and housing:
Cooperating Landowner (treasury) as long as they organize themselves.

Housing-saw other aspirations (collective) (Ponds, playground, old peoples homes, income generation, flood management, floating market, communal centre, nursery, raised houses)

Land Tenure-saw other priorities (drugs, theft, divorce, livelihoods, evictions)

Relationships:
Community-saw networks (academics, NGO's, Flood committees, Canal networks, NULICO, media, local politicians)

Dominating leaders

Strong social network across communities districts and city scale

Potential of canal location as a physical network

Finance:
Went in to study savings but saw other sources of funding (Canadian NGO, World Vision, Ministries, Village Fund)
We see the opportunity to hedge sources to best work for them.
Resourceful and creative and willingness.
Knowledge sharing and learning from each other access to different range of funds

City Scale:
They wanted a countryside within the city. Saw a disconnect from the city.

In a great location transport wise but this is not visible once you enter the communities.

Material Improvement:

- Communities security against floods as they

Empowerment:

- Proud of what they have achieved
- Feel they can approach land owners and gov without CODI now

created a flood fund - They had shops in their upgrading plans-livelihood	- Family and sense of belonging - Collective aspirations beyond housing but see it as a stepping stone - Only act on catalytic trigger events - Limited engagement in community - Lack of community activities –communities even though are neighbours do not interact or communicate with each other (linear communities along the canal) - Little aspirations on behalf of young people - Feel pressured to join-not everyone see's the need or the benefit - Community leaders are too powerful
Synergies: - Using other communities in same areas as well as with other sub-districts and work together with them - With ministries as they are already conscious about the environment and health as well as NGO's and foundations - They have personal relationships with minsters	**Room to Manoeuvre:** - Personal relationships with private land owners -rental possibilities - Need to see alternatives for themselves - Strong communication can improve individual understanding and help hold the momentum

Additional Information: e.g. Participatory Actor map image, community structure break down, savings group cost break down etc. again tagged by information source

Ability to deal with flooding and Sensitivity of environment

Goals: GOALS:
•Improve communication
•Promote communal interests over individual interests
•Opening up spaces for reaching agreement

As presented in CODI with the site groups –communications and networks-**DISRUPT THE STATE-** alternatives from the status quo. Motto-potentials of options and finding collective alternatives-mobilisations and awareness

REALIZATION!!!!
CODI needs a **new entry point** (not finance-new requirement) as existing communications is not enough with majority of the communities.
Links without CODI do not need to be as strong as they do other circumstances as they have so many other options that if they do want to strengthen them it would be **through a desire not a need.**

Feedback from presentations:
-won't build upwards
-nulico links are already there
-already have strong savings
-limited space
-**they will take up sms**

From the timeline on Charonchai Nimitmai Leader: Problems with this site: applied for codi fund at district level-communities still didn't understand so did not join as no threat was seen-they need understanding and communication.
Problems with other sites according to him:
They are on the right track but need communication and involvement of all. They need to see one project

implemented to believe it-**see is believing.** There are too many internal groups and politics.
He used NULICO to meet people and discuss and understand.
THEIR ASPIRATIONS ARE COLLECTIVE.

What is the added value of CODI given they are easily accessing other funds?
Engagement, tailored for them, value-self reliance, place attachment, pride, developed relationships (bring people together, family), prove to gov they can do it and hope.

They connect with the 4 regions-go to protests with them-get personal connections-the miniters.
It seems housing is a stepping stone
Learnt the word **MuBaan** which means a group of houses-they refer to themselves as this rather than community which is a word given by the Government.
"CODI architects are like teachers more than architects"- Nicha-would like a dvd made so that it saves time.
They hedge funds-spread the risk over a portfolio given the time factor= trade-offs + bridging= CDFs.

Chatuchak has the only pilot project Chareonchai Nimitmai to have finished repayment but are unfortunately under threat again. Lessons:
Under what conditions were they able to achieve success:
1. Private land owners sold to them at 1/3 of market price
2. Government reduced tax by 90%
3. CODI gave a loan
4. Personal relationships

They utilised networks and the generosity of people.
They were exposed to CODI by the Canadian NGO
A cooperative to apply-this brings other benefits they got 5000 baht
The leader here is dominant and is part of NULICO and sits on various committees-people from other communities come to him to network.
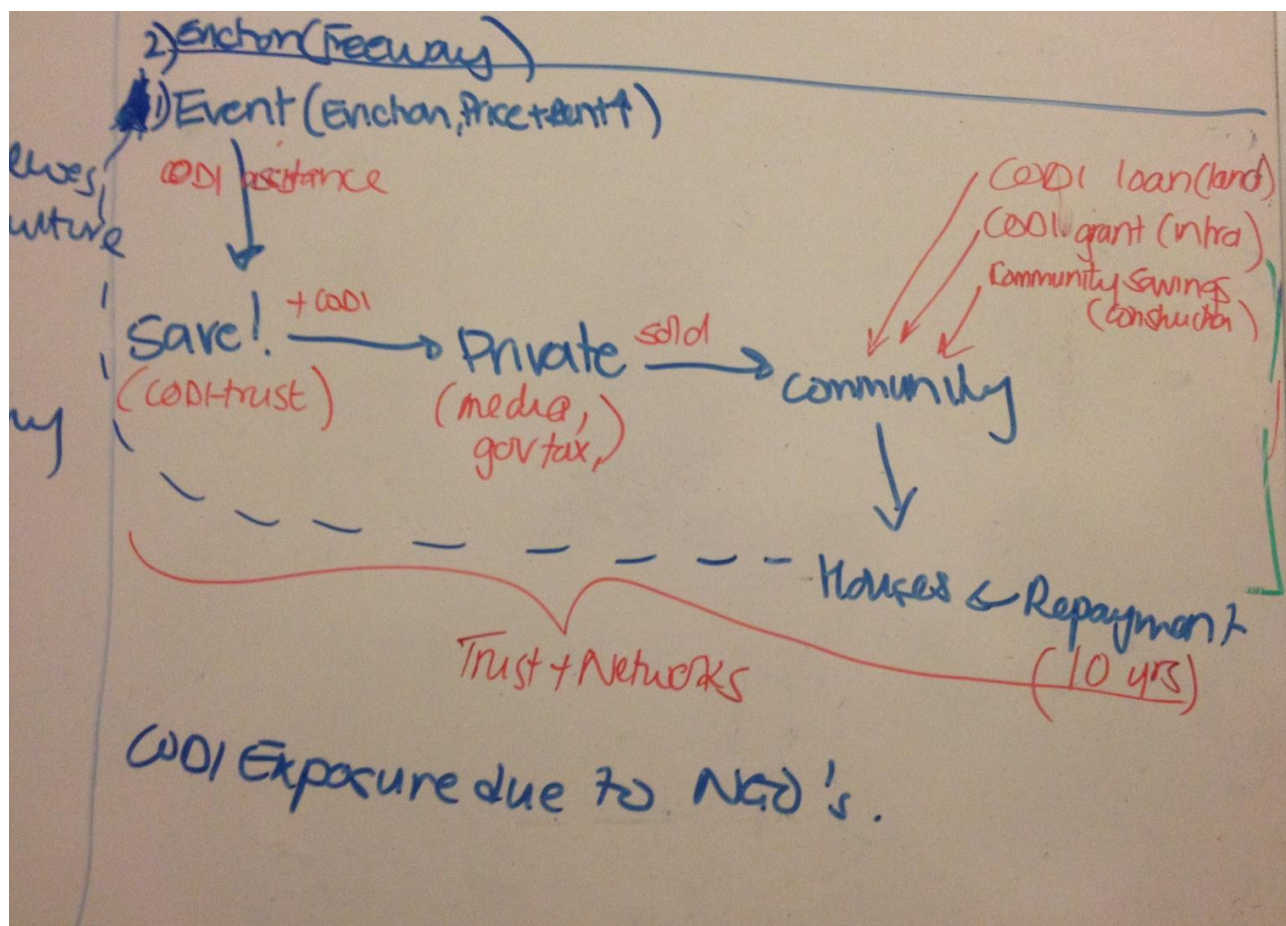
Gaps towards strategy:

1. **accessibility**-power of the leaders were strong, lack of awareness of program, seeing is believing
2. **design**-built environment- public spaces were collective aspirations/ some wanted doors on 2nd floor(live with floods) and wanted shops in design plans (livelihoods) and ponds (livelihoods).
3. **community planning**-they accessed various funds however stayed with BM due to added value but always saw house as a stepping stone
4. **enhance network and public learning**- CODI architect feels more like a teacher-wastes time and limits participatory process/ leaders are the only ones going to visit other sites and community only see others once a year at a fair/ some communities

Basic Information

Community Name:
Wangthonglang District
1. Thep-lila
2. Sapsin-Kao
3. Rungmaneepattana
4. Ruamsamakee
5. Nomklao
6. Kaopattana
7. Sapsin-Mai

Community Size:
(Number of households)
1. Thep-lila (175)
2. Sapsin-Kao (550)
3. Rungmaneepattana (412)
4. Ruamsamakee (126)
5. Nomklao (245)
6. Kaopattana (31)
7. Sapsin-Mai (405)

Date joined programme:
1. Thep-lila (2010)
2. Sapsin-Kao (2009)
3. Rungmaneepattana (2006)
4. Ruamsamakee (2004)
5. Nomklao
6. Kaopattana (2003)
7. Sapsin-Mai (2004-05)

Phase of programme:
1. Thep-lila (Savings and planning phase)
2. Sapsin-Kao (introductory process and community surveys, steering/taskforce setting)
3. Rungmaneepattana (Upgrading)
4. Ruamsamakee (finished 2012)
5. Nomklao (Upgrading)
6. Kaopattana (completed in 2007)
7. Sapsin-Mai (developing the savings group and

Community Location:
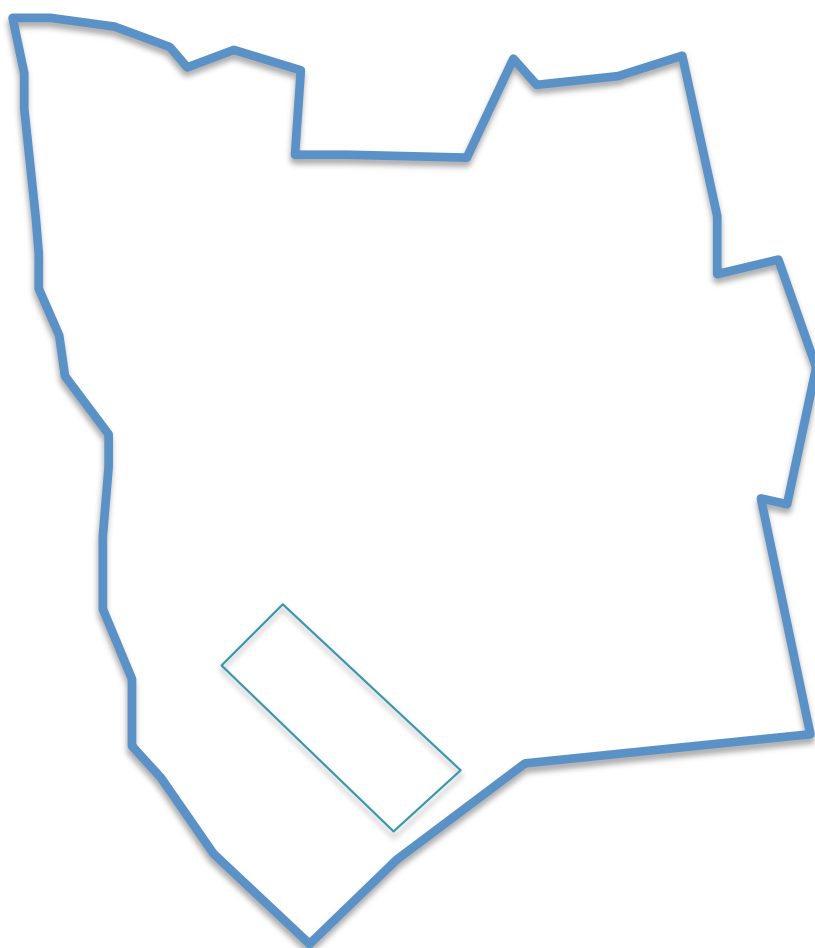
housing development
planning process)

Participants in Research

- **Community Leaders, various men, women and children (all sites)**
- **Focus Group Discussions with elderly women (Thep-lila), men and women (all sites)**
- **CPB officer**
- **CPB engineer**
- **BMA officers**

Key Observations (tagged by source if possible)

Land and housing:

- Land sharing is a prominent feature despite struggles between choosing of site upgrading vs. re-blocking.
- The Crown Property Bureau determines terms of spatial design, housing and layout. Communities lack ability to negotiate housing typologies or land arrangement beyond these terms
- Communities able to make the trade-off in favour of re-blocking are able to secure tenure more quickly. Tenure agreements are standard (15 years)
- Consideration is made for temporary housing or rent subsidy for those communities and households under-going reconstruction, despite the poor quality. Waiting periods for new housing can be anywhere between six months and three years
- Evidence of mixed use,

Relationships:

- The formation of savings groups brings out many political differences within communities and households. This process confronts those differences during the long negotiation period over finance, land and housing. Savings groups appear to have a limited lifespan before they become a burden, this appears to be close the point when upgrading and construction has finished which is towards the end of the project cycle. Unless savings groups readjust savings goals, it is only natural for groups to fragment or disband
- Networking across sites appears to occur through regular community leader meetings, although it is unclear of the purpose of these meetings. It appears those communities most organised are driving this process - Rungmaneepattana and Nomklao
- There appears to be a lack of involvement from NULICO, community architects and NGOs

low density and rental housing in various sites	across all communities. However the BMA are actively involved with some communities through registration, planning, budgeting and funding allocation – this process is still in its infancy • The CPB have clear vision for land development and largely in control of this process which may deter the involvement of other actors
Finance: • Baan Mankong is predominantly seen as a financial program for housing and infrastructure. Some communities have used loans for housing alone whilst other for urban infrastructure upgrades or both. • Savings groups have potential to unify and divide communities. Transition from survival to daily savings requires long-term personal and financial commitment, making the decision to join a difficult one for households in communities with limited savings options. Some communities have diversified savings options to reduce the risk of losing households and encouraging others to join. However the pressures to save is partly driven by construction dates set out through the negotiation process • Communities who have reached completion of construction have shown that savings groups can fragment into household-	**City Scale**: • The district level committee still lacks commitment from the seven communities. It was highlighted that community politics and processes took a lot of time away from district level planning. The motivation to complete upgrading was far greater than the motivation to coordinate and enhance connections between sites. • There is potential for the community development fund to emerge if the district coordination and community level upgrading can gain enough momentum. • The responsibility of savings groups to lead community mobilisation processes can initially limit planning to finance and housing at the micro household level. This inturn affects potential for planning mechanisms to scale-up to district and city scale. The most active community leaders have been able to mobilise community leadership and enable collective thinking across different sectoral needs, e.g Rungmaneepattana and Nomklao, however this is not a model that can be easily replicated without support and capacity building.

- to-household management.
- Savings groups have the potential to strengthen networks and catalyse further funding acquisition
- The BMA are now offering registered communities

Material Improvement:	Empowerment:
Issue: Difficulty in paying loan because of small number of people (Kao Pattana) **Recommendations**: Maximise the use of space within the community to stimulate income-earning activities such as urban agriculture in order to diversify economy. In addition, saving group can be diversified to fund livelihood economic activities. **All communities would benefit from introducing upgrading or mixed upgrading and re-blocking schemes as an option to CPB owned land. Also include mixed typologies for increased density that connects livelihoods and networks together (using incremental and participatory design techniques). Introduce community architects, landscape architects from the beginning to help communities rethink housing design, public space and neighbourhood layout.**	**Issue**: Nomkhlao presents a good example (precedent setting) of financial alternatives that can be filtered up into district financing (CDF), however, they should leverage this position to influence district planning. This would provide more flexibility in the upgrading process and independence in the overall development and district development. **Advice**: Nomkhlao become a centre of learning (finance) for other communities in the district and beyond. Creating a space of interaction and stimulation. **Incentives that can encourage empowerment exist by enabling each CDF to accumulate funds from various sources outside of savings groups and CODI. Integrate mobilised communities into district planning and budgeting to access 1,000,000 Baht fund from BMA for registered communities. Utilise funds to support community-learning centres (e.g. Nomklao and Rungmanee Pattana). This can also include various private and major donors, foundations and trusts. CDF's must strengthen organisational capacity to attract donor funds and organisations like NULICO could provide capacity building support and mentoring to CDF's endeavouring to do so.** **Communication can be improved by allowing new communities to understand the process from start to finish. Develop mainstream publications and mechanisms to update community groups and members regularly on CODI standards..e.g newsletters, social media, sms / text messaging.**

Synergies:

Issue: Rugmaneepattana presents a good example (precedent setting) of financial mechanisms (savings and funding acquisition) that can be created in the district, however this can be leveraged at the district level. This would provide more flexibility and independence in the process of development.

Recommendations:
Rungmaneepattana become a centre of learning (finance) for other communities in the district and beyond. Creating a space of interaction and stimulation.
Learning Centre Potential
- Education and Literacy (formal / non-formal) - Promotion of lifelong learning
- Finance Management and Acquisition
- Planning and participatory budgeting
- Income generation programme and skills training
- Health and sanitation, health promotion programme
- Environment conservation training
- Enhance the local wisdom and work with the older persons

Issue: Fragmentation of saving groups into households (Ruamsamakee)

Recommendations: To identify the new development needs in the community as a new cycle. Planning, budgeting and creating new synergies, which reinvigorates community mobilisation across different and individual interests at community scale, that can feed into district scale.

All communities undergoing upgrading and negotiation would benefit from Enhancing networks by approaching local universities to conduct community architecture studio projects in Wongthanglang

Room to Manoeuvre:

Issue: Process of consensus building has revealed some division between the community regarding savings groups, capital and asset

Recommendations: Thep-lila could benefit from diversifying their savings plan options to create additional financial support and mitigate risk of losing savings group members. Examples could include welfare, livelihood and community development funds similar to Nomkhlao and Rungmanee Pattana communities. The aim for this is to create more benefits and incentives for individuals to join and stay in saving groups, but also diversified funding can unify fragmented sections in the community.

and other sites. CODI to invite community architects networks to work with communities on government owned land. All communities would benefit from Revisit savings group model to ensure it reflects the needs of heterogeneous communities. Create new synergies and commonalities between migrants and permanent residents prior to inception and through the process of upgrading by increasing interaction of migrants and other vulnerable group through savings groups and other social welfare mechanisms. Finally create new synergies with NGO's and other agencies specialising in economic empowerment to work with most vulnerable communities. Provide targeted training and capacity building for various cross-sections in communities, e.g. women, men, young people to build economic base that can support savings groups and upgrading process over the long-term.	
Additional Information: e.g. Participatory Actor map image, community structure break down, savings group cost break down etc. again tagged by information source	

Picture above: Nomkhlao community focus group discussion - river of life exercise

Picture below: Thep-lila community focus group discussion with elderly women - river of life exercise

Basic Information

Community Name: LUNG TALAD KAO WAT PRA YA KRAI	**Community Location:** The community is located in Bangkorleam disrcit at central Bangkok.
Community Size: Phase 1: 80 household	
Date joined programme: 2007	
Phase of programme: Phase 1:After construction and loan repayment Phase: Before Baan Mankong	LUNG TALAD KAO WAT PRA YA KRAI
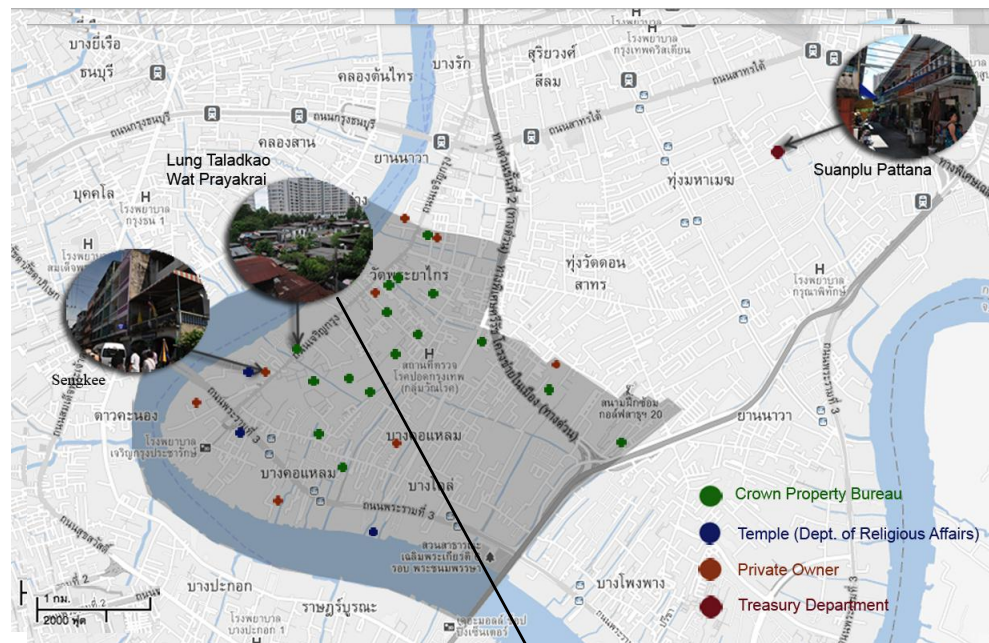
Participants in Research

This heading sounds a little clunky but essentially the idea is to indicate who we spoke with in our communities so we can tag our observations / information to a source.

C1: Community Leader and cooperative Committee Members

C2. 14 Community Members in all phases

C3. Representatives from CPB

Key Observations (tagged by source if possible)

Land and housing:

Land price is very high due to its central Bangkok location and density is the key issue of the area. Therefore the upgrading tends to be high rise and multi stories buildings rather than individual houses.

Relationships:

In phase 2,3 and 4, people tend to be isolated to each other, there is no any forms of saving groups or community organisations. And because of the control over housing typology design and harsh rule applied after the construction, CPB proved un popular in the community and people are hesitating to talk to them.

Finance:

In phase 1, the saving group is working well but in phase 2, 3 ,4, there is no intension for setting up saving groups. People are ether do not trust each other or financially unable to set up the saving group. Furthermore, people sees saving group as a way to agree the upgrading plan done by CPB (four stories flat).

City Scale:

Given to its central location, greater connectivity to wider city and close relationship with other BM communities in the district and neighbouring district. The programme has potential to scale up, however, the lack of the sense of community make it too early to say whether the programme can be operate at city scale or not.

Material Improvement:
Despite to the huge diversities in wealth and housing condition of the communities in phase2, 3 and4. The homogenises upgrading design may not suit everyone in the community and

Empowerment:
We got the impression, people are not empowered as it should be during the BM process in this community. This is largely due to the tight control of CPB over housing typology and layout.

the programme may not means material improvement for everyone in the community considering their existing housing condition is very good.

Synergies:
The community seems have close relationship and interaction with other BM communities in the district and neighbouring district, but only remains in the leadership level.

Room to Manoeuvre:

There is a need to foster community sense in order to achieve room for manoeuvre, the community need to get together as a cooperative thus to improve their negotiation power in any future circumstances related to upgrading.

Additional Information: e.g. Participatory Actor map image, community structure break down, savings group cost break down etc. again tagged by information source

Community members mapping their connection with wider city scale.
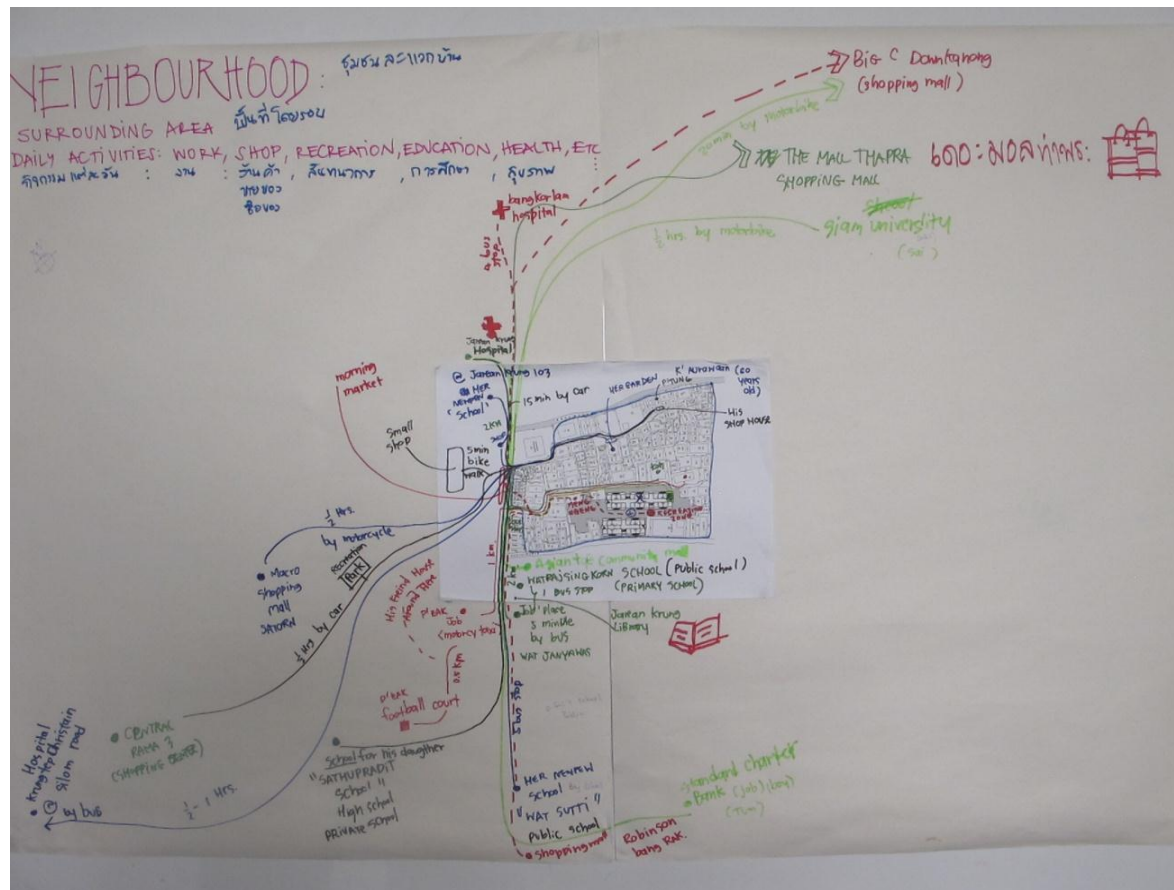
Basic Information

Community Name(s):	**Community Location:**

Kao Noi (Primary Community)

Baan Lern Rod Fai (Secondary Community)

Kao Noi Community is a unique relocation project comprised of members drawn from five existing low-income communities.

Kao Noi Community Location

Community Size:

Kao Noi = 304 households

Baan Lern Rod Fai = 60 savings group members

Date joined programme:

Both began the programme in 2009/10

Phase of programme:

Kao Noi Community = Entering construction phase

Baan Lern Rod Fai = Preliminary savings group formation / planning phase

Baan Lern Rod Fai Community are members of a pre-existing community dispersed by a previous eviction and planning to reconnect at a relocation site.

Baan Lern Rod Fai Community Location

Participants in Research

C1 = Kao Noi Community Leaders
C2 = Kao Noi Welfare Housing Residents
C3 = Baan Lern Rod Fai Community Leader
C4 = Baan Lern Rod Fai Community Members
C5 = Social Welfare Department Representatives
C6 = Civil Engineering Department Representative
C7 = Pattaya University Lecturer

Key Observations (tagged by source where possible)

Land and housing:

Pattaya's identification as a primary tourism centre for Thailand, which is reflected in the Mayoral global city vision, contributes to prohibitively high land values. Moreover, the fact that private ownership predominates the City's land market means that communities must source their land from open-market sources. **(C5)**

The fact that Kao Noi's community is comprised of individuals from five pre-existing communities, relocation was the only viable option for this composite community. This places an additional financial burden (see below), and also prohibits consideration of benefits attached to in-situ upgrading.   **(C1 & C3)**

Kao Noi's community savings group has developed a subsidisation mechanism to allow for the construction of fourteen (out of 304 total units) welfare houses.   **(C1 & C2)**

Interestingly Kao Noi community had already tackled the future concerning post-repayment ownership rights by agreeing to communal ownership forever.   **(C1)**

Baan Lern Rod Fai, who tasked our group with helping them develop a layout for their proposed relocation site, were struggling with meeting CODI / NULICO demand for considered public space and personal desire for 12 x 4m land plots (larger than Kao Noi community plots (10 x 4m).
(C3)

Relationships:

One of the most notable features of Kao Noi's Baan Mankong programme was the number of actors connected in supporting the community. The project emerged alongside the Mayor's fourteen policy programme (one of which targeted a solution to low income housing issues). Connecting with the 'cleaning' and 'greening' rhetoric of this strategic vision Pattaya University was engaged to conduct a city-wide survey of the poor (funded by the NHA) before offering solutions. So was born the Baan Mankong programme, with Kao Noi becoming the pilot project (singled out for special attention). **(C5 & C7)**

Kao Noi enjoys a uniquely close relationship with the City's Social Welfare Department who have been instrumental in offering support and training for the community leaders. Testimony to this relationship is the fact that the Kao Noi Savings Office is located within the Social Welfare Department (this symbolism is credited with instilling a confidence in the programme). Similarly the Mayor, before completing his term in office signed a Memorandum of Understanding guaranteeing the financial future of the programme, he has also spoken publicly in support of Baan Mankong as a mechanism for upgrading and was present at the *Holy Stone* ceremony (when the first stone of construction was laid). **(C5 & C1)**

Within the city as a whole Kao Noi has been singled out as the pilot project designed to set a precedent capable of inspiring numerous other programmes to develop. The community leaders have embraced there role as knowledge sharers to other communities. It is telling the Baan Lern Rod Fai's community leader was told, when approaching CODI and NULICO representatives for guidance, to consult with the community at Kao Noi first. **(C5, C3 & C1)**

Other relationships of note include the involvement of local business owners as outside consultants to the project. The head of Pattaya's Cultural Committee was responsible for providing hotel accommodation for us during our stay. **(C1 & C5)**

Finance:
Members of the Kao Noi savings group are responsible for contributing to two schemes on a monthly basis. The first, relating directly to Baan Mankong obligations entails 1,047 baht for land, 1,318 baht for housing and 100 baht contingency. The second, relating to welfare and other initiatives, involves 30 baht for Community welfare, 30 baht for City welfare scheme, 50 baht administration and 30 baht for a savings group share. In total, each member is responsible for 2,605 baht (c.£52) per month (for the fifteen year duration of the loan). Additional savings options included a 100 baht per month optional disaster insurance policy.   **(C1)**

Kao Noi community were in the unique position of having received both the CODI infrastructure subsidy of 50,000 baht per household and a 7million baht infrastructure grant from Pattaya Municipal Authority necessary to secure water and electricity service to the previously disconnected site. This dual funding source generated a surplus (provision cost between 6.5 and 7 million baht) which the community was permitted to keep as a self-managed contingency fund and safeguard against fluctuations in monthly rates.   **(C5)**

Both communities explained the additional financial burden represented by relocation projects as, prior to the completion of project, they were additionally responsible for private rental contributions in the region of 6-800 baht per month.   **(C5 & C4)**

Pattaya's economy, based as it is on seasonal tourism, produces significant season variation in income. This poses a unique challenge to regular payment obligations only partially mitigated by a flexible collection system with two monthly times. Although community members were encouraged to save more than the minimum each month there was no capacity to allow overpayments in high season to be correlated with a lower rate during low season.   **(C7, C1, C3 & C5)**

The financial burden was cited as a primary reason why Baan Lern Rod Fai community had suffered frequent collapse of savings group membership.
(C3 & C4)

City Scale:
Given the relatively compact scale of Pattaya it is relatively easy for the programme to operate at city scale. Certainly, as the mapped location shows the communities connected through Kao Noi's relocation project are situated across the city, and the community at Kao Noi enjoy direct relationships with city level officials.

(C5, C3 & C1)

Moreover, given the privileged position given to Baan Mankong within one of the city's strategic policies, it is clearly articulating at a city scale, questions remain over how to increase uptake / inclusivity in / of the programme.

(C7 & C5)

One concerning occurrence was that the Social Welfare Department hinted towards a *coupling* of welfare initiatives to Baan Mankong communities due to ease of communication (In particular they referenced the 30baht per month healthcare programme). At a time when the programme is yet to reach 100% inclusivity this could precipitate the marginalisation of the marginal.

Note: Given the early stage of Baan Mankong in Pattaya it is too early to see the emergence of cross-city community networks beyond the immediate awareness raising undertaken by Kao Noi's community leaders.

Material Improvement:	Empowerment:
As evidenced in the case of Kao Noi, the programme has vast potential to deliver material improvement in terms of living condition. However, the programmes capacity for delivering livelihood strengthening again relies on ideas generated from within the community themselves (whilst Kao Noi has ambition to create a training centre, brick manufacturing and recycling plant, it is not inherent to the programme). **(C1)**	One of my chief concerns regarding the programmes operation in Pattaya was the extent to which the mission of self empowerment was becoming subverted by the prevalent role in external actors. Certainly, in the case of Kao Noi the community leaders have very close bonds with the city's authorities raising the question as to whether the programme has been artificially accelerated at the expense of valuable, if time consuming, experience crucial to self-empowerment. Moreover, one has to question the replicability of this model should the programme reach multi-project / city scale. Moreover, one has to question whether the community *togetherness* so crucial for the programmes ability to transform more than just housing is weakened by external hand holding. In the case of Baan Lern Rod Fai the community has consistently struggled to mobilise sufficient social organisation to access the programme. This has recently changed due to the emergence of a community leader from outside of the original community. A former university lecturer, recently straightened by divorce, has sought to provide a 'clear vision' to the community as on outsider. Moreover, unlike Kao Noi, the structure of her savings group does not include provision to limit the term of leadership, centralising the potential empowerment to a narrow cohort of members. **(C3 & C4)** With regards inclusivity, the programme does not appear currently suitable to the city's population of migrant workers, moreover the programmes cost inhibits the poorest of the poor to engage. Kao Noi developed a subsidisation model to fund 14 welfare houses that has the potential to address this concern if adapted. **(C1 & C2)**

Synergies:
The case of Kao Noi opens up the question of whether building productive synergies directly between City Authorities and communities can accelerate the process through instilling a sense of authority necessary to build trust in savings projects; influence negotiations and coordinate infrastructure delivery. However the question remains whether such benefits necessarily trade-off against empowerment.

Room to Manoeuvre:
The most difficult of our criteria to measure on a case by case basis. One could argue that the programme in Pattaya opened up a Room to Manoeuvre within the City Authority Office with communities enjoying direct formal and informal relations with officials. The question remains whether this platform can be adapted to deliver transformation beyond that officially sanctioned as part of a broader strategic plan. To quote Miraftab (2009), to move from an *invited* to *invented* space.

Strategies for scaling up:

1. Reframe the challenge of fractured communities as an opportunity to maximise the potential of existing social ties between Kao Noi and its five source communities as a mechanism for delivering awareness of the programme.

2. Think on the possibility of replicating the cross-subsidisation model used to fund welfare housing in Kao Noi to incorporate secure rental options.

3. Initiate a financial package responsive to seasonal wage fluctuations.

Additional Information: e.g. Participatory Actor map image, community structure break down, savings group cost break down etc. again tagged by information source

Participatory Actor Map: Conducted with Community Leader (C3)

Baan Lern Rod Fai

Key:

Red line = Negative Connection

Blue line = Positive Connection

Dark Blue Line = Facilitate Positive Connection

Green Dotted Line = Desired Future Connections

Line Thickness = Denotes Strength of Relationship
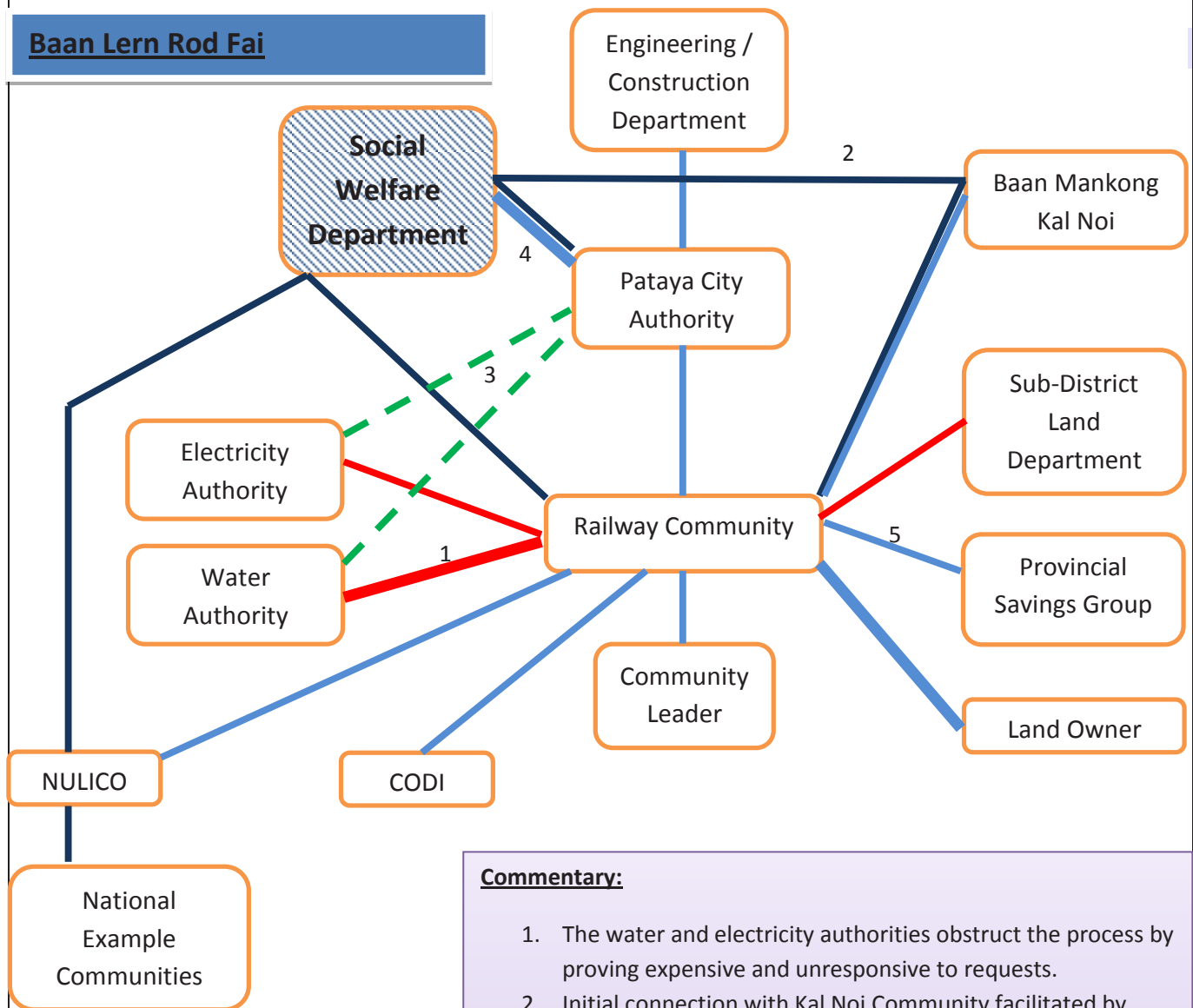
Commentary:

1. The water and electricity authorities obstruct the process by proving expensive and unresponsive to requests.
2. Initial connection with Kal Noi Community facilitated by Social Welfare Department.
3. It is hoped that the Local Authority could exert pressure upon the water and electricity board on behalf of the community.
4. Support from the Social Welfare Department is identified as the most important in the whole process.
5. Offers training on Social Organisation. Future hope for additional loan source.

Note: *Only community leader able to answer questions on external actors indicating centralised structure of community. Also, she felt that only these actors were relevant as higher tiers were not responsible. Also NULICO have instructed them to ask advice from Kal Noi before approaching them directly.*

Participatory Actor Map conducted with community leadership group (C1)

Kao Noi Community
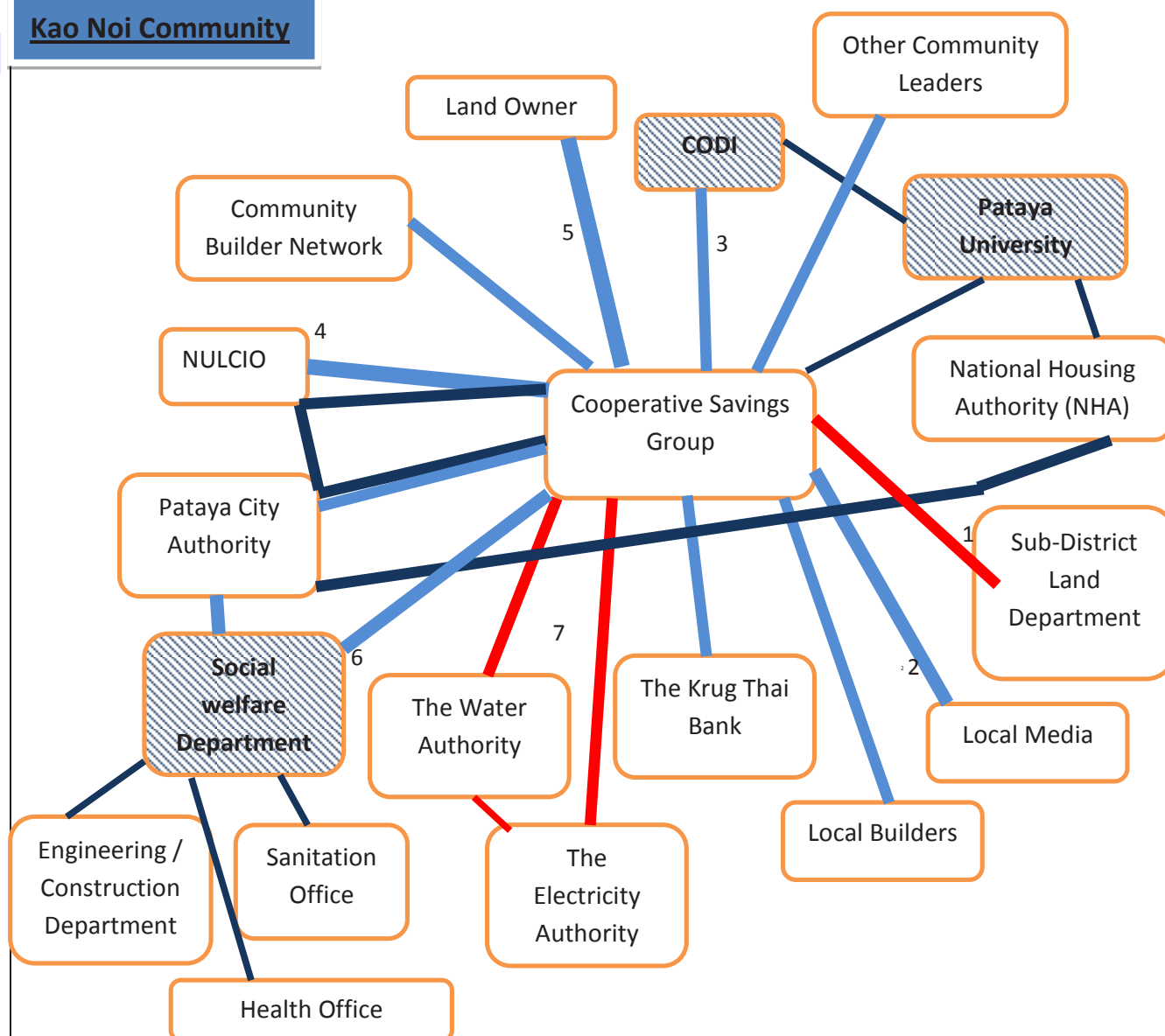
Commentary   **(key as above)**

1. Sub-District Land Department were not aware of the notion of Collective Ownership, bringing them to understand was time consuming.
2. Media-Interest supported due to general interest in community projects and that one community member works for the local paper.
3. Difficult to establish relationship with CODI due to conditionality of lending (2 year process)
4. NULICO important for training savings group. Initially this relationship was facilitated by the City Authority
5. Relationship with landowner key to acquiring sufficient land on budget. Also he transferred the land deed in advance of payment to speed the process.
6. Social Welfare Department play a key role in allowing the Savings Group to benefit from symbolic authority of having an office in City Hall, facilitating and financing transport to meetings, venue hire etc. Also an valuable source of support and advice.

Kao Noi Community Savings Group Structure: Information gathered from C1

Community Leader

Community Vice-Leader　　**Community Vice-Leader**

Community Secretary　　**Community Accountant**

Member 1　Member 2　Member 3　Member 4　Member 5　Member 6　Member 7　Member 8　Member 9
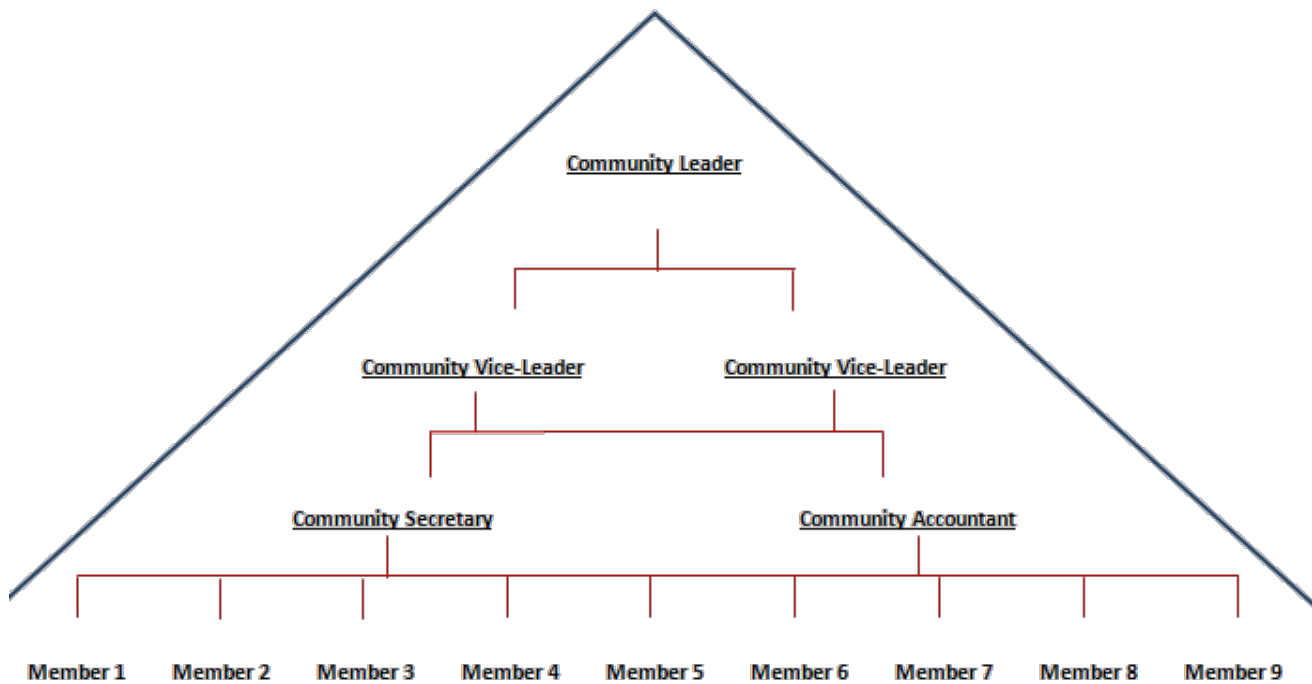
Notes:

- The Community is further divided into 22 sub-groups each responsible for collecting contributions

    o Each sub-group appoints 1 president (responsible for communicating with the committee) and 1 Leader (responsible for organising collections within the sub-group). The difference is similar to a Club Captain and On-Pitch Captain in Football.

- The Committee is elected annually by the 307 cooperative members (304 households, 3 external).

    o The vote is cast by the head of household (can be male or female, and is transferable to husband/wife/children if nominal head is unavailable)
    o Only one condition exists excluding those over 55 years of age from heading a household (this was decided to prevent risk of members dying before repayment is complete – average age in Thailand is around 70 years)
    o No individual can serve for more than two consecutive terms, but after standing down for 1 year they may run for re-election
    o In the interest of continuity, only 50% of the committee can change at any one election.

- The Committee meet monthly.

Baan Lern Rod Fai Community Savings Group Structure: Information gathered from C3

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                      ┌──────────────┐              ┌──────────────┐
                      │    Leader    │              │  Consultant  │
                      └──────┬───────┘              └──────────────┘
            ┌────────────────┴────────────────┐
     ┌──────┴───────┐                   ┌──────┴───────┐
     │  Vice-leader │                   │  Vice-leader │
     └──────┬───────┘                   └──────────────┘
   ┌────┬───┴──┬──────┬──────────┐
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Secretary	Accountant	Saving collector	Financial monitoring member	6 sub-group coordinators
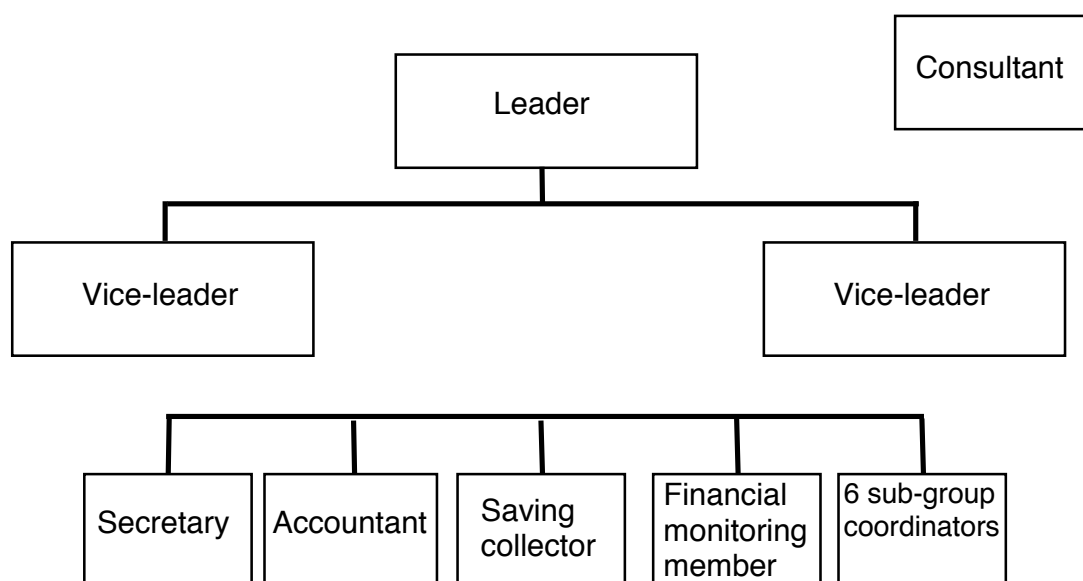
Notes:

1. Consultant is the land owner of existing community site;

2. The leader of the savings group - Ajarn-Pu (Professor Pu) is a retired university lecturer. She is currently also a freelance researcher. The secretary is her research assistant.

3. There are 6 sub groups, 5 groups have 10 members each, 1 group has 13 members;

3. Before Ajarn-Pu, there were 2 saving group leaders. The Baan Man Kong program was substantially pushed forward when Ajarn-Pu became the leader;

4. Usually, the leader of the saving group committee select candidates for this working group. Community members vote and decide;

5. Ajarn-Pu and her secretary became aware of Baan Mankong programme from Community TV Channel promoting Kao Noi. After the saving group was set up, committee members promote BMK program among people with microphone in public space. People who are interested in BMK program come and sign an application. People also get information via their neighbours;

6. Households of Railway Community lived together previously but because of forced eviction, one integrated community was separated and scattered in several different sites. People of the community still have strong sense of as a whole community. 63 of the community members has joined BMK program. They will move together to the new site

River of Life Exercise: Baan Lern Rod Fai: Information provided by C4:

Past

The railway community formed in 2005, problems started to arise in 2006. The owner wanted to use land for apartment.

They were evicted 2 years later.

2006:started looking for a house to rent.

The price of rent was very high, electricity very high, also water and deposit very expensive.

If Baan Mankong project is started, the living expenses decreased & I get to help my family

Present

In our lives through so many hardships, we begin to find happiness of our own

When we have the BM project we start having hope. The living expense we pay start to decrease and we get our dream house.

Increased rent from 2000 baht to 4000 baht.

We think that in this life we will need only happiness forever in this BM community.

BM made the dream for people with loads of opportunity became true. Everybody has been reading for this opportunity for their whole lives. Thank you BM.

Future

In the future, we want to have a house of our own that is not expensive.
The expenses that will decrease when we are more unified.

At first we were scattered around...

now we are together.

Future Dreams

It would be nice to have a vegetable garden

I want my children to have a place to play

Design for extension

I want an organic vegetable garden!

SPACE

I want more than one bedroom (5-6 ft) to have space for walking

I want a one-story house with motorcycle parking and fresh air

Room for an altar

Room for books and Buddha

A place to sit and have time for leisure

We want a house that belongs to the family so we could be a happy warm family with unity

The unity in our group

Somewhere to plan community activities for the future

UNITY

To live with unity, free and safe from drugs.

Having our own savings group office and small convenient store

I want to have a house of my own, water and electricity for cheap, less living expenses, and become a community without drugs

In the selling space, we want the price of land fair enough not too high or too low.

I want everyone to be able to participate in our savings groups

SECURITY

Want to own a house, a place that we can make a living unlike our current difficult situation

River of Life Exercise: Kao Noi Community: Information provided by C1

Past | Present | Future

Past

Pattaya City Community supported by university researchers

Baan Mankong: opportunity for security

FIRE

EVICTION

LIMITED AVAILABILITY OF LAND

Squatter renters

Overcrowdedness, poor living conditions – lack of standardized condition

Koi Noi (community 1): increase in rent, no infrastructure and facilities from Govt – provided by landowner

Political will of mayor outlining 14 programmes

Community 3: squatting on beachfront with expansion of families - overcrowdedness

Community 2: expansion of families, lack of security for future generations

Community 5: expensive land, forced eviction to promote new developments with bulldozers

Community 4: EVICTION

Present

5 community representatives and 1 leader (AOR) to form a committee

Extreme poverty and lack of trust in Baan Mankong

20% of people withdraw

Diverse conditions of slum dwellers, migrants can return home

Not everyone joined

WORKING GROUPS TO SOLVE PROBLEMS

Renting houses parallel to savings groups is a financial burden

PATIENC

DIFFICULTY IN ACQUIRING LAND

Savings groups + welfare subsidies = supporting livelihoods = FRIENDSHIP

Landowner reduced price of land from 70 million to 42 million – built a Buddha with profit

HOLY STONE FOR HOPE AND CONFIDENCE

Future

Pilot project will prove Baan Mankong

Self-organization and governance

NO DRUGS

Livelihoods' group to provide support (ex: employment…)

Ambition to be a prototype

COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP FOREVER!

Collective Title Deed: Can only sell to cooperative

Credit for the collation and production of all additional information must be shared by the whole of Site Group 4 (including facilitators, Thai students and ACHR architects)

Basic Information

Community Name:
Bang Prong 1 (Ruamjai Patthana)
Bang Prong 2 (Tarnthip)

While there are 25 Baan Mankong communities in Samut Prakarn – of which we visited also Klong Takok, Sang-ton-ang, Nang-nuan Pattana (all three in Bangpoo City), and (Ruamjai Pattana) Rachatava (in Prea-ka-sa Mai City) – Bang Prong has 'only' two Baan Mankong communities so far.

Community Size:

Bang Prong 1: 112 households

Bang Prong 2: 84 households

Date joined programme:

Bang Prong 1: 2005
Bang Prong 2: 2008

Phase of programme:

Bang Prong 1 is fully constructed and currently in the repayment phase. Networking beyond upgrading – and interest in such – is limited to very few people.

Community Location:
The 2 communities of main focus are both in *Bang Prong City* (Thai: Tambon Bang Prong), which is one of 13 sub-district of the district Mueang, which is one of six districts in the province of Samut Prakarn.
Mueang's, and also Bang Prong's, western boundary is a major transportation river that connects the Thai gulf with Bangkok. Along this river are numerous (several hundred, maybe thousands) factories (Thai and international) which is why temporary migration is a particularly important notion in this area. North of Bang Prong is the southern part of the circle highway that leads around Bangkok.
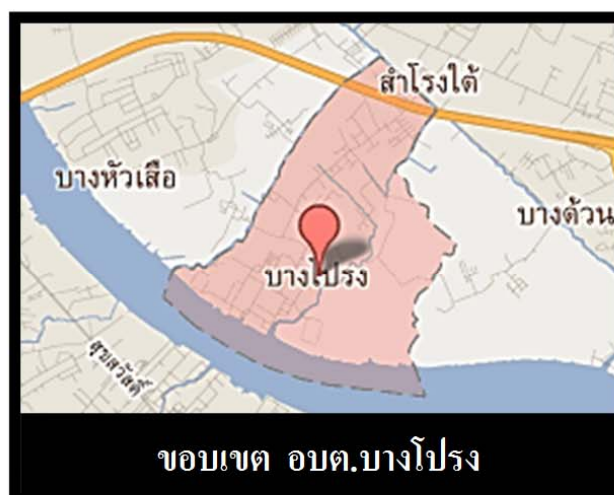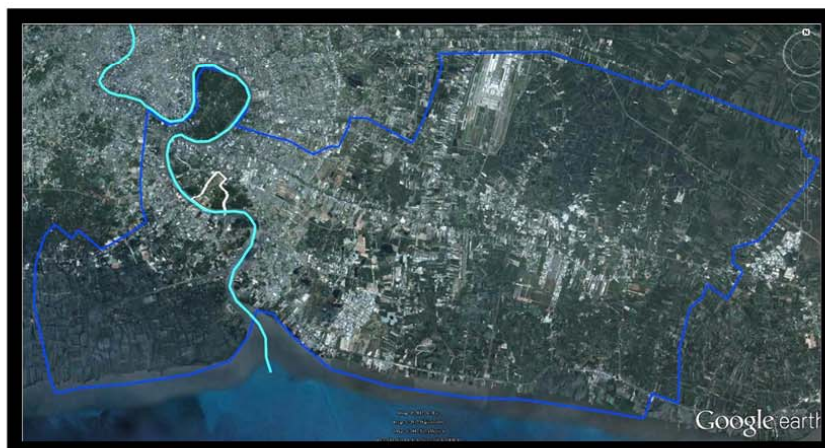
Participants in Research

This heading sounds a little clunky but essentially the idea is to indicate who we spoke with in our communities so we can tag our observations / information to a source.

In Bang Prong we were largely confined to the following information sources:

C1: Ex-community Leader of Bang Prong 1 and 2 sub-group representatives of Bang Prong 2 for all five days.

C2. Community leader of Bang Prong 2 for a c. one-hour interview.

C3. About 6 adult and 1 youth community members of Bang Prong 1 in small-group exercises (scale-mapping and timeline)

C4. About 7 children of Bang Prong 1 drawing their dream green space.

C5. Bang Prong City Governor for a c. two-hour interview and for our on-site presentation.

C6. 1 Muebaan/ village leader couple in a spontaneous interview.

C7. About 15 informal renters in Bang Prong that have not joint Baan Mankong in spontaneous interviews.

C8. One informal resident landlord in Bang Prong in a spontaneous interview.

C9. The former land owner of Bang Prong 2 and a neighbouring land owner in spontaneous interviews.

C10. 1 Baan Mankong community leader and the leader of a co-habiting community that is not associated with Baan Mankong or NULICO but linked to the 4 regions slum network in (Ruamjai Pattana) Rachatava in a c. one-hour interview.

C11. Community leader and one member of Klong Takok in a c. one-hour interview.

C12. Community leader, who is active member of the community builder network, of Sang-ton-ang in a c. one-hour interview.

C13. Community leader of Nang-nuan Pattana in a c. one-hour interview.

Key Observations (tagged by source if possible)

Land and housing:
Land condition:
The land is mainly wet land. Any building and construction thus requires land filling first. This price factor makes development more difficult (also public space development).
Land use:
Historically: Until 40 years ago, when the first factory (public electricity) came, this area has been used agriculturally, for fish and coconut farming. The factories brought two major changes to the area's lifestyle: pollution and workers. While pollution made agriculture difficult (dying plants etc.), workers needed accommodation. Thus, many farmers turned to renting out their land.
Currently: The central government and the province of Samut Prakarn have re-zoned the area from industrial to residential (yellow to red colour). Factories have to move to other places now. Part of this process is apparently a new factory law (or maybe rather the new implementation of an older law) with which factories without licenses can be forced to shut down.
We think this re-zoning/colouring can be understood in terms of Bangkok's economic growth and the sprawl of higher income groups. The latter is an assumption but is based on our experience of the private housing development we have visited together and adverts of similar and higher income homes along the highway to this area. Furthermore, the:
Neighbouring sub-district at the gulf (Bang Poo): is designed as new tourism centre. Major development here is the extension of a road/construction of a new (Paris-style) highway, which is connecting the area to the airport. It caused a series of evictions, making (some, not all) squatters along the road join Baan Mankong. The highway leads to land price increases which causes speculation, interestingly also by one of the BM communities which considers the extension of other services to their (and neighbouring) yet un-serviced land as a factor of increasing house prices (which it already observes).
Future Vision by some: returning to agriculture – hard to judge its potential (idea behind it: 'markets are now coming to you, you don't need to go to them')
Ownership patterns (in Bang Prong):
Land in this district is mainly owned by factories and private landlords. Historically considered, these land plots have been continuously subdivided among descendants within families so that many small land plots are connected through 'siblingship'. Informal settlements develop on private land plots. The owners are usually resident themselves; they rent out land plots, houses or rooms, and usually it is a mix of

Relationships:
Within the communities:
Among people of Bang Prong (whether BM members or not), there reigns a mentality that holds that people must **'be ready'** in order to be able to join Baan Mankong. Being ready is mainly referred to the ability of paying the regular fee. That many people are not able to pay the high amount of 2000 Baht seems to be accepted by all (also those who are not able to pay), it is not questioned or judged as unfair/exclusionary.
This is linked to the idea that another BM process open to everyone who can pay will start at some point. Here, the idea of a demand-led process with self-organisation seems to be confused. Baan Mankong is considered to be a project that someone organises and in which one can **join in**. So, people are currently waiting for the next process to start.
This seems to be fundamentally linked with the fact that BM has at first been promoted/ initiated, e.g. through radio, by local authorities.
Another potential reason for why leaving some behind is not considered bad might be that living conditions are not horrendous in the original settlements (sometimes comparable to BM).
It seems that the effect of this selective joining of BM is somewhat a sieving out of the wealthier ones of the original settlements who are left behind with the less wealthy ones, which might even worsen their situation.
While welfare is like usually a part of BM and supporting members of the new communities, a woman that gave birth during the initial savings period and was consequently not able to pay 2000 B anymore had to resign, the community did not step in.
Organisation within
Engagement into community development has been limited to only a few from the beginning. We consider this to be part of the explanation for the current leadership problem. As CODI has the rule that leadership needs to rotate, there is currently no one there who knows about the previous process who could take over. Thus, for instance, the current leader is merely focusing on savings and repayment and not on community development.
To Local authorities
The relationship to the **Bang Prong governor** is of crucial importance. He is extraordinarily supportive, but seems also to be quite dominant on what people think.
In a way, the BM ideal expects communities to grow together and when they 'are ready' to start approach the local government. Here, the local government was prime actor from the beginning, maybe a bit too powerful.
The current governor is pro-participation and people

these 3 options. The rent prices vary accordingly, but also depend on the length/time that a household has stayed on the land.

Pressure on land:

It is interesting to observe that while the lifestyle has changed dramatically over 40 years, development is perceived to take place only slowly in this area. Many informally living people seem to have a perception of secure tenure. Evictions take place only on a very small scale, i.e. households level, if a landlord (themselves most likely not rich) has saved enough money to develop part of their land for higher return renting or if he/she want to sell it on. There are no mass evictions taking place which might impact on the need perceived for organisation.

Capital creation for these landlords comes from renting. Currently, big plans of development seem out of scope for them, but considering our understanding of the potential future (long-term) development of increasing land pressure, this 'balance' could shift. Related to the small scale evictions and manifold renting system, Baan Mankong takes on an unusual form. Supported greatly, and also initiated, by local authorities, people from different settlements join together for secure housing.

The, generally, relative ease of living/ the non-pressure/the existence of renting alternatives, however, makes Baan Mankong less interesting for many people, as it is not a necessity for survival. Several informal households (especially those who have lived for longer in this area) pay less in a year than BM's minimum of a monthly saving (2000 Baht). In contrast, BM seems to be a way into the 'working aristocracy' for those who can afford regular savings and who desire permanent residence and ownership.

BM land acquisition strategy:

Given the unusual character of BM in Bang Prong, i.e. members come from different parts of the district, relocation is a must. Land acquisition of/for both communities has been very clever. They bought landlocked plots (obviously cheaper) which was *only possible because of the support of the governor* who not only helped in negotiating for a cheap price but also promised to build a road for access without which the plan would not have been accepted by CODI. Negotiating with the landowner in the case of BP2, has been facilitated by personal relationships to the landowner (the community leader is s relative). Furthermore, land for the road had to be negotiated from other land owners (relatives of the main land owner), but was possible. In fact, one of them is building a car park now on his land so that community member can rent parking space, which is already happening in Bang Prong 1 (500 Baht a month!). This means that a) negotiations can happen (personal relationships) and b) land owners gain from Baan Mankong as their *land price increases,*

mobilisation and actually complains that the people are not mobilising enough so that no change happens. He arranges public hearings in which people can express their concerns. He also welcomes proposals by people and would take them into consideration. In order to enable BM, he (or the predecessor) changed building regulations so that smaller houses/spaces between houses could be built.

To Muebaan/ village leaders: BP has 4 'villages' with own leaders. One we talked to was well informed and supportive of BM. Their land was very close to BP2. They meet regularly with other representatives of the Mueang district and are part of the Bang Prong CODI working mechanism.

To the land owners: personal relationships; negotiation can happen and has happened; BM community development is increasing the surrounding land's prices.

To networks

NULICO is present in these communities, several people are members. But NULICO is not as strongly present here as it seems to be in the city centre. Because of relatively big distances between different BM communities, communication is limited. Information/knowledge exchange happens only with a limited number of people of the community.

especially through the road, and some of them learn to make use of this new development. (Even though initially they needed to be convinced that there was no new slum built next to their door.)

BM housing: both relocation

Layout:

Very similar in both cases, i.e. 2 stories twin houses (the second took over the first's model).

Whereas usually deciding on housing and (re-)blocking is a fundamental part of BM for dialogue between members, it seems that BP2 has somewhat skipped this important process.

Furthermore, in BP2, the 'learning from other communities through NULICO' led the (constantly same) representatives to decide on one colour for all houses instead of difference in order to create uniformity.

In BP2 there is a common space that still needs to be designed/developed (our brief), but in addition houses have private space which differs according to irregular parcelling up of the (weirdly shaped) original land plot.

Both communities have fences and gates. (Already normalised in children's mind).

Children miss a playground.

BP1 has vegetable garden.

Construction:

In BP2 there are 2 community builders who take decisions; one of them is from BP1 and one from BP2. Other than that construction happens through external constructors (migrant workers).

Maintenance:

There is no collective maintenance.

BM land title: the vision for after repayment is without doubt private title (*ASAP repayment is main guiding principle of the whole project)

Sub-effect of this planning is that the current collective land tenure still implies different repayment instalments according to the size of the land that an individual household is allocated.

Finance:

Savings group
The *threshold* of the savings groups for both communities is 2000 Baht/month. Even though this is excluding many people, this amount has been set by the members of the community with the idea that through this there would be no sudden increase in the payment burden when repayment would start. Furthermore, it seems that the idea of *quick repayment* is more important than a flexibility that could accommodate people with less savings ability. Because of an incident of corruption and the tediousness of the process, the initial number of more than 500 joining households for Bang Prong 1, decreased to about 60 (the former savings coordinator stole 200.000 Baht).
While originally savings were first passed to a sub-group representative and then to the community savings coordinators, the corruption affair made them change this system so that now each household pays directly to the one savings collecting committee.
Bang Prong 1 has a children's savings group as well, which is used for children activities.

CDF
The two communities in Bang Prong have a common CDF, which is, according to CODI guidelines, about welfare and housing insurance.
Each member pays 30 Baht/month of which 20 are kept in the community and 10 go to the CDF. So far the CDF has not lent money to any person or group but hopes that once they have grown more they will be able to do that.

Public external funding
The local governor plays a very important role in the Baan Mankong process of Band Prong, as his funding for the road made the land acquisition possible. Besides the road, he is also committed to contribute to the development of the green space in Bang Prong 2, and he furthermore has a vision of urban agriculture in his district through which he wants to make people resilient to economic crisis and wants to bring people together.

City Scale:

Policies affecting the district
This small sub-district has been affected strongly by central government policies/zoning. The local authorities have hardly any power to influence this.
Relationship to Bangkok
The future land dynamics seem to be very dependent on Bangkok's development and growth (economically and territorially). The district is well connected with the highway that encircles Bangkok which defines this place as convenient for certain people. The members of the Baan Mankong communities however seem to be quite disconnected from Bangkok. For young people it is difficult to get there, and for elderly it is not interesting.

Material Improvement:
Bang Prong 1 is a beautiful community with good standards, Bang Prong 2 will most likely achieve the same. Garbage is managed well and flooding is naturally no problem.
Potential future maintenance problems
Some former renters, if they have rented land but lived in a house of own-construction, use this house as income-source as they can either sell it or impose an additional charge on top of the land rent to the new renters.
There are several indicators that the members of Bang Prong 1 are not very poor but quite well off, as there is for instance a car park which costs 500B/month in which several good standard and big cars are standing. This can either be an indicator of that only relatively good-off people have joined the programme or that they are able to quickly gain from participation.

Empowerment:
Community members are proud of what they have achieved. However, they generally seem to have few aspirations beyond housing. Compared to the speakers in the CODI panel discussion, they seem to be little interested in politics (of change). Also, there is limited engagement with the community in both communities.
We observed a prevailing mentality around the concept of 'being ready' that lead to a general acceptance of the exclusion of people from savings groups that could not afford 2000 Baht a month. In Bang Prong 2 the idea of community seems to be substituted by the ideal of unity that is linked to the ideal of private ownership as soon as possible. Community processes appear reduced and merely instrumental in the planning of achieving private ownership.
The lack of community activities makes it seem unlikely that the time of collective savings and repayment will turn this desire into a wish of continuing with collective tenure. In contrast, other communities we talked to are already planning future collective tenure.
Importantly, Baan Mankong does not serve many informally living people in this area because a) the savings threshold is too high, and b) many renters, and especially factory/migrant workers, are not interest in permanent ownership.
In Sang-ton-ang, the interviewees mentioned instruments of social pressure to make people join Baan Mankong: the local government would distribute 'fake' eviction notices, which however would never be realised if the concerned people did not join.

Synergies:
Synergies have been created with the local authority. There is potential to create some with private land owners (see RFM). Networking with other civil society groups seems to be limited. Maybe increased collective engagement and precedent setting of collective achievements outside of housing could inspire energy to network again.

Room to Manoeuvre:
Firstly, there is a supportive sub-district governor who is interested in public space development and community planning proposals. Furthermore, there is a potentially supportive district governor (Mueang).
Secondly, relationships with private land owners are personal, which might bear potential for experimentation on collaboration for social rental projects
Thirdly, so far the development pressure on land is limited in comparison to Bangkok.
Fourthly, factories are moving out. While this could be a danger insofar as this means decreasing employment opportunities, it could also be capitalised on for a) environmental improvements, b) bringing environmentally harmful factories to court with the new factory law, c) the new residential focus can potentially be used insofar as strategies to beautify the area with nice public realms will be appreciated by higher public institutions, so that this can be used to make a socially inclusive space possible.

Additional Information: e.g. Participatory Actor map image, community structure break down, savings group cost break down etc. again tagged by information source

Participatory Timetable Drawing in Bang Prong 1

Participatory Timetable Drawing in Bang Prong 1

Interview with the Governor of Bang Prong

Presentation in the community hall

Basic Information

Community Size:

Ruamjai Saiyai Community: 268 households

Khunsri Community: 175 households

Pak Khlong Chao Community: 105 households have agreed; 25 households have not agreed to join the programme

Fareast Baanyai Community: The plan includes 225 homes

Ruammit Patthana Community: 240 households

Kheng Phra Tue Community: 70 households (40 homes are completed; the rest of the households are in the process of saving and getting loans from CODI)

Rattanatibet 14 Community: 224 households

Inudom Community: 153 households
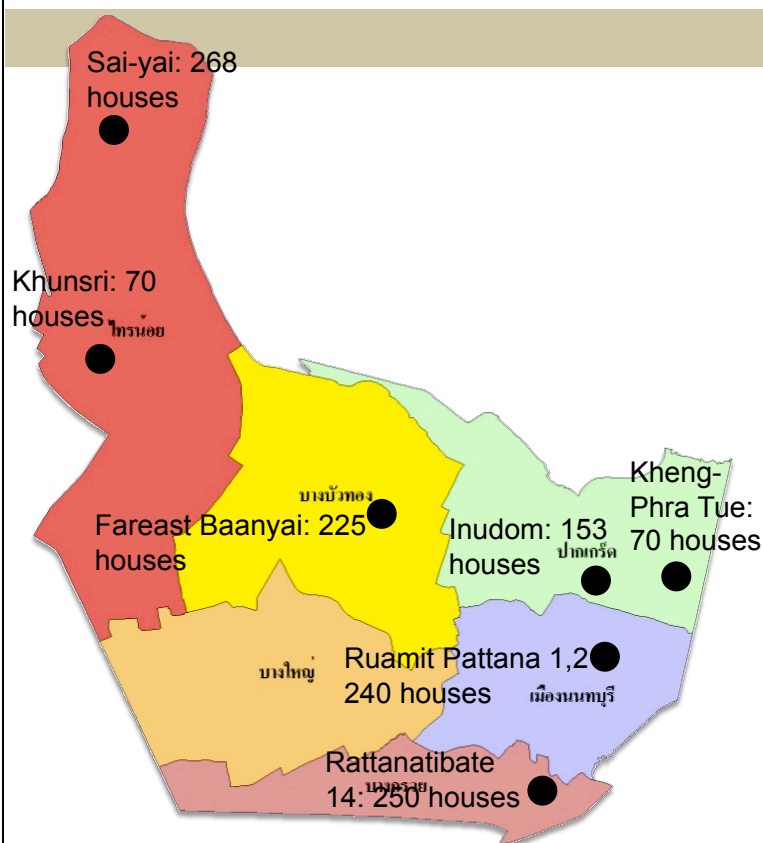
Date joined programme:

Khunsri Community: 2005

Pak Khlong Chao Community: 2010

Fareast Baanyai Community: 2006

Ruammit Patthana Community: Started the savings group in 2004

Kheng Phra Tue Community: 2003

Rattanatibet 14 Community: Began the savings group in 2006

Community Location:

Sai-yai: 268 houses

Khunsri: 70 houses ไทรน้อย

บางบัวทอง

Fareast Baanyai: 225 houses

Inudom: 153 houses ปากเกร็ด

Kheng-Phra Tue: 70 houses

บางใหญ่

Ruamit Pattana 1,2 240 houses เมืองนนทบุรี

Rattanatibate 14: 250 houses บางกรวย

Inudom Community: The process began in 2005	
Phase of programme: Pak Khlong Chao Community and Rattanatibet 14 Community are in the early (savings) stage. Kheng Phra Tue, Fareast-Baanyai Community, Ruamjai Saiyai Community, and Khunsri Community are in the construction stage. Inudom Community is in the repayment stage. Ruammit Patthana Community is in the networking stage (the final stage).	

Participants in Research

This heading sounds a little clunky but essentially the idea is to indicate who we spoke with in our communities so we can tag our observations / information to a source.

i.e. In Kao Noi Community we were largely confined to the following information sources:

C1: Community Leader and Savings Group Committee Members

C2. 14 Community Members benefiting from the subsidised welfare housing

C3. Pattaya Department for Social Welfare

C4. Pattaya Department for Civil Engineering

Ruamjai Saiyai Community- Spoke to a school principal, the community leaders and committee members

Khunsri Community: Spoke to the community leaders and committee members

Pak Khlong Chao Community: Spoke to the community leader

Far East Baanyai Community: Spoke to the community leaders, committee members and savings group members

Ruammit Patthana Community: Spoke to the community leaders, committee members and the community builders

Kheng Phra Tue Community: Spoke to the community leaders

Rattanatibet 14 Community: Spoke to the community leaders, committee members and

savings group members

Inudom Community: Spoke to the community leaders, committee members and savings group members

Key Observations (tagged by source if possible)

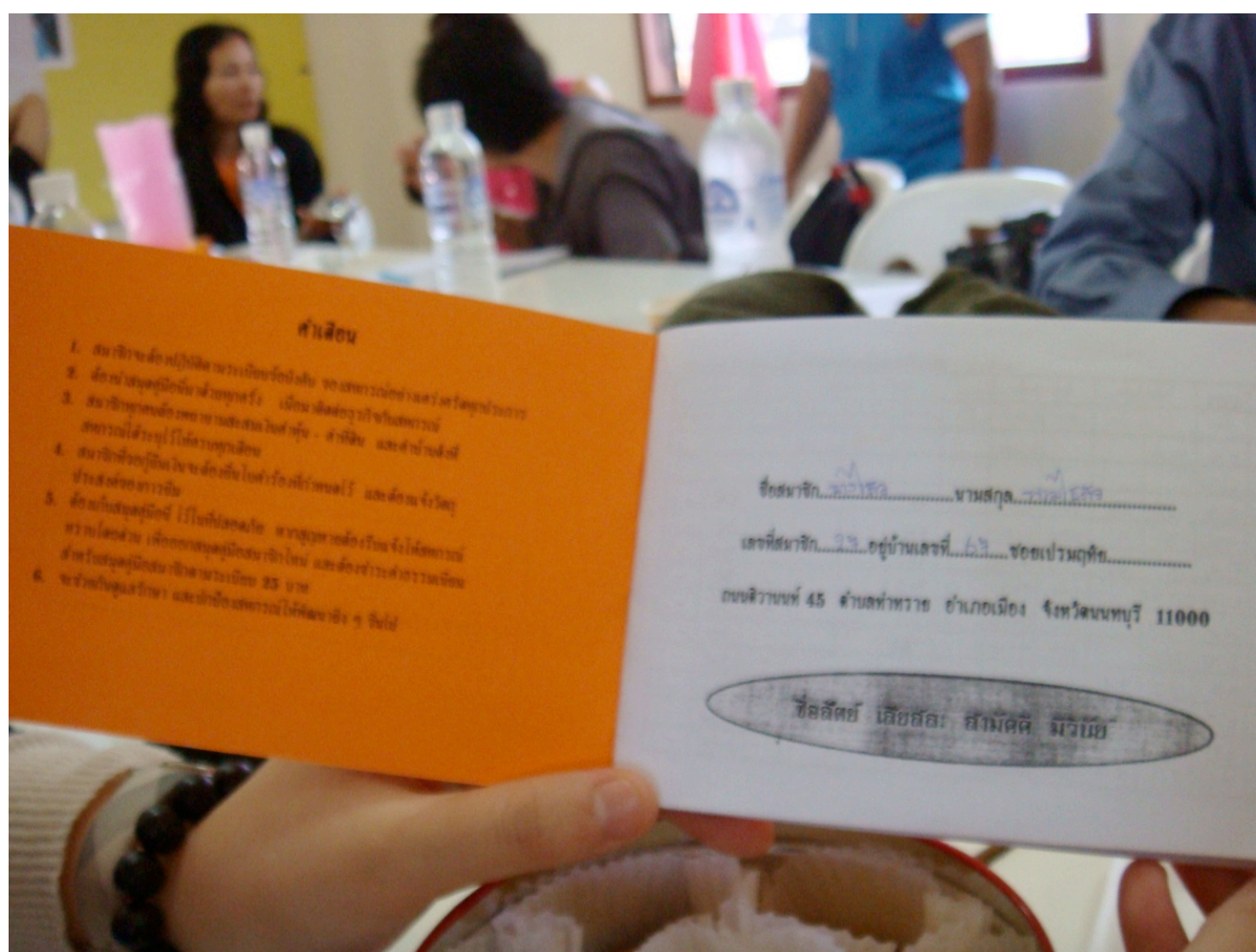| Land and housing:	Relationships:
The land in the Nonthaburi province was private land, except for the land where the Rattanatibet 14 Community which is owned by the temple.	The social relations between the community and the members within a community were strong, except in the Kheng Phra Tue Community and Rattanatibet 14 Community. In the Kheng Phra Tue Community, a conflict was ongoing; hence, the visit was cut short (or permitted) to only 45 minutes. In Rattanatibet 14 Community, the households are in negotiation with the temple to force the remaining households to join the BM programme. For those to have joined the BM programme, they are facing resistance from some households to make improvements to the communities (for instance: repairing the drainage system).
Finance: Some communities, such as the Ruammit Patthana Community and the Inudom Community had mature and strong savings groups; hence, they were able to start other savings groups (for instance: welfare savings groups). However, communities such as the Kheng Phra Tue Community were not strong in their finance, such that some houses (including their community centre) were not completed at the time of the visit.	**City Scale**: The communities felt more empowered to make claims at the local and provincial government level, especially the Ruammit Patthana Community whose leader had a close relation with the local government. However, the community of Kheng Phra Tue Community, were facing problems with the government such that they were not able to get electric service in the community.
Material Improvement: - Communities have managed to realise collective material improvement in most sites. The Kheng Phra Tue and Rattanatibet 14 Communities secured land tenure but have not been able to organise and save enough funds for	**Empowerment:** - Levels of empowerment varied significantly across and within communities. Some communities were dominated by community leaders, which concentrated information and power, thus

housing upgrading.
- It seems important to highlight that trigger events that facilitate community cohesion, such as fear of eviction must be used to carry momentum of tenure security to housing upgrading. When communities accessed security of housing only, organising to upgrade proved difficult.
- Most sites in the province were relocations, this mechanisms increases the cost of accessing the programme and can limit the affordability of the programme for lowest income groups.
- Housing typologies were provided by local governments and were not appropriate to manage flooding, it is important participatory design mechanisms are reinforced in the province.

reducing the transformative impact of Baan Mankong for the members of savings group.
- Encouraging members of the communities to participate in activities and sub groups seemed to contribute to the overall cohesion of the community delivering empowerment for all.
- Communities that managed to diversify savings groups to create welfare and job creation schemes also increased their chances of remaining together and reduced the amount of social conflict
- Participating in networks such as NULICO and Flood Prevention networks empowered members to think of their capacity to impact the city beyond their community.
- Due to the political and administration structure communities had to be in close contact with local government. This significantly improved the relationships between them and empowered communities to make proposals and requests at the municipal level.

Synergies:
- In order for the Baan Mankong projects to be successful communities had to tap into extensive networks of support which far exceeded CODI's influence.
- Communities met bi-monthly at the provincial level with all communities in the province (both Baan Mankong and non Baan Mankong) to share, discuss and support each other. This knowledge sharing played a fundamental role in the project's success.
- Not all communities are able to tap into the same networks, reducing their scope to use synergies for transformation. Communities located in peri-urban areas further away from the centre of the province can be left out due to difficulty of accessing meetings.
- Decentralizing the networks of support so they reach all areas of the province will be a good way of reinforncing synergies and making them reach all

Room to Manoeuvre:
- As with most criteria communities' increase in room for manoeuvre varied widely depending on the networks they could tap into and their relationship to other partners.
- Communities were overall able to increase their room to manoeuvre in regards to local governments, reshaping the relationship in positive terms and being able to influence decision-making and planning for their localities.
- This capacity dwindled in regards to higher tired of government structures, reducing at the provincial level and being almost non-existent at the national level.
- Communities still have a limited conception of what areas of policy and planning they can impact. Most of their concerns, proposals and demands are focused on housing upgrading. However, the platfrms are in place for them to expand their influence and start proposing

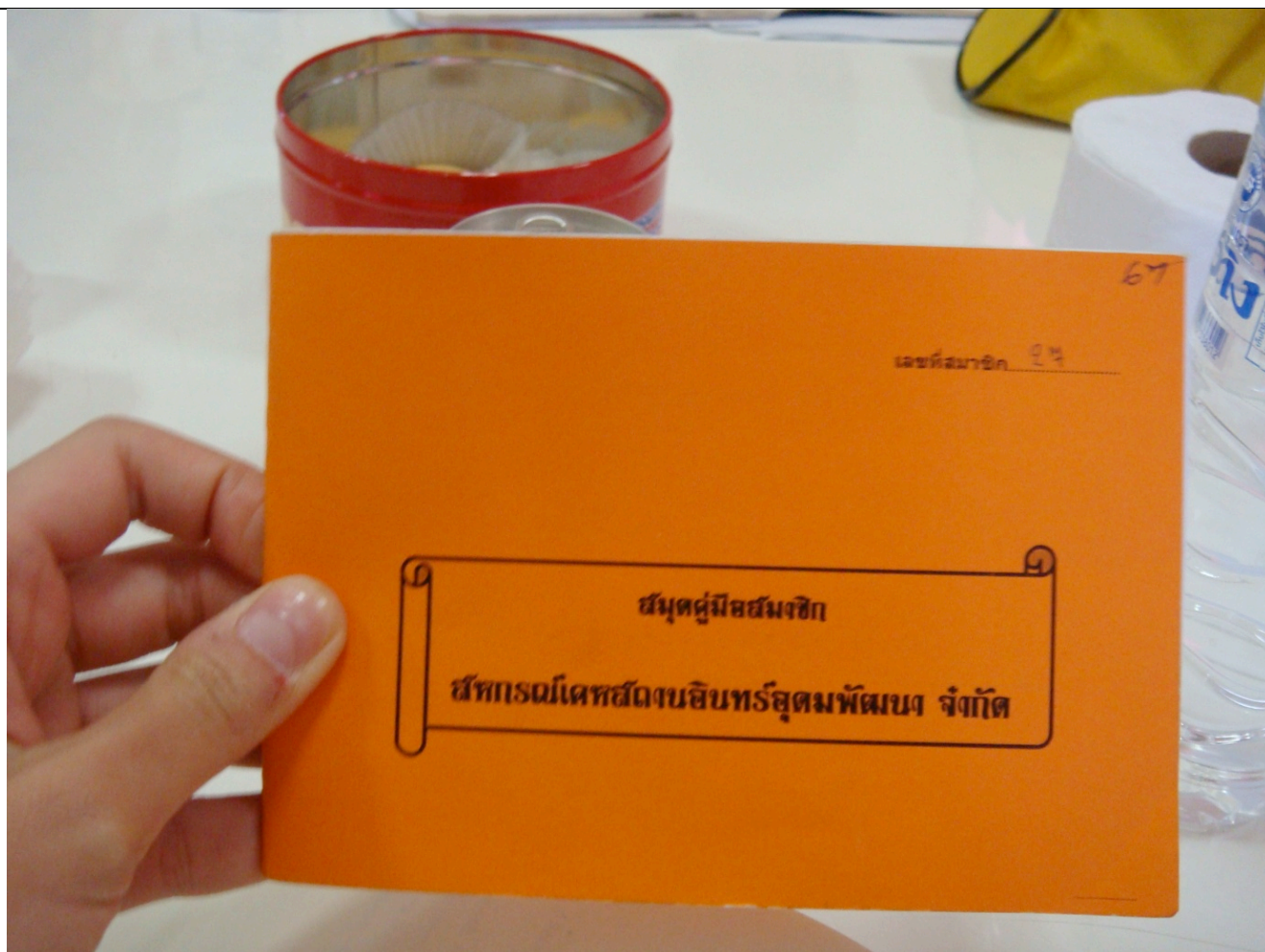|	
communities similarly. - Communities in the central area made extensive use of NULICO networks and local and provincial level support, working in close collaboration and even setting up a CDF. - Communities on the outskirts are not currently fully participating from these mechanisms.	changes at the scale of the province.

Additional Information: e.g. Participatory Actor map image, community structure break down, savings group cost break down etc. again tagged by information source

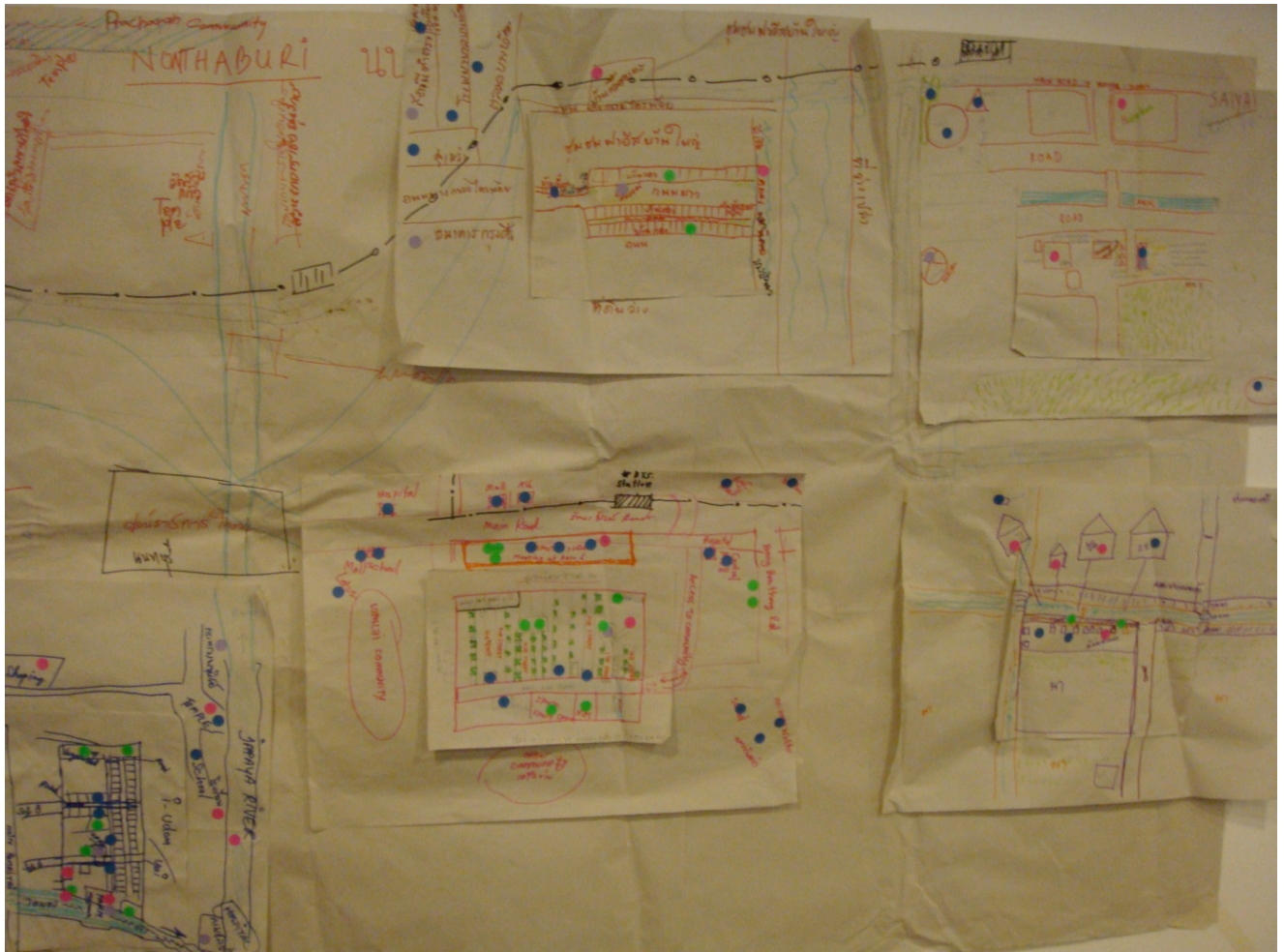**Illustration1, 2 and 3: the savings book used by the Inudom Community**
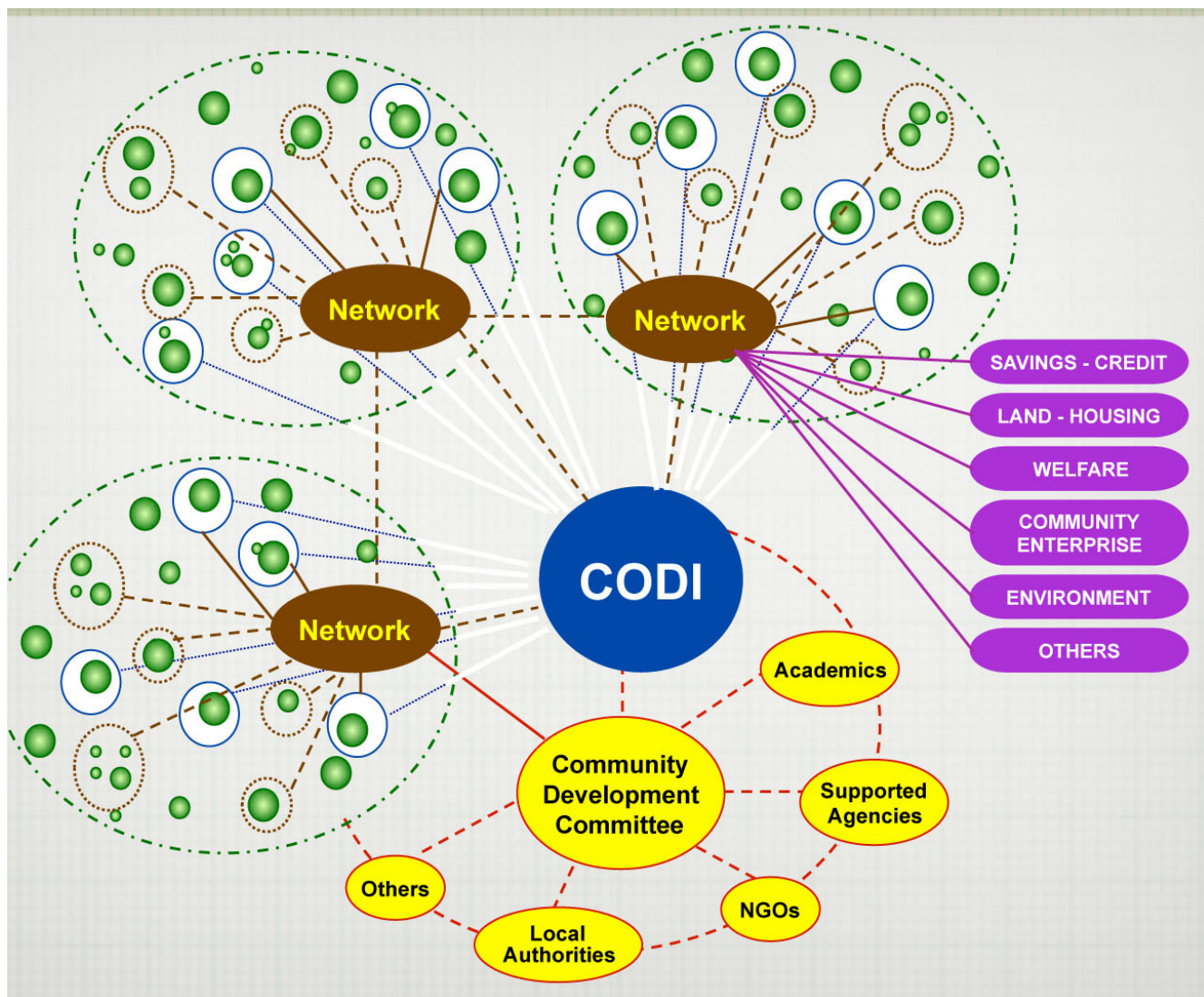
Illustrations 4 and 5: a map drawn by "self-created" mapping technique and the presentation by a community member

appendix 2.0

codi diagrams

appendix 3.0
methodologies

Overview of methodologies used at each site

Site No: 1	Chatuchak
All communities	Names: **Chareonchai Nimitmai** **Rimkhlong Patthana Bangbua** **Phahoyothin 32** **Lanf Witthayalaikru Chankaseam** **Lang Rong Jae** **Rim Khlong Patwana Ladprao** **Krungthep Patthana** **Bor Farang Rimnam Patthana**
	Approach: Interview Observations Focus group discussions River of life Timeline Drawing "Self-created" mapping technique Story-telling
Site No: 2	**Wangthonglang**
community 1	Name: **Thepleela**
	Appoach: Focus Group Discussions – men, women, elderly women, children Participatory Sketching and Mapping (river of life) Interviews – men, women Note-taking Photo-taking Spatial Analysis (transect walks)
community 2	Name: **Sapsin Kao**
	Approach: Interviews – men, women Note-taking Photo-taking Spatial Analysis (transect walks)
community 3	Name: **Kao Pattana**
	Approach: Interviews – men, women Note-taking Photo-taking Spatial Analysis (transect walks)
community 4	Name: **Nomklao**
	Approach: Focus Group Discussions – men, women Participatory Sketching and Mapping (river of life) Interviews Note-taking

	Photo-taking Spatial Analysis (transect walks)
community 5	Name: **Ruamsamakee**
	Approach: Focus Group Discussions – community leaders Interviews – men, women Note-taking Photo-taking Spatial Analysis (transect walks)
community 6	Name: **Sapsin Mai**
	Approach: Interviews – men, women Note-taking Photo-taking Spatial Analysis (transect walks)
community 7	Name: **Rungmaneepattana**
	Interviews – men, women Note-taking Photo-taking Spatial Analysis (transect walks)
Site No: 3	**Bang kho Laem & Sathorn Districts**
community 1	Name: Wat Phraya Krai
	Appoach: Detailed interviews, men, women, elderly residents Participatory mapping with communities & children showing networks River of dreams Drawing to map housing aspirations Mapping of finance structures/ organisational structures Panel discussion with leaders Observation
community 2	Name: Suan Phlu
	Approach: Interviews, men, women, elderly residents Panel discussion with leaders River of life (amended to ascertain future problems & opportunities) Observation
community 3	Name: Sengkhi
	Approach: Interviews Panel discussion with leaders Observation
Site No: 4	**Pattaya**
community 1	Name: Kao Noi
	Appoach: Interview River of life

	Site Walking Timeline Drawing Drawings of dream green space Scale-drawing (self-created mapping technique)
community 6	Name: **Bang Prong 2**
	Approach: Interviews – men, women Note-taking Photo-taking Spatial Analysis (transect walks)
community 7	Name: **…(sorry forget the name, the land owner is Kamaanbin and his brother)**
	Focus Group Discussions – land owner, community leaders and members Interviews – men, women Note-taking Photo-taking Spatial Analysis (transect walks) Workshop Drawing
community 8	Name: **…(sorry forget the name)**
	Focus Group Discussions –community leaders and members Note-taking Photo-taking Spatial Analysis (transect walks) Interview – men and women
Site No: 6	**Nonthaburi**
community 1	Name: Ruamjai Saiyai
	Approach: Interviews and focus groups discussions Conversations Observations
community 2	Name: Khunsri community
	Approach: Interviews and focus groups discussions Conversations Observations
community 3	Name: Pak Khlong Chao community
	Approach: Interviews and focus groups discussions Conversations Observations
community 4	Name: Fareast Baanyai community
	Approach: Interviews and focus groups discussions Conversations Observations
community 5	Name: Ruammit Patthana community
	Approach: Interviews and focus groups discussions Conversations Observations

	Site Walking Timeline Drawing Drawings of dream green space Scale-drawing (self-created mapping technique)
community 6	Name: **Bang Prong 2**
	Approach: Interviews – men, women Note-taking Photo-taking Spatial Analysis (transect walks)
community 7	Name: **…(sorry forget the name, the land owner is Kamaanbin and his brother)**
	Focus Group Discussions – land owner, community leaders and members Interviews – men, women Note-taking Photo-taking Spatial Analysis (transect walks) Workshop Drawing
community 8	Name: **…(sorry forget the name)**
	Focus Group Discussions –community leaders and members Note-taking Photo-taking Spatial Analysis (transect walks) Interview – men and women
Site No: 6	**Nonthaburi**
community 1	Name: Ruamjai Saiyai
	Approach: Interviews and focus groups discussions Conversations Observations
community 2	Name: Khunsri community
	Approach: Interviews and focus groups discussions Conversations Observations
community 3	Name: Pak Khlong Chao community
	Approach: Interviews and focus groups discussions Conversations Observations
community 4	Name: Fareast Baanyai community
	Approach: Interviews and focus groups discussions Conversations Observations
community 5	Name: Ruammit Patthana community
	Approach: Interviews and focus groups discussions Conversations Observations

community 6	Name: Kheng Phra Tue community
	Approach: Interviews and focus groups discussions Conversations Observations
community 7	Name: Rattanatibet 14 community
	Approach: Interviews and focus groups discussions Conversations Observations
community 8	Name: Inudom community
	Approach: Interviews and focus groups discussions Conversations Observations

appendices