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"The experiment [...] is built around a set of principles and tools that allow poor people and poor communities to take action immediately and on many fronts – to develop and demonstrate an alternative development process in which the people who have been ignored and marginalized in their cities in every possible way are at the centre of a process of transforming their lives, settlements and position in the city".
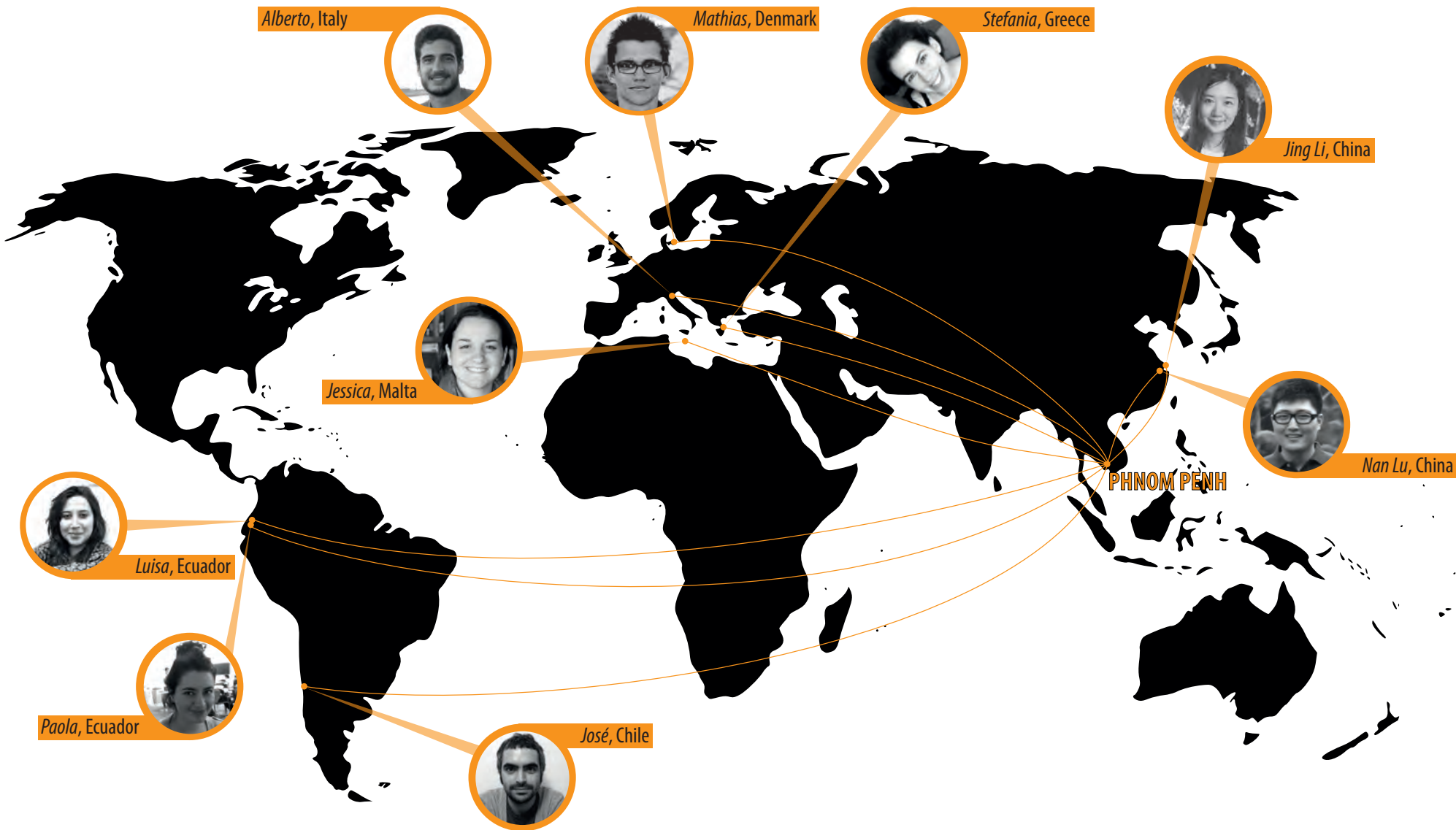
(Boonyabancha et. al., 2012)

F 001. The group at the end of the workshop, after the presentation to the Vice Governor of Phnom Penh [YC].

Acknowledgements

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F 002. Children playing on the railway in Serey Sophon [AP]

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F.003. Drawing the dream house in the Baret settlement, Serei Sophon (I.C)

Acronyms

ACCA: Asian Coalition for Community Action (Program)
ACHR: Asian Coalition of Housing Rights
ADB: Asian Development Bank
BUDD: Building and Urban Design in Development
CAN-Cam: Community Architects Network - Cambodia
CAN: Community Architects Network
CBN: Community Builders Network
CDF: Community Development Foundation (formerly UPDF)
CEDT: Community Empowerment and Development Team
CMDP: Community Managed Development Partners
CNRP: Cambodian National Rescue Party
CPP: Cambodian People's Party
CSNC: Community Savings Network of Cambodia
CVS: Community Volunteers for Society
DPU: Development Planning Unit
GIZ: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
MBB: Municipality of Battambang
MoP: Ministry of Planning
MPP: Municipality of Phnom Penh
NGO: Non Governmental Organization
PCL: People for Care and Learning
RACHA: The Reproductive And Child Healty Alliance
RGC: Royal Government of Cambodia
UPCA: Urban Poor Coalition Asia
YFP: Youth For Peace - Cambodia

Glossary of terms

LAND / Although the concept of land is broad, in this report it is considered as the physical space in which a citizen has the right to settle permanently without the threat of eviction. The issue of land is identified as a permanent struggle between influential actors, where the poor are the most disadvantaged in the current context of Cambodia.

TERRITORY / By territories we mean an area not necessarily defined by a clear border. This is applicable in some of the places that were visited in Cambodia, where some settlements cannot be defined by a clearly established site. Moreover, throughout the work an effort is made to consider the relation between specific issues and the larger scale, that of the city and the country.

BREAKING POINTS / Throughout the research process we recognized some specific situations that were identified as opportunities that could be used as entry points in triggering the process of transformation. These are classified in four lenses: physical, socio/cultural, political and economical.

STRATEGY / In the context of this report, the concept of a strategy is used to define a plan of action that aims to achieve key elements of transformative change. These strategies consist of a number of proposals that suggest methods of achieving the desired change.

PRINCIPLES / Principles are a set of values born from our vision of just transformation in Cambodia that aim to build a solid base for proposals and interventions.

PROPOSAL / Proposal refers to a set of concrete actions, born from our own initiative, which searches to support and carry out the strategy defined in the context of this report.

IMMANENT DEVELOPMENT / The unintentional or underlying aspects of development, i.e. the unplanned economic, political, and structural change.

IMMINENT DEVELOPMENT / The planned or willed development, i.e. the intentional development as driven by various actors, such as authorities, NGOs, investors, and communities.

F 004. Meeting with the community in Rong Mesen village [AP].

Executive Summary

Introduction

The objective of this research, as stated in the initial brief, is twofold:

1. To develop a **critical diagnosis** of the transformative potential and the capacities that exists, while acknowledging the complexity of the socio-spatial context.

2. Based on the above analysis, to discuss and develop a range of **collaborative proposals**, which will contribute to and extend the positive transformation of the living conditions of the urban poor in Cambodia.

Born in the historical, socio-cultural, and economic context of Cambodia we developed four analytical lenses; political, economic, socio-cultural, and physical, for which we drew up hypothetical breaking points. These points and lenses served as our analytical framework in the fieldwork, and through our observations in the fields we have tested and reproblematised them. With this testing and redevelopment of the four initial hypotheses we seek out opportunity points for a positive transformation. These opportunity points shape our diagnosis of transformation in Cambodia (addressing the work's first objective). With a critical review of the literature we identify our position and draw up our definition of positive transformation. Our definition of positive transformation and our diagnosis of transformation in Cambodia work together to form our vision for what we call *trust*formation. The vision is what binds the strategies together. The strategies, in turn, are illustrated by concrete proposals, to show how positive transformation could be achieved in Cambodia.

Definition of Positive Transformation

Positive transformation is the capacity to challenge the status quo and develop alternative realities where people are positioned equally at the centre of a development process and have the space to react, propose and negotiate their position in the city.

This definition of transformation is based on four key elements:

• Supporting the **emerging culture of resistance**, granted that it is done in a constructive way, proposing alternatives to the dominant logic and order.

• Supporting existing processes and actors that **link people and authorities**, through recognizing their equal position amongst other actors.

• Recognising the **generational change**. Young generations, born and raised after the war, have the potential of being the motors for change.

• Building **collective action** as an opportunity for autonomy and to escape dependency.

Diagnosis of Transformation in Cambodia

Transformation in Cambodia is driven by autocratic authorities and international market forces, with community action both within, in opposition to, and parallel to this established system. The transformative potential of the new generation and the economic development is unleashed. There is a lack of collectivity which undermines the development of this latent potential to achieve systemic change. This lack of collectivity is rooted in an absence of trust and transparency between actors both within the

communities and between communities and authorities. The ongoing transformation is by large permeated by individual action and needs; attempts at collective action are inhibited by random law enforcement and forced evictions. The emerging culture of resistance is repressed, links between people and authorities fail to create trust, and there is no transparency in the willed development.

Our Vision for *Trust*formation in Cambodia

Our vision is to build trust at multiple levels: trust amongst the citizenry and trust between people and institutions. This can be done through the promotion of collective action, the encouragement of act of resistance that are constructive – rather than destructive, and the creation of negotiation spaces guided by principles of transparency and collaboration between key actors.

In our vision, actions should be taken first to decrease the existing gap between the institutional and the population poles by amplifying the voices of the citizens, especially the marginalized groups. Of course, these transformations involve an ongoing process that has to happen simultaneously and incrementally from both poles, in order to disrupt and deactivate the existing logic and order, finally positioning the people at the centre.

Conclusion

Our strategy is to build collectivity, activate the local economy, and reposition land as an asset. In practice we propose to build collectivity through the establishment of local activities and networks. Savings groups can be a way to initiate the collective of people, when it is demonstrated how funds can be used for collective projects. The activation of the local economy similarly draws on the principle of building collectivity through collective projects, e.g. commercial cooperatives. Moreover, it goes towards the key aspect of autonomy, in our definition of positive transformation – creating communities which are less dependent on the competing NGOs and institutions. This goes together with repositioning land as an asset, as the threat of eviction is

an obstruction to these strategies. Alternative strategies, challenging the need of eviction or using the eviction to negotiate better standards of living, may on the contrary help to build collectivity. In this way the strategies tease out the twofold action, not only building collectivity but also prompting co-development, going towards a stage where collectivity is the collectivity within communities, between communities and also between communities and institutions – collectively developing Cambodia.

F 005. Presenting the collective outcome of a participatory design exercise in Rong Masen [AP].

Executive Summary [Khmer]

ផ្ដើម

កម្មវត្ថុនៃការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះមានពីរគឺ៖

1. ដើម្បីការធ្វើកំរិតឡើងវិញនៃស្ថានភាព នៃសក្ដានុពលការផ្ទាស់ប្ដូរ និងសមត្ថភាពដែលមាន, ឧបាទ៖ពលដែលទទួលស្ថានភាពសុក្រឹតស្តូញនៃទំហំបរិបិទទសង្ខម។

2. ដោយផ្អែកលើការវិភាគនានាបើរនេះ, ដើម្បីពិភក្សានិងអភិវឌ្ឍន៍កាល់សំណើរវាក់ស្រៀ្យម្មុម្មត្ថា, ដែលនឹងទទួម្មទំណែក, ហើយនិងពាត្រិកការផ្ទាស់ប្ដូរវៃ្ឈ្មនៃនៃពែីគ្រោសរួំនៅស្រប់ប្រជាដន្ឋគ្រឹក្រុងទីក្រុង នៃក្រុងទេសកម្ពុជា។

កើតក្នុងវិបទ្បទ ក្របខ័ណ្ឌសាជ្រុ, សង្គមរប្យេមកី, និងសេដ្ឋកិច្ចនៃប្រទេសកម្ពុជា ហើយបានបង្កើតជាតម្លៃអភិរាក្សបូន មានរូចថា៖, នេយ្យបាយ, សេដ្ឋកិច្ច, សង្គមរប្យេមកី, និងវប្បធម៌សាស្រ្ដ, សម្រាប់ជាតម្លៃដែលបានលើរកើតឡើងជាន៍ឆ្នាំត សម្មតិកម្ម ចំនុបហើយនិងកម្លាំគ៍ទាំងនេះបានបង្ហ្រើីប្រើប្រួបទន ការវិភាគតម្លៃបកស្រាស់យើងន៍នៅក្នុងដំណើរការរានាយ៖ការសម្ភុតរបស់យើងន៍នៅទីក័ន្ធិ្នតហើយ , យើងទានសាកល្បួដយហើយយាយមានភាពមិនឆន៍ស្របសៀ្យម។ ជាម្ួយដើរការសក្ស្ញ និងការអភិវឌ្ឍឡើងវិញនៃស្ម្ិឥកម្បុ៊ធ្វ៍នៅដ្បួនេះ ដែលយើងបានស្ដូសរកឃើញ្រជាធាិភាពសសម្រាប់ការផ្ទាស់ប្ដូរវៃ្ឈ្ម ចំណុ៊ធារៃ្ពកសទៃ្ឆិ្មលើរកឡើងវិញ (ការ៖ស្រាសយ៖ាលប៉ូលនានាទីទៃ្ឆកការៃ) ។ ជាម្ួយដើការពិ៊ភិ្ឆ្ម្ែីឡើងវៃ្មិ៊សៃ្៍ឆ្មៅ៍ឆ្ម៍ម្ិ៊បយ៍៊៍ បៃ្ម យើងៃ៊៍ណ៍បាៃ៊ាៃ្មៃ្មៃ្ឆេ៍ាៃ្៍៍៍៍៍ធ្វ្មៃ្ឆៃ្មៃ្ម៍មៃ្មៃ្មៃ្ម៍មៃ្ម៍ម៍មៃ្មៃ្ម៍មៃ្ម៍ម៍មៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម

និយមន័យនៃការផ្ទាស់ប្ដូរវិវិជ្ជមាន

ការផ្ទាស់ប្ដូរវិវិជ្ជមាន គឺជាសមត្ថភាព ដើម្បីប្រកបប្រដៃនៃសក្ដានុភាពនៃឧ្បាន៍ម្ាៃ្ ហើយនិងអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ភាពពក៍ស្វេញឆ្ពៃ្ន ជាពន្លៃ្ម្ែៃ្ឆ្វម៍ាៃ្ឆៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍មៃ្ម៍ ដើម្បីបញ្ច្ញាមៃ្មៃ្ ,ស្ម្ិឆ្មៃ៍ិ៊ងៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម គ៊ីៃ្មៃ្មៃ្៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម

និយមន័យនៃការផ្ទាស់ប្ដូរនេះត្រូវបានផ្អែកលើខាងត៊ុ្បួនេ៉ួបៃ្ន៖

- ● តៃ្ួ្បៃ្មៃ្៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម, ផ្ល៍ិ៊ជៃ្បៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម, ស្ម្ិឆៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម។

- ● តៃ្ួ៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម, និងៃ្បៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម, តៃ្មៃ្ម៍ម។

- ● ទស្ស្ នៃៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម មៃ្ឆ្មៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម, បៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម, មៃ្ឆ្មៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម។

- ● កៃ្ឆៃ្មៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម ដៃ្ឆៃ្ម៍ម។

ការនិនិ្ត៉ីយនៃការផ្ទាស់ប្ដូរក្នុងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា

ការផ្ទាស់ប្ដូរនៅក្នុងប្រទេសកម្ពុជាត្រូវបានដៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម, ជាម្ួយនិងសកម្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម, នៅក្នុងការៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម, ហើយនិងៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម។ សក្ខាៃ្ ពលការផ្ទាស់ប្ដូរនៃឧៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម ត្រ៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម គឺ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម, ដែលៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម, ដែលមិៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម។ ដើម្បៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម ផ្ទាស់ប្ដូរ, កៃ្ម៍ម ទៃ្ម៍ម ទាំងៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម។ ការផ្ទាស់ប្ដូរជាៃ្ គៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម ដោយៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម រៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម, ការ៍ម, រ៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម, និងៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម។ មៃ្ម៍ម៍ម បៃ្ម៍ម។

ទស្សនៈវិស័យសម្រាប់ការផ្ទាស់ប្ដូរនៅក្នុងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា

ចក្ខុវិស័យរបស់យើងគឺដើម្បៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម្របៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៖ ទំ៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម, និងៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម ទៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម។ តៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៖ការ៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម, លៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម នៃៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម្របៃ្ម៍ម៍ម - ៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម្បៃ្ម៍ម៍ម, និ៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម, ដៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម្មៃ្ម៍ម៍ម, និៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម។

ក្នុង៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម, សមៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម ដើម្ប៍ម, ដៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម្របៃ្ម៍ម៍ម ជៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម, កៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម ដ៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម្បៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម ដែលមៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម, ៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម្បៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម។

សេចក្ដីសន្និដ្ឋាន

យុទ្ធសាស្រ្ដរបស់យើងគឺកសាងៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម្របៃ្ម៍ម, �
ធ្វ៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម្ម្ម្ម៍ម៍ម, ហើយនិៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម្ម៍ម ដែលជាៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម្ម៍ម នៅក្នុងការ៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម ៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម្ម្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម្ម្ម៍ម្ម្ម៍ម៍ម ក្នុ៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម្មៃ្ម៍ម៍ម, ក្រុមៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម្ម្ម៍ម អៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម្ម្ម្ម៍ម៍ម្ម្ម្ម៍ម៍ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម៍ម្ម្ម, ៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម៍ម្ម៍ម៍ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម៍ម៍ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម៍ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម, សៃ្ម៍ម៍ម៍ម្ម។ នៅ៍ម៍ម្ម, បៃ្ម៍ម្ម, ៃ្ម៍ម្ម, ក្នុៃ្ម - បៃ្ម៍ម្ម, ៃ្ម, ដែលជៃ្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម, ដែលការ៍ម្ម ដៃ្ម, ធៃ្ម, ធ្វ៍ម្ម, ៃ្ម ដៃ្ម, អៃ្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម ធៃ្ម ៃ្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម, មៃ្ម, បៃ្ម, និងៃ្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម, ៃ្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម្ម - ៃ្ម។

F 006. The facade of the White Building, in the Tonle Bassac neighborhood of Phnom Penh. This is a symbol of the reoccupation of the capital of Cambodia after the Khmer Rouge era, and it's a perfect example of adaptation of an existing space in the struggle to survive in the city [AP].
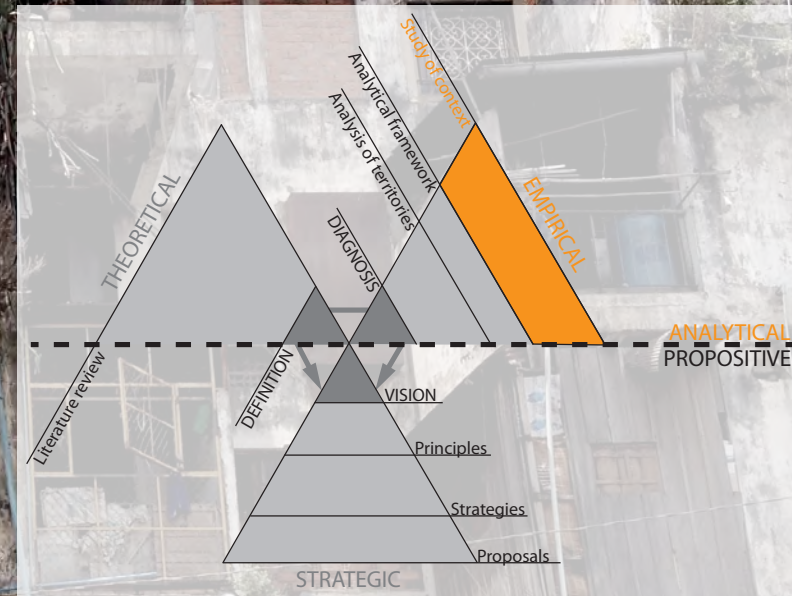
The brief: objectives and perspectives

The aim of the Field Trip Project is to research collaborative people-centred partnerships for slum-upgrading in Cambodia. The particular focus is on the constant and rapid transformation of the urban Cambodian condition in order to identify potential strategies and tactics for spaces of opportunities and spaces of representation and wellbeing in the whole Cambodian society. Additionally its aim is to research and design innovative and critical strategies that could contribute to the work of our partners in the field.

The project, as stated in the brief, has two key objectives:

1. To develop a critical diagnosis of the transformative capacities that exist, while acknowledging the complexity of the socio-spatial context.

2. Based on the above analysis, to discuss and develop a range of collaborative proposals, which will contribute to, and extend the positive transformation of the living conditions of the urban poor in Cambodia.

Four perspectives are worth mentioning as they were useful in building a critical analysis when looking at the regional scale of Cambodia. They offer a platform to create an integrated understanding of transformation, in a time of transition, while acknowledging the interplay and relationship between the physical form, the social, and the use of spaces. They are:

The Quest for Land: Land is not merely an availability of space to be used for development, but also acts as an opportunity for a more socially just re-distribution of urban spaces.

The Issue of Scale: Scale can be considered as more than the simple replication of micro-practices. To build more transformative practices, scale must be understood as the process of expanding multi-layered and concurrent urban interventions.

Designing the Urban - the contested production of space: Design and the production and exchange of knowledge should be reconceived as horizontal, alternative and divergent, in support of, and from within, the community.

Collective savings as a catalyst for community action: Finance is not only understood as a key mechanism for slum upgrading, but also as a platform to a host of transformative synergies.

3

The context: Cambodia

F 007. The Khmer Rouge invading Phnom Penh in 1975 [source: diogenesii. files.wordpress.com].

F 008. Map showing the land situation and the various concessions given by the Royal Governemnt of Cambodia [LICADHO].

F 009. Timeline of main historical milestones in Cambodia [JL].

F 010. Evolution of the Cambodian flag from the french protectorate until present days.

Cambodia is a country that has a rich ancient past as well as a tragic recent history. The history of the Khmer Rouge regime, war, and civil war continue to shape the Cambodian context, as the nation struggle to escape the legacy of prolonged conflict (Sato et al., 2011). Furthermore, as number 125 out of 169, Cambodia is one of the world's poorest countries, with an extreme aid dependency where 90% of public expenditures derive from foreign aid (ibid.). That said, Cambodia has experienced a rapid economic growth over the past ten years (Sato et al. 2011, ADB, 2014).

Cambodia experiences the lowest urbanisation in Asia, in which agriculture accounts for 40% of the GDP and 70% of the national occupation (Sobrado et al., 2013, the World Bank, 2014). A significant part of the economic growth has been observed within the agricultural sector where industrial farming has turned rice production into "white gold" and in turn increased the rate of urbanisation, as a result both of the increased resources and labour redundancy (Clark et al.; 2013, Sobrado et al. 2013; The World Bank, 2014).

Rapid urbanisation resulted in an increased pressure on infrastructure and land in Cambodia (Sobrado et al., 2013, The World Bank, 2014). While 1% of the Cambodian population owns 30% of the land, 25% of the population are

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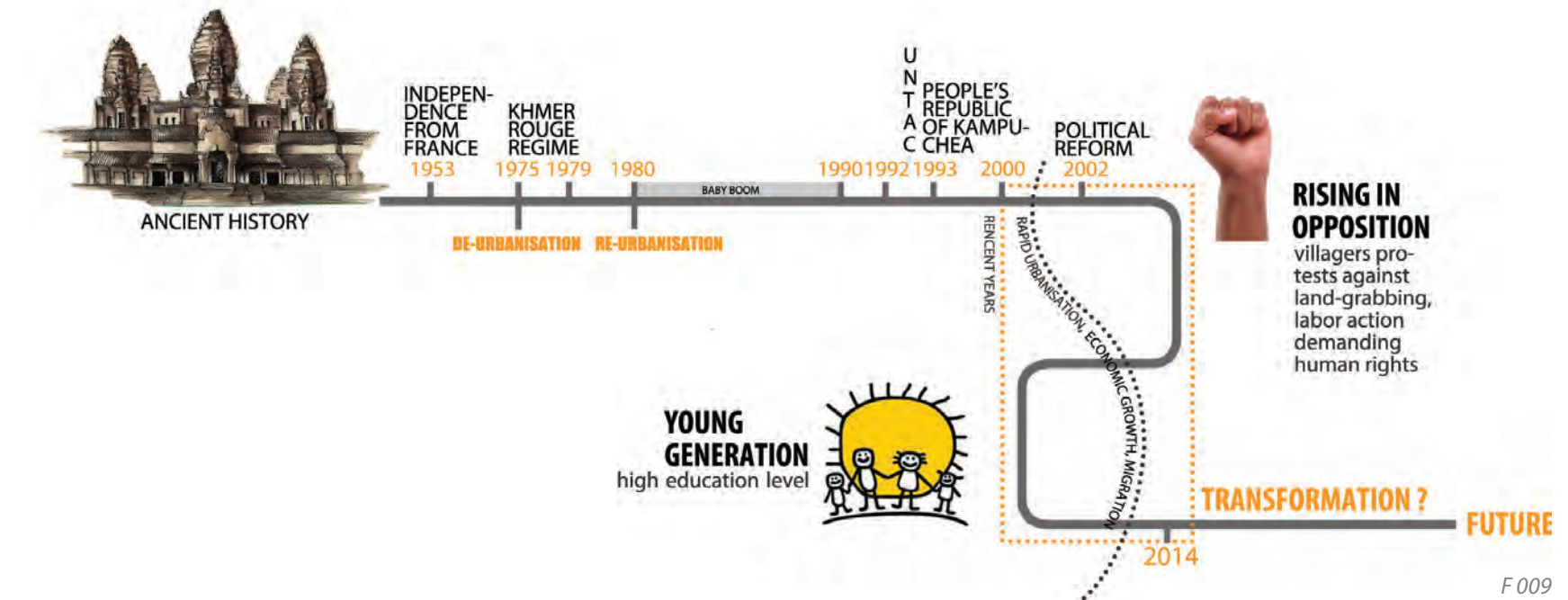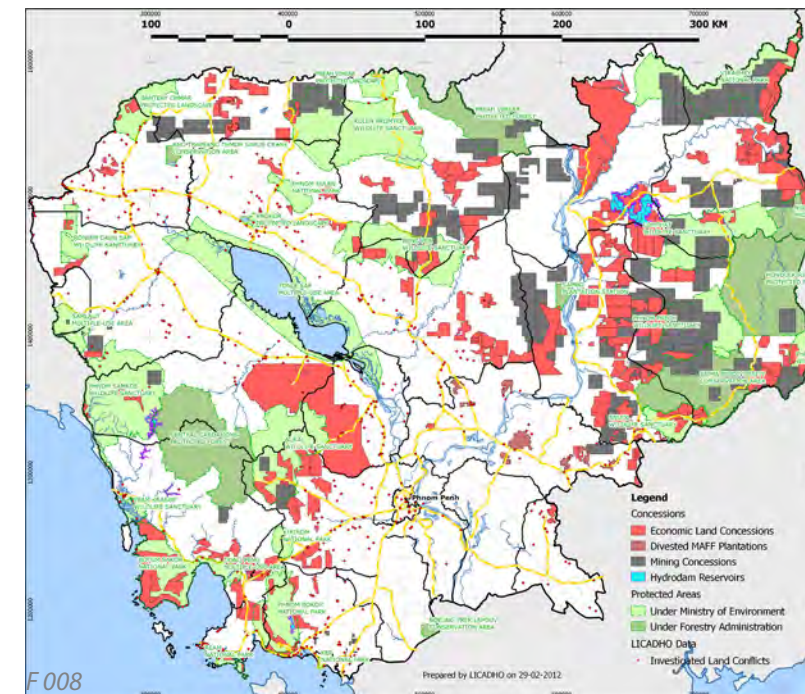
landless (Heder, 2011). From this, it results that the majority of the land is disputed, and that the poor are facing difficulty and are under threat of losing their source of income since they do not have a right to the land (Golay & Biglino, 2013). The urbanisation also, arguably, creates a new economy or an increase in the informal economy.

The pressure for land in Cambodia is distinct in the urban context, particular in the capital, Phnom Penh (Cambodian Center for Human Rights, 2014). Here it is essential to understand Phnom Penh as on a route of convergence towards a global city (Dick & Rimmer, 1998). This opens up for international developers in the market for land. In the past decade Cambodia has experienced significant land-grabbing and resultant displacement of the existing dwellers, often in form of forced and at times arguably illegal evictions (Heder, 2011, Golay & Biglino, 2013).

In this context, it should be noted that democracy in Cambodia is questionable. Heder (2011), describes prime minister Hun Sen's power as increasingly "concentrated, personalized, militarized, regal and mystical" since he

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F 010

liberated Cambodia from the Khmer Rouge in the early 1980's (p. 208). The judiciary is used to repress the population, e.g. with the "2009 Law on Peaceful Demonstrations" used to justify police violence (Heder, 2011, p. 212). However, recent years has seen a rising opposition, villagers' protests against land-grabbing and labour action demanding their human rights (Heder, 2011).

Additionally, during the last years, the Royal Government of Cambodia has approved the creation and modification of laws and regulations in order to ensure the access of low-income households to affordable, secure housing in a suitable location. In fact, the inclusion of policies such as Circular 03 and the draft of the National Housing Policy have provided development stakeholders not only with a mechanism to move from illegal occupation of land to legal ownership, but also frameworks for resettlement and on-side upgrading that guarantee the well-being of the population. Even if significant improvement should be made to the policies, and especially great effort should be put in the implementation mechanisms by local authorities, these represent important steps towards poverty alleviation and land conflicts resolution.

Furthermore, it is essential to understand that the rapid urbanisation and internal migration is correlated to a rapid shift in the demographics of the country. With a post-conflict baby boom in the 1980s and 1990s, Cambodia currently experiences a rapid population growth rate (1.8% in 2005) (Ministry of Planning, 2012). Consequently Cambodia has

a very young population (with 37.1% under the age of 15 in 2005) (ibid.). The young generation accounts for the majority of rural to urban migration (Ministry of Planning, 2012). Interestingly, this generation has a very high school attendance, compared to the South-East Asian context, the young generation achieving a higher education level than the elder generation. (Centre for Development Cooperation, 2002). It is normal to see security guards studying by the light of a flickering street-lamp, or hear motorbike taxi drivers talking about their part-time university studies (Group Planet Finance, 2014).

F 011. Farmers in rural Cambodia [JA].
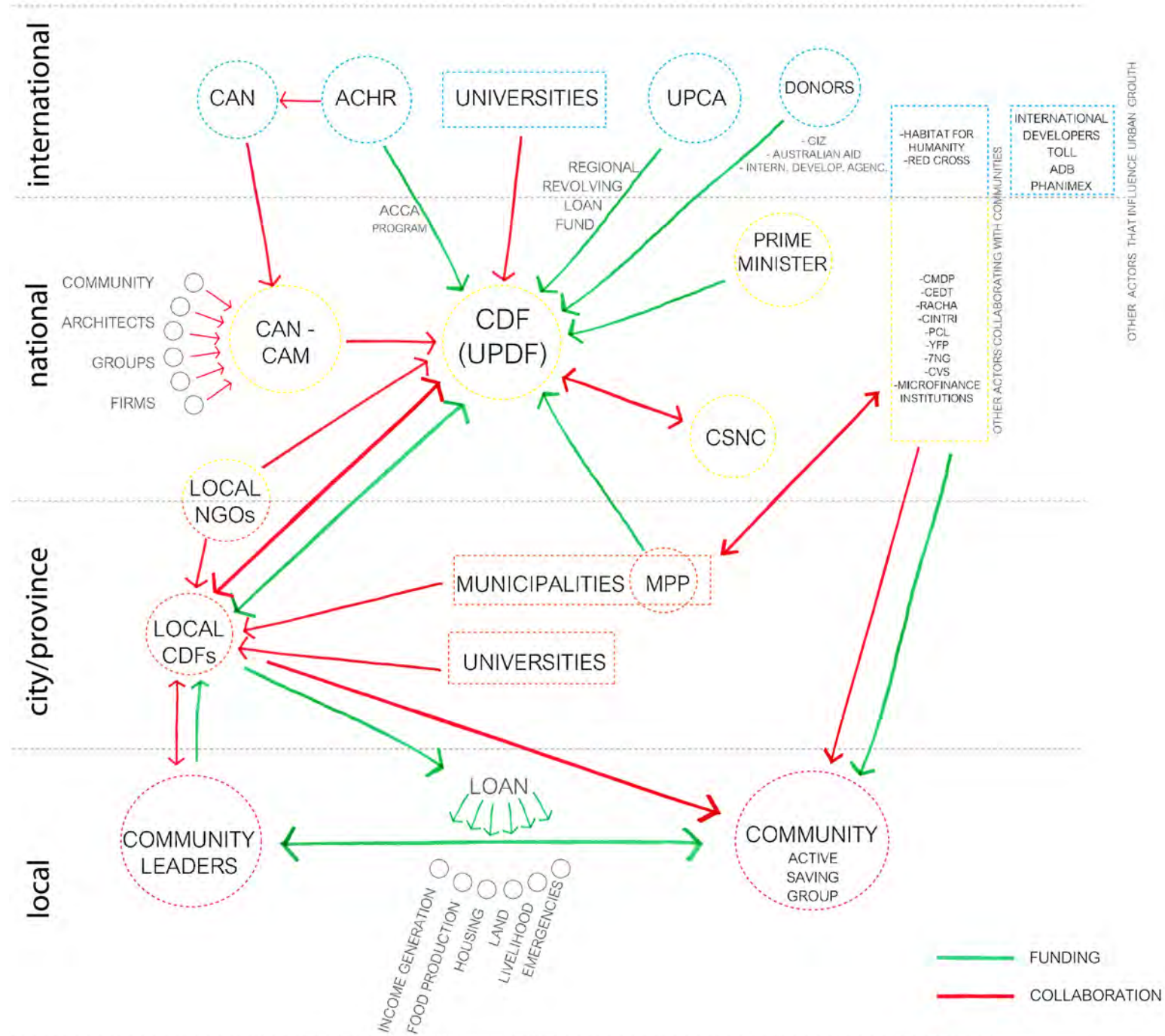
The key actors at play

During our work in Cambodia we received the support of some organizations that allowed us to access to the territories and have a better understanding of Cambodian current situation and about the different forces that push the development of the Country.

The opportunity to work so closely with the communities was only possible thanks to the practitioners working for "**Local CDFs**" (Community Development Funds in Communities). They are part of the National-level institution "Urban Poor Development Fund" (UPDF) now known as "**Community Development Foundation**" **(CDF)**. CDF supports low-income communities through the allocation of funds by promoting and supporting the set up of community savings groups. CDF is considered a very important actor in the role of development in Cambodia since the organisation serves as a direct link between low income communities and the local authorities.

CDF is a finance organization that has two main roles. Firstly, it receives funds and donations from different sources such as the ACCA programme, international donors, Phnom Penh Municipality, and the Prime Minister of Cambodia. The second role is the field work through the Local CDFs, working directly with various communities.

Another collaborator was the **Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR)**, an organisation committed to finding ways to make deep rooted changes in the countries where they work, following the particular realities of each country's culture and politics (ACHR, 2014). The role of ACHR in Cambodia has been very influential in taking decisions in different spheres as political, economical and social aspects. Also, through the ACCA programme (Asian Coalition for Community Action), it has achieved an important presence in many communities in the region since they give loans to develop programs related to housing, infrastructure, income generation, food production and emergencies (ibid.).

Another initiative lead by ACHR that aims to give technical support to the communities is the **Community Architects Network (CAN)**, a regional network of community architects, planners and young professionals and academics in Asian Countries. The local filial, **CAN-Cam** (Community Architects Network – Cambodia), has an important role on the ground, since they support the communities during the process of development and also to build projects from different sources, but mainly from ACCA program funds.

F 012. Diagram showing the relations of funding and collaboration between the key actors encountered in Cambodia [JA]

Central and local CDF, ACHR and CAN-Cam are the most relevant organisations that make the implementation of upgrading projects possible. However, other national and international actors are also involved at the local level, competing or acting in parallel to CDF, in collaboration with the communities. This diagram doesn't aim to give a thourough representation of the multitude of organisation involved in Cambodia, but to highlight the structure and operation of the ones that were encountered during our field trip, affecting directly the work with poor communities.

Methodology and analytical framework

Based in our understanding of the historical, socio-cultural, and economic context of Cambodia we developed the following four initial hypotheses:

1) The emergence of a more democratic regime presents the opportunity of transformation through political resistance and protests.

2) The informal economy presents a transformative potential in the form of expanding livelihood.

3) The new generation presents transformative potential, as they are not as scarred by the history of conflict and as there is a shift in educational levels.

4) The undefined status of land and the general dispute of land in Cambodia, can be used as leverage for transformation, by challenging the system with alternative strategies.

These four hypotheses represent four initial "breaking" or opportunity points and fall within four lenses, through which we observe the reality in the field: political, economical, socio-cultural, and physical. The functions of the hypotheses are twofold; on the one hand, they serve as an analytical framework, by which the data and observations collected on site are tested. As a result of this, they are used as a trigger for the generation of new points of opportunity that may contribute to transformative practices.

Our research consequently adopts a hypothesis-generating rather than a hypothesis-testing methodology. Levy (2008) argues that this approach poses questions of how? rather than whether? This explores how the undefined status of land can be used as leverage for transformation. Hence, the hypotheses are not validated or invalidated as such; rather, they are reproblematised.

John Stuart Mill (2009/1882) argues in A System of Logic, that "the effect of the introduction of any new cause" can only be ascertained if the society is fixed (p. 1111). Mill (2009/1882) further reasons that, as society is not fixed, the effect can only be judged by adjusting for this with comparable data. Such large-N analysis and baseline data which is necessary to validate or invalidate the hypotheses, is not within the scope of this research. In this context, Levy (2008) stresses that small-analysis in crucial cases is key to hypothesis-generation. Thus, we do not seek to determine the exact cause, but draw out the potential causes [1]. In this way, the testing and redevelopment of hypotheses seek out new opportunity points for a positive transformation. These opportunity points are then used as a set-off for our strategies. Furthermore, they shape our diagnosis of transformation in Cambodia (addressing the work's first objective).

With a critical review of the literature we identify our position and draw up our definition of positive transformation. As illustrated in Figure 013 our definition of positive transformation and our diagnosis of transformation in Cambodia work together to form our vision for Cambodia, what we call "*trust*formation". The vision binds the strategies together, and is expanded into principles which inform the strategies. The strategies, in turn, are illustrated by concrete proposals, to show how positive transformation could be achieved in Cambodia (addressing the work's second objective).
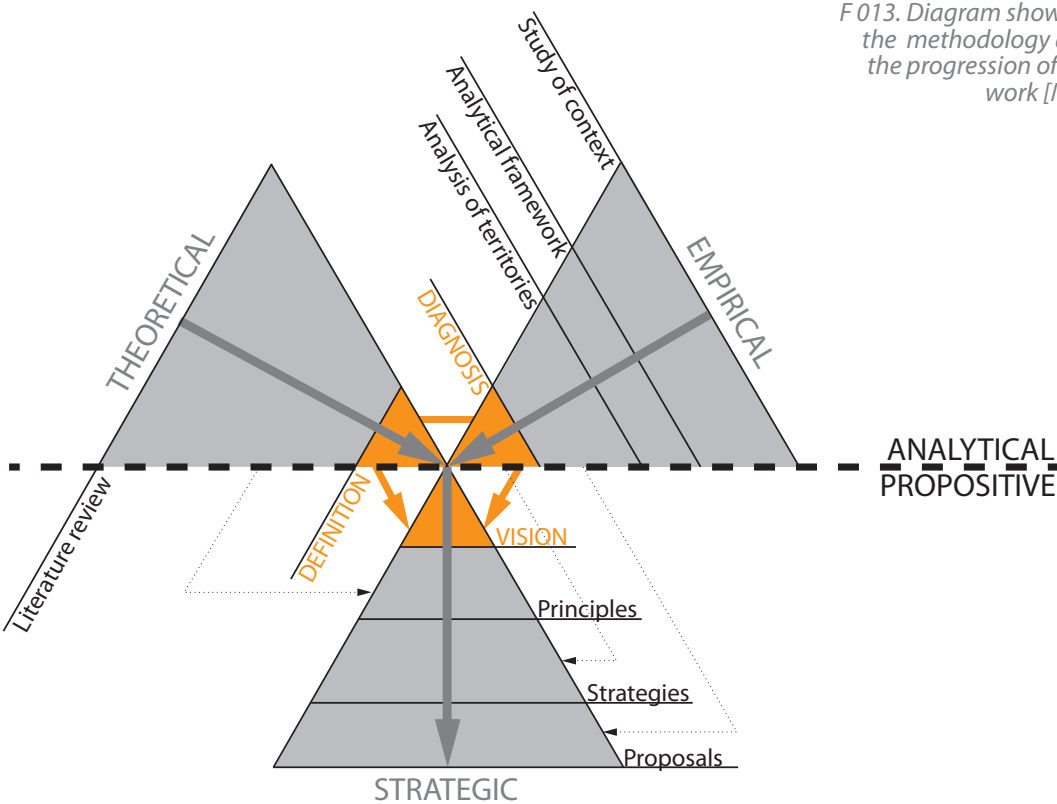
F 013. Diagram showing the methodology and the progression of the work [ME].

2. Theoretical framework
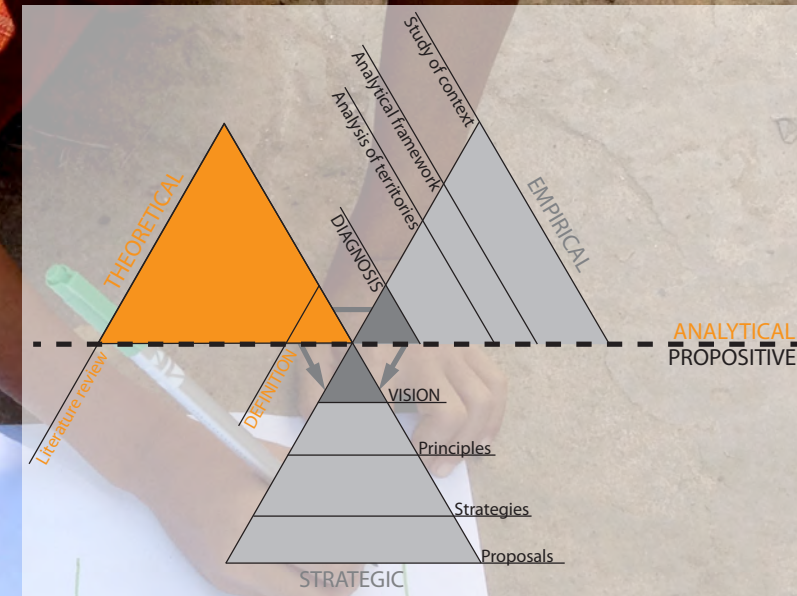
In this chapter, we will develop our definition of positive transformation; this is a reflection of our values as illustrated or informed by the literature. Thus this chapter is comprised of a review of the theories by which we position ourselves, which subsequently leads to our definition of positive transformation.

F 014. Drawing a "dream house" [AP].

Transformation as Space and as Collective Action

The Oxford Dictionary defines transformation as "a marked change in form, nature, or appearance". The word originates from the Latin verb transformare (see trans-, form). Trans is a Latin noun or prefix, meaning across, beyond.

Beyond What?

The change should go beyond not only form but also function, and change the society's institutions and structure, with the aim of changing life. Small changes, not only at the small scale, may lead to these institutional and structural changes. Gramsci (in Forgacs, 1988) coined the term to refer to a significant change that is not a rapturous one, but a slow and gradual metamorphosis which could take years or generations to accomplish. In that sense, transformation is the process of modifying existing conditions, not the sudden replacement of these.

Transformation from whom?

Various forces at play in the city are both planned/willed (imminent) and unplanned/underlying (immanent). Imminent development comes from various actors, such as the government and international agencies, which influences planned change. Parallel to this, immanent development considers acti ons that occur naturally from within the community or simply through the everyday processes. Hickey & Mohan (2005) argue that the latter is largely ignored in development theory. However, moving beyond participation, one could nurture existing positive processes, or induce new ones in the immanent development.

Transformation, but How?

Transformation as space

"*To change life we must first change space*"

(Lefebvre, 1991)

Space is socially produced, both as a process and a product. Spatial practice, representations of space and spaces of representation is a triad which forms the cornerstone of Lefebvre's spatial theory (Lefebrve, 1991). The first kind of space, spatial practice, is space as "perceived", as empirically observed. Spatial practice is the material base, producing the spatial forms and practices appropriate

for different productive and reproductive activities. The second kind of space, representations of space, is space as "conceived". It is a form of knowledge necessary for spatial practice to take place. Lastly, the third kind of space is space of representation, space as "lived". This can be understood as a critique and as a form of resistance to the dominant social order. It is therefore both the space of the experienced and the space of alternatives, imagination and innovation.

Drawing on Lefebvre's analysis, Border notes that "knowledge falls into a trap when it makes representation of space the basis of the study of life, for in doing so it reduces lived experience" (Border, 2012).

Thus, representations of space and spaces of representation taken together provide the conceptions and imagining necessary for spatial practice to operate. When spaces of representation become visible, recognized and central there is an opportunity to transform existing realities. How does one recognise and make visible the lived experience?

Transformation as immediate collective action

Taking Lefebvre's understanding of the importance of everyday life, Boonyabancha et al (2012) argue that "development interventions take a different form if they begin with an appreciation of the knowledge and capacities of the poor who survive in such difficult circumstances; and with a recognition that the thoughts and actions of the urban poor are valid, that they are capable and that they have the potential to lead their own change process from the very beginning".

They recognise that although the potential is there, there are various forces at play that make this potential hard to be channelled and used in a constructive and transformative way. The authors outline the need for a space, which is not there yet, in order for the poor and the marginalized to be able to re-position themselves in their cities. Following Lefebvre's logic, they explain that development interventions should not aim to change the people's behaviour or everyday life but rather to identify and develop the strengths that already exist in order for the poor to make the change for themselves. She centralizes the importance of immediate action since it doesn't only build a sense of belonging and collectivity but

it is also makes their position visible in their cities.

"... poor people and poor communities to take action immediately and on many fronts – to develop and demonstrate an alternative development process in which the people who have been ignored and marginalized in their cities in every possible way are at the centre of a process of transforming their lives, settlements and position in the city".

(Boonyabancha et al, 2012)

Immediate action has the power to demonstrate alternative development processes, centralizing the lived experiences and thus contributing to a different understanding of what our cities should look like, how are our cities produced, and what kind of life should one live.

F 015. Children attending a meeting with the students in a community of Russey Keo district [EF].

Definition of positive transformation

Positive transformation is the capacity to challenge the status quo and develop alternative realities where people are positioned equally at the centre of a development process and have the space to react, propose and negotiate their position in the city.
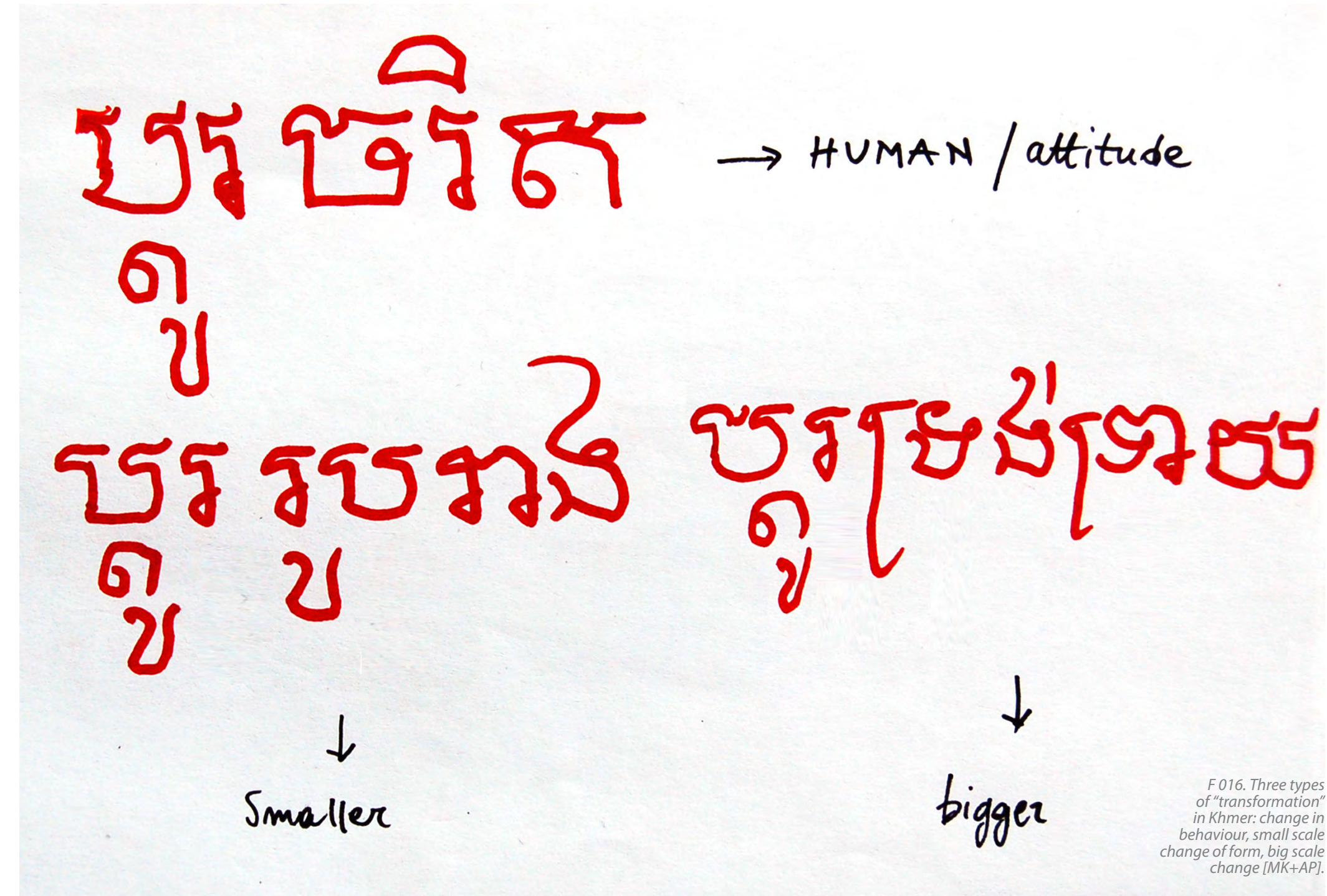
Throughout this work, the concept of transformation was defined and redefined; being subjected to a process of transformation itself. Being influenced by the analysis of Cambodia's past and current situation, the literature, and also the field work experience, the above definition resulted. This definition of transformation is based on four key elements:

• Supporting the emerging culture of **resistance**, granted that it is done in a constructive way, proposing alternatives to the dominant logic and order.

• Supporting existing processes and actors that **link people and authorities**, through recognizing their equal position amongst other actors.
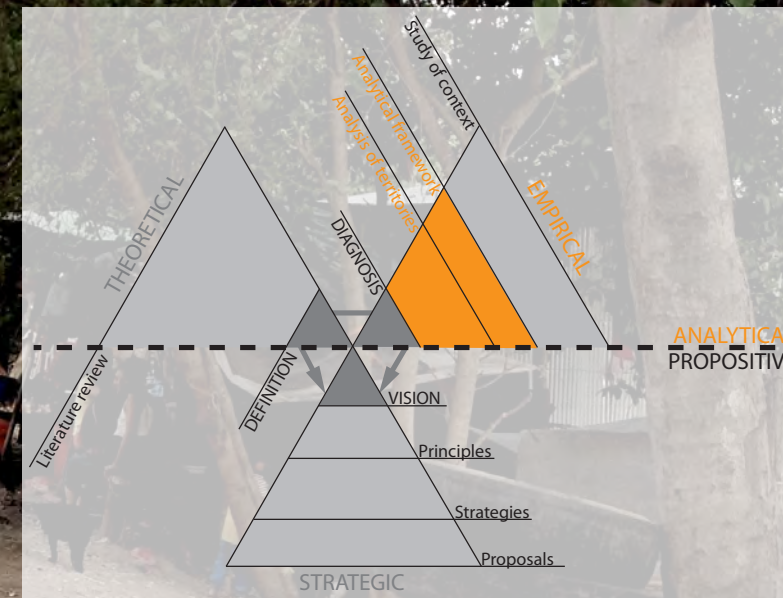
• Recognising the **generational change**.
Young generations, born and raised after the war, have the potential of being the motors for change.

• Building **collective action** as an opportunity for autonomy and to escape dependency.

In conclusion, this definition is what guides our work. The process in which **transformation** unfolds, though, remains open to further changes, since it goes hand in hand with **decision making** and **action**, in a simultaneous ongoing relationship that influence each other and cannot be separated.

F 016. Three types of "transformation" in Khmer: change in behaviour, small scale change of form, big scale change [MK+AP].

# 3. Analysing a multitude of territories

In this chapter, we will analyse the data gathered and observations made in the multitude of territories studied in the field. This is the chapter in which the four initial hypotheses of the analytical framework are tested and questioned. The result of the findings here, is the redevelopment of opportunity points for transformation.

F 017. Small gathering at the railway settlement, Serei Sophon [AP].

Profiling the territories

The site work was focused in three Provinces; three groups worked in Phnom Penh, two groups worked in Bantaey Manchaey and one group focused on Battambang. Each group was working with settlements with various strengths, facing different challenges. Each group had five days of fieldwork upon which the following site profiles and analyses are based.
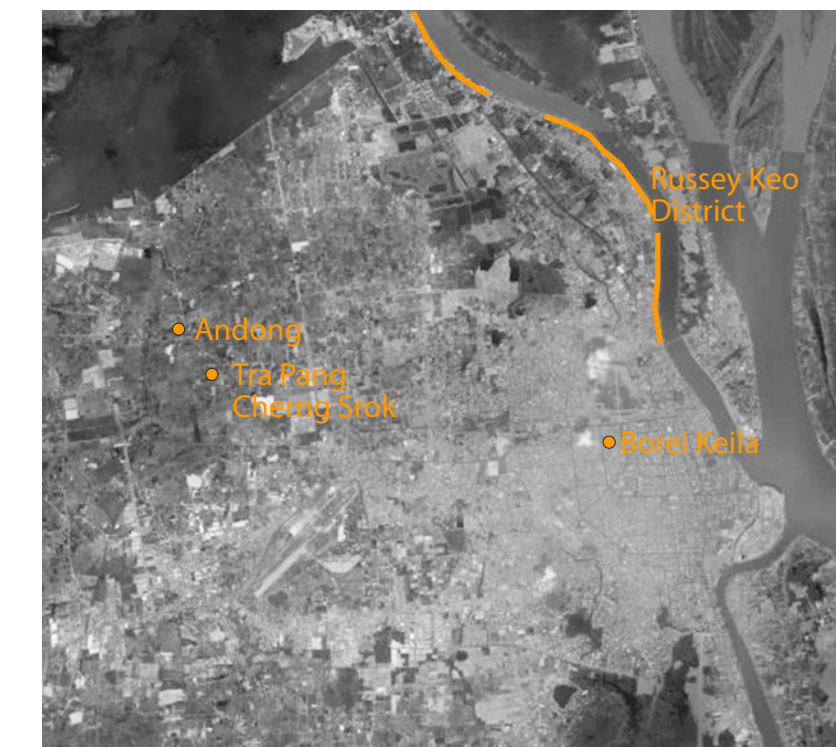
F 018. Map of Cambodia (Left) showing major cities, and Map of Phnom Penh District (Right) showing locations of territories in Phnom Penh.

Russey Keo district, Phnom Penh

The site is the district of Russey Keo, and in particular the 56 "communities," scattered along the Mekong and Ton Le Sap riversides in an area twenty times greater than the City of London. The district experiences a pressure for land from Phnom Penh, located just south of the site. The communities are represented in the CDF-network by 13 representatives that were elected 16 years ago. This network is also the base for the long established prahok-loans in 17 of the communities.

Challenges:
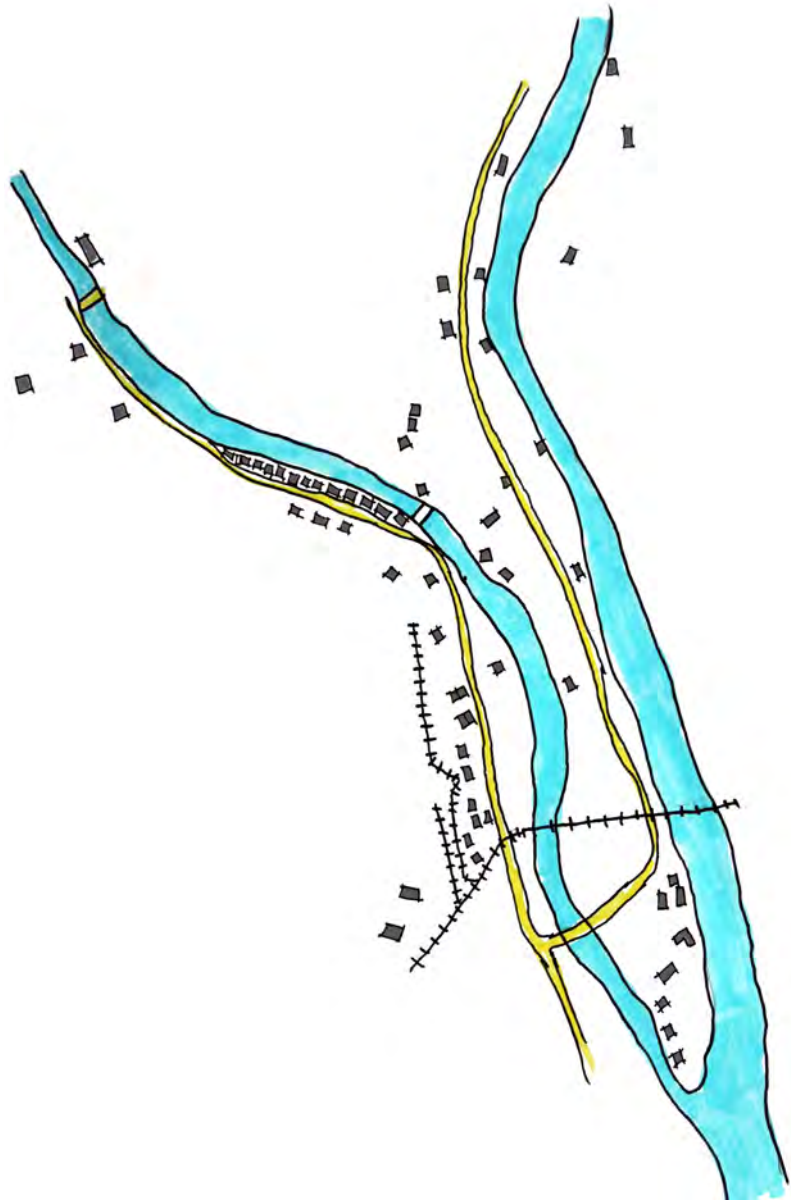• Land pressures due to infrastructure and proximity to Phnom Penh

Opportunities:
• A well-established CDF-network
• Economic development, through the formal economy and in particular the garment industry

F 019

F 020
RUSSEI KEO COMMUNITIES
PHNOM PENH CENTRE


F 021

F 022

Andong

22

Andong is mainly a relocation site for settlements from central Phnom Penh. Formed mainly by dwellers from the Basaac area, Andong is divided into 6 parts according to the time and place people were living before. Most of the residents in Andong Village come from the Basaac area, and had experienced a eviction without any form of compensation. Recently, the residents who live in Andong 4 and Andong 6 are facing a second eviction, by which they would be relocated on a new land and developed by a foreign NGO that will deliver 800 units in a 2,7 ha land. However, through informal conversations, it became evident that some residents are not willing to move to the new site because of mistrust in the PCL. This mistrust became even more evident through their lacking desire to participate in activities that were held through this workshop, thinking that PCL was involved.

Challenges:
• Eviction and relocation
• Distrust of organisations working on site

Opportunities:
• Will to get organized and negotiate the process of relocation.
• Existing networks with other communities and CDF
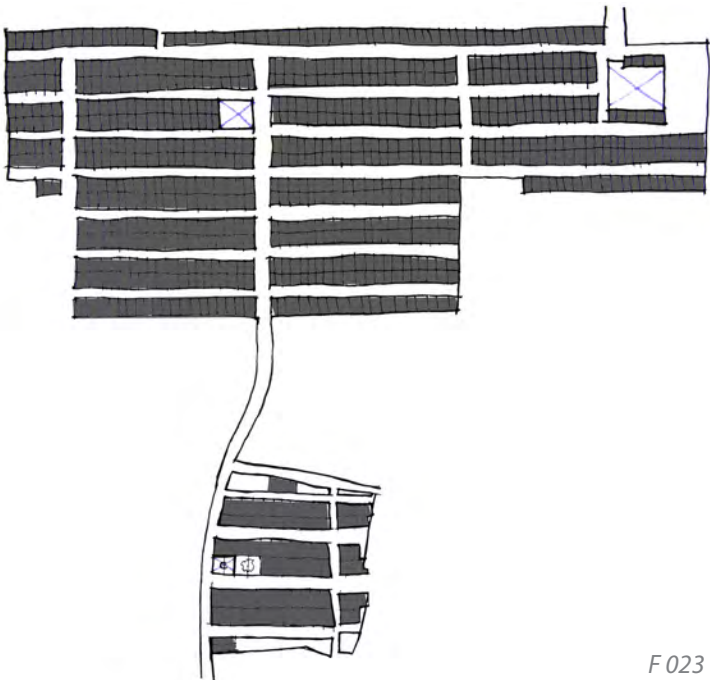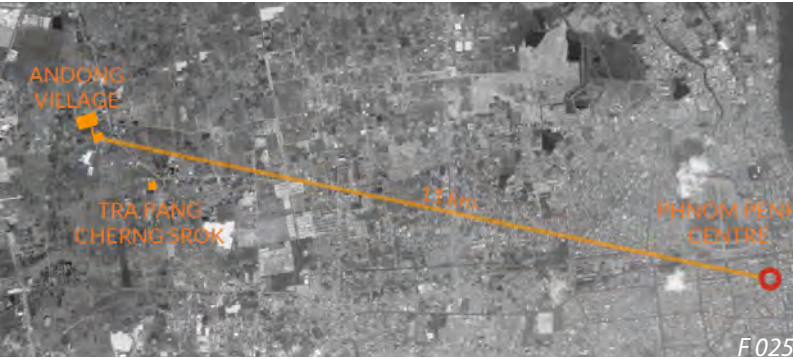

F 023

F 024

Tra Pang Cherng Srok

This community is formed by families relocated first from the Bassac area and then from the Kork Kleang village. When facing eviction people got organised, started a savings group to get a loan from CDF and managed to buy the plot of land where their houses will be located. Currently the main concern is how to start building the houses with a budget of $1500 that will be granted through the ACCA programme.
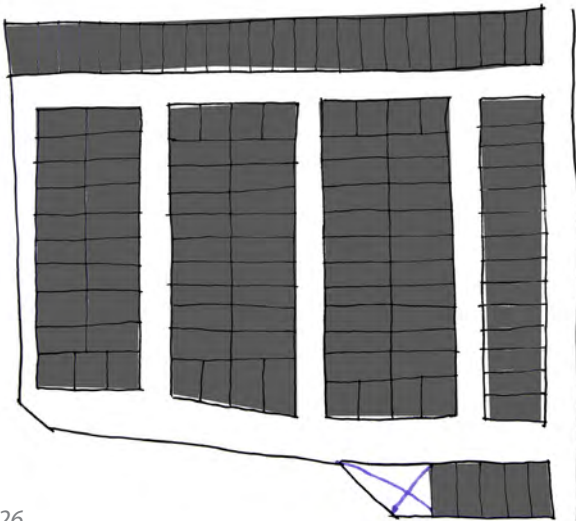
Challenges:
• Unorganized people and lack of trust in the leaders
• Involving the residents in the relocation process
• Adjusting the relocation plan by PCL to fit resident's needs
• Opening up spaces of collaboration and negotiation

Opportunities:
• Organised, existing savings groups

F 025

F 026

F 027

Borei Keila

Borei Keila used to be an extremely dense inner city settlement in 7 Makara District. In 2006, a pioneering land-sharing agreement was reached between the Municipality of Phnom Penh and the large Borei Keila slum community (with ideas and support from UPDF and ACHR), in which the 1,770 families would be re-housed in 10 apartment blocks built on a small part of the same site, by the private developer who was granted the concession to develop this inner city public land and who would develop the rest of the site as high-end housing. The agreement was that the people would get the 4x12m apartments completely free, and the developer would pay for them, using part of the huge profits they expected to earn from sale of the market-rate developments. However, by the time the 8th apartment block was finished and occupied, the land values in the area had risen so high that the developer decided to break it's agreement.

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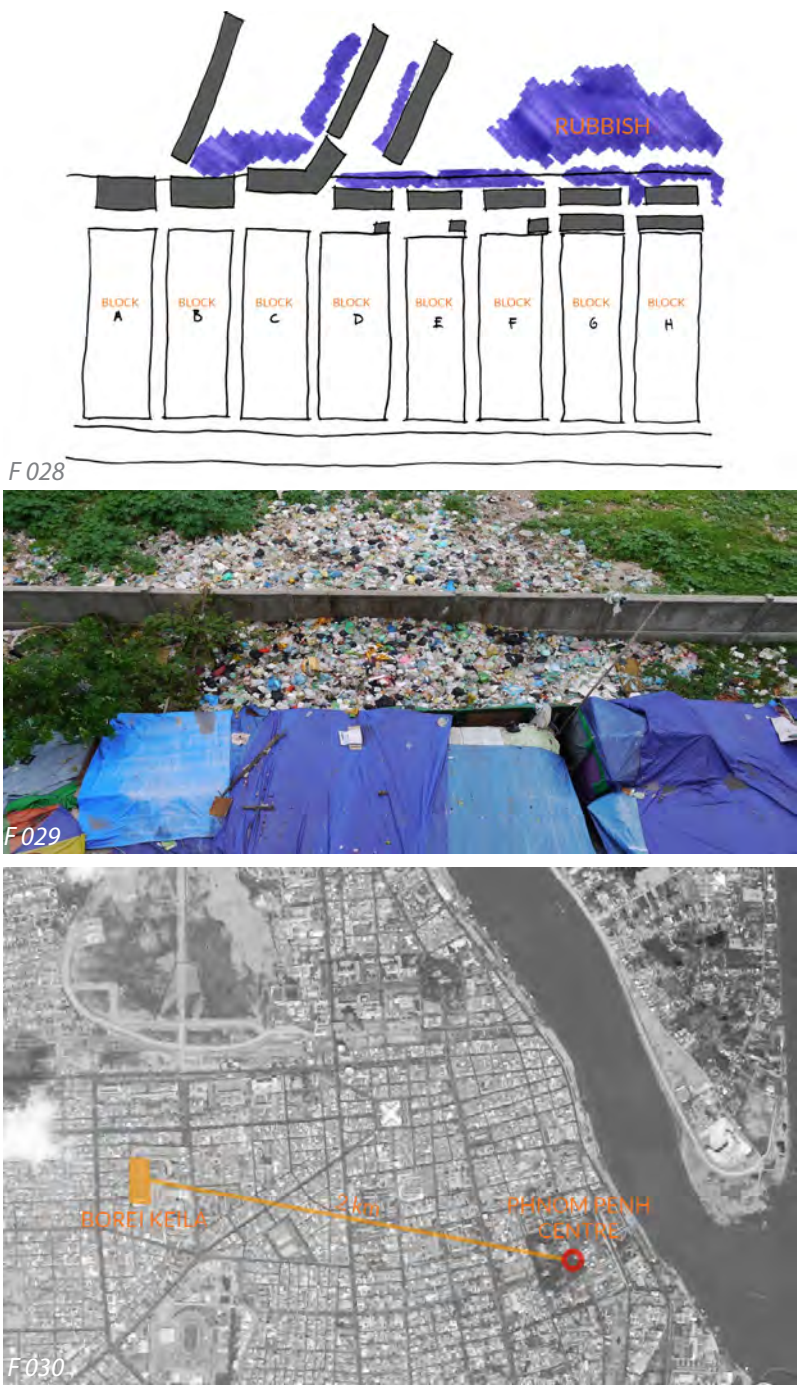
Challenges:
• Insecurity of land tenure
• Potential eviction to squatters
• Sanitation problem
• Distrust amongst the residents and towards authorities and private company

Opportunities:
• Rising in land values
• Municipalities's attention on this issue
• Raising awareness of human rights

F 031

Chamkar Samroung II, Battambang

Chamkar Samroung II is situated very close to the city centre. Adjacent to the site are two large complexes; an orphanage, and a rehabilitation centre for spinal cord injuries. It was previously part of a larger settlement called Veasna Amatak. Before the split, a reblocking plan was submitted, with the help of CEDT, for the whole site.

The municipality of Battambang aim to become a role model for the implementation of Circular 03 in Cambodia. They wish to achieve tenure security for all to live in dignity and create a prosperous city for all. So far, there have not been any evictions in Battambang. A survey was carried out in 2009 which identified 64 informal settlements around the city, consisting of 2200 households.

According to the municipality, the households must be part of a savings group to be recognised as part of a community, and must achieve community status to eventually reach land tenure. The role of the municipality in the upgrading process is to provide infrastructure, through the implementation of Circular 03. Once they upgrade, the community would be allowed to remain on site.
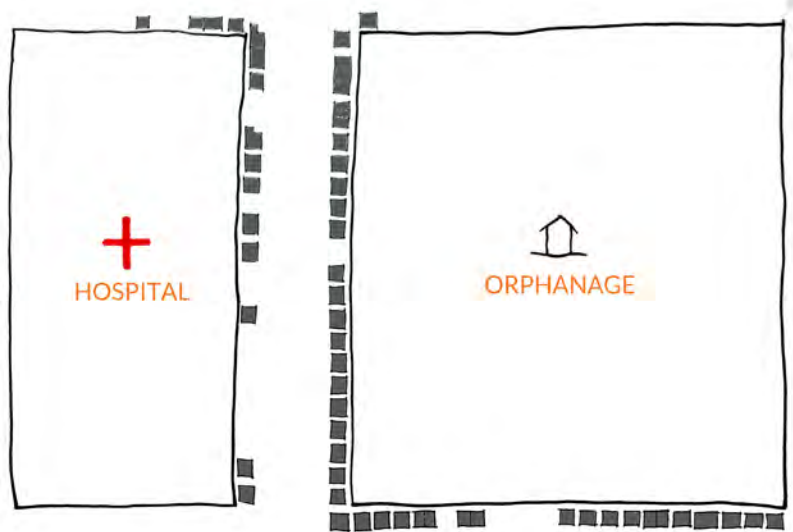

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F 033

Challenges:
• Problems of flooding during the rainy reason
• Lack of infrastructure such as roads
• Community members stopped saving in 2012

Opportunities:
• Support of Battambang municipality of Battambang
• Successful savings groups within the community

HOSPITAL   ORPHANAGE

F 034

F 035

Baret settlement, Serei Sophon

This site is made up of 3 settlements. The main problem faced by this site is the threat of eviction because a big number of houses are living on public land. Currently, the municipality has assigned a piece of land near to the city centre to relocate these families with another 677 families from other settlements. The people from the site are willing to accept the relocation if the municipality guarantee the land tenure and the provision of infrastructure. Although the families of the settlement are not organised as a community and do not have a community leader or savings groups, they have some social practices that suggest that there are elements of community collectivity. In recent years, a community leader who had organised the savings initiatives within the community left suddenly, which created a sense of mistrust between residents. However, they are aware of the fact that living on public land may result in relocation and are open to discussions with the local authorities.

F 036. Map of Baret settlement [JA].

F 037. Location map of Baret, Serei Sophon [JA].

F 038. Collage of pictures from Baret settlement [LC].
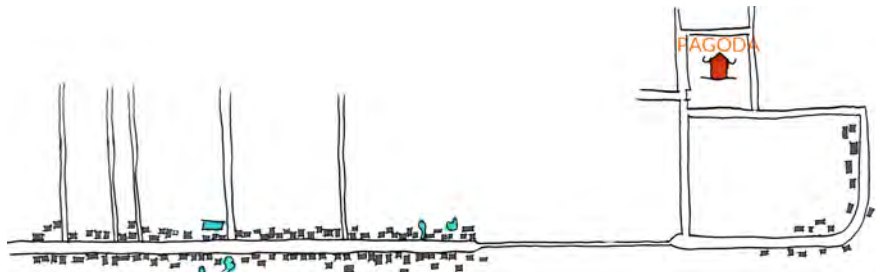
F 036

Challenges:
• Threat of eviction
• Flooding
• Lack of infrastructure
• Waste management
• Lack of savings groups
• Lack of community leadership

Opportunities:
• Residents are willing to cooperate and negotiate with local authorities
• Basic elements of collectivity and cohesion are present

F 037

BARET SETTLEMENT

1.8 km

SEREI SOPHON CENTRE

F 038

BASIC INFORMATION

Name of settlements:
Sae Sen, Village 4, Korothan.

Location:
Vicinity of train station and NH5, Serei Sophon City, Banteay Mancheay Province.

Number of households (families):
128 (154), 41 (65), 4 (4).

Year established:
approx. 1979.

Actors:
Municipality of SS, local CDF, provincial government, ADB, TOLL

Name of settlements:
Sae Sen, Village 4, Korothan.

Location:
Southwest of Serei Sophon City centre.

Number of households (families): 51 (62).

Actors:
Local CDF, Municipality of SS, Provincial Government, RACHA, ADB, TOLL.

Railway settlements, Serei Sophon

Serei Sophon is a small town in the Banteay Mancheay province, close to the Thai border. The railway settlements include four villages and a total of approximately 280 families. The threat of eviction is a result of the plans by the government, ADB and the Australian company Toll to rebuild the track (in part already completed) and restart the train traffic to connect the city of Serei Sophon with Battambang to the south and Poi Pet to the north. This falls into the national policy of development that makes infrastructure one of its main pillars. These changes at the national and international level come to the ground affecting thousands of people who are living along unused or old infrastructure, such as the railway. The provincial and municipal authorities have a plan for the relocation of most informal settlements on public land, which includes a 30 meter buffer zone adjacent to the tracks. While the families in Rong Masen are more organised as a group, and are willing to discuss the option of relocation, the people living in the other three villages – in a more strategic location – are strongly opposing to the official plans, and are only willing to discuss upgrading and small improvements on site. Hence, it emerges that the two sites are affected by the same threats but are in different positions and phases in the process of building a community.

F 039

SEREI SOPHON CITY CENTER
RONG MASEN
RAILWAY SETTLEMENTS
F 040

Rong Masen

F 041
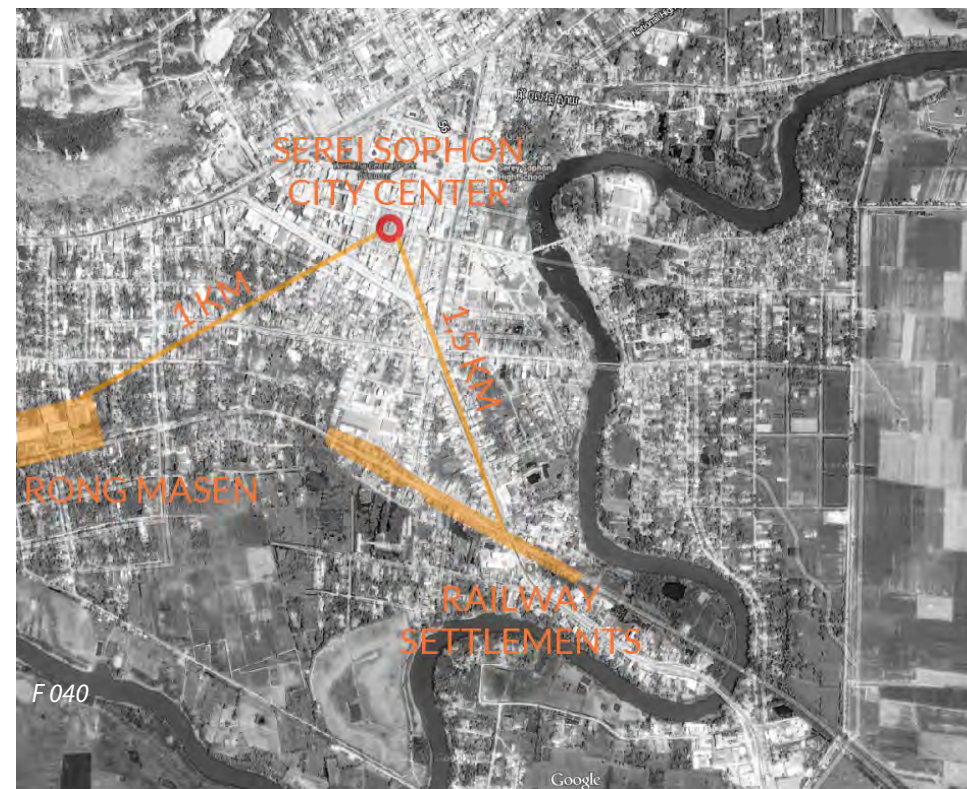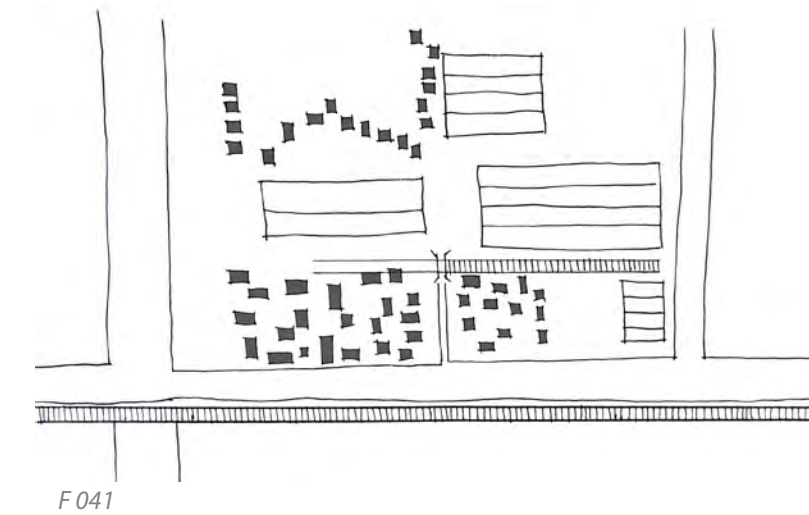
Challenges:
• Threat of eviction;
• Flooding;
• Garbage management;
• Small plots and houses;
• Poor infrastructure;
• Lack of communal spaces and play areas.

Opportunities:
• Organised and collaborative community;
• In the process of starting a savings group;
• Open to discussions regarding relocation;
• Youth participates and is more demanding.

Sae Sen, Village 4, Korothan villages

STATION
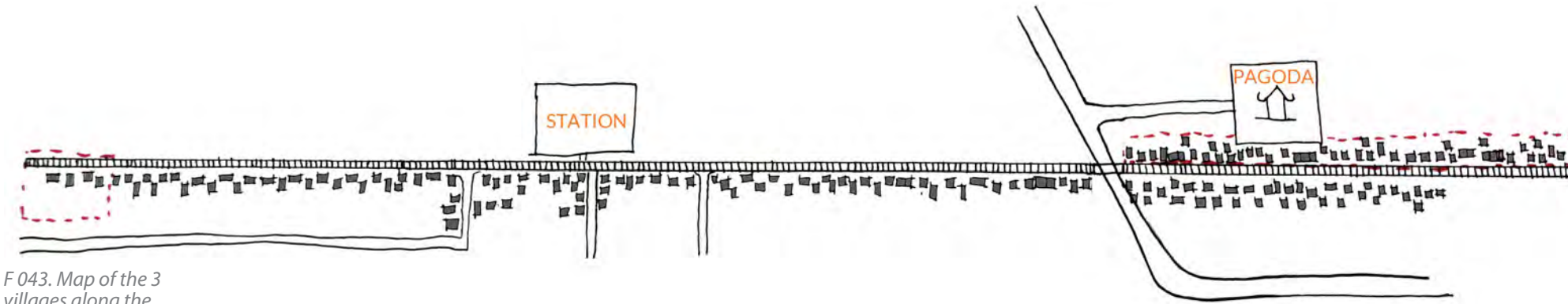
PAGODA

F 043. Map of the 3 villages along the railway [JA].

F 044. Collage of images of the Sae Sen and Village 4 settlements [AP].

Challenges:
• Flooding and drainage;
• Garbage management;
• Threat of eviction;
• Strong distrust of external actors.

Opportunities:
• Central location;
• Proximity to school, market, shops, factories, pagoda;
• Strong opposition to relocation plans.

"Solving Asia's urban poor housing problems using Asia's greatest resource: PEOPLE"
(ACHR)

F 045. Daily life in Chamkar Samroung II settlement, Battambang [PM].

Introducing our breaking points

Key to the diagram

1.Protest and constructive resistance

2.Institutional reform and decentralization

3.Linking authorities to communities

4.Informal economy

5.Formal economy and industrialisation

6.Cooperatives

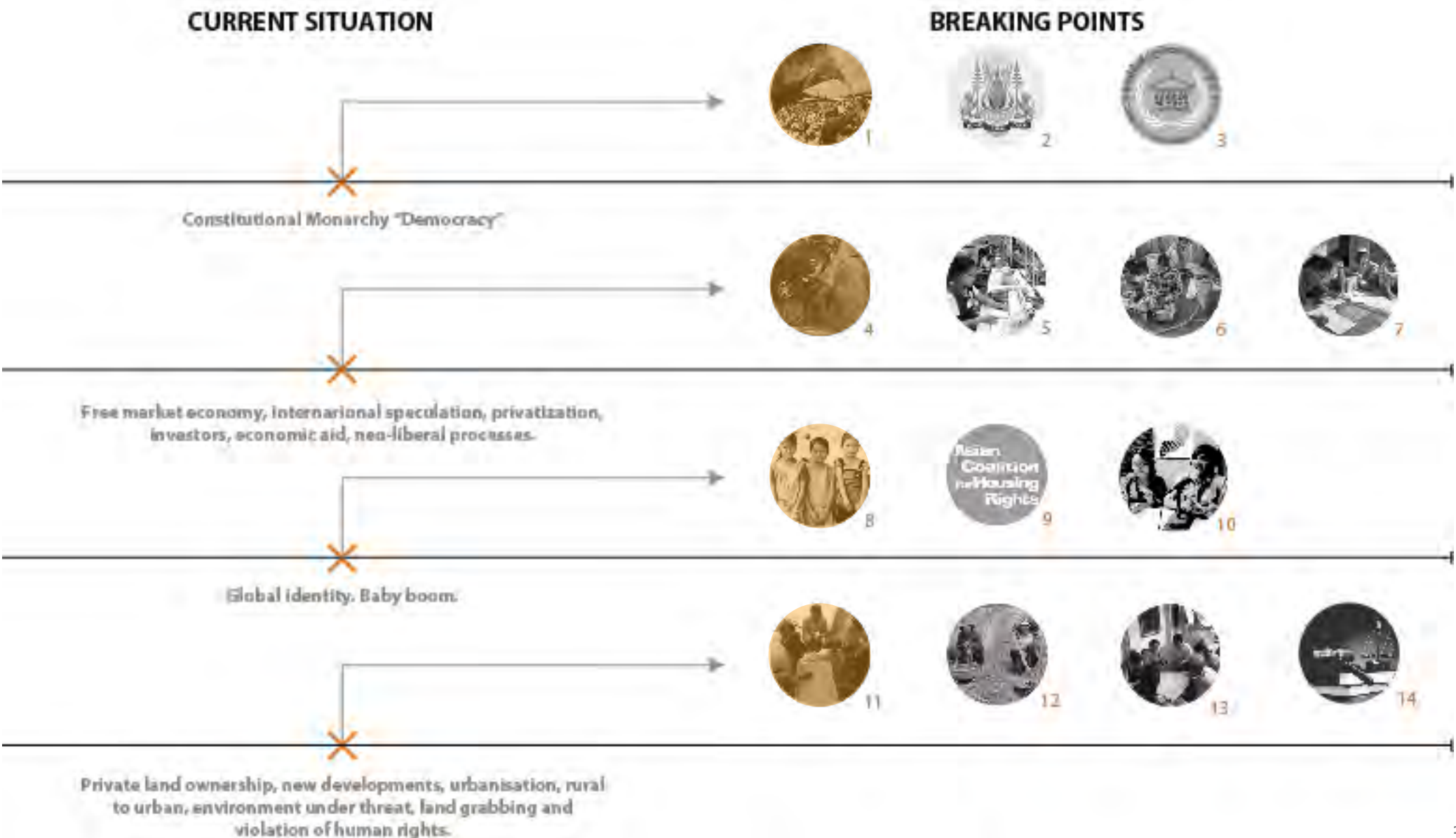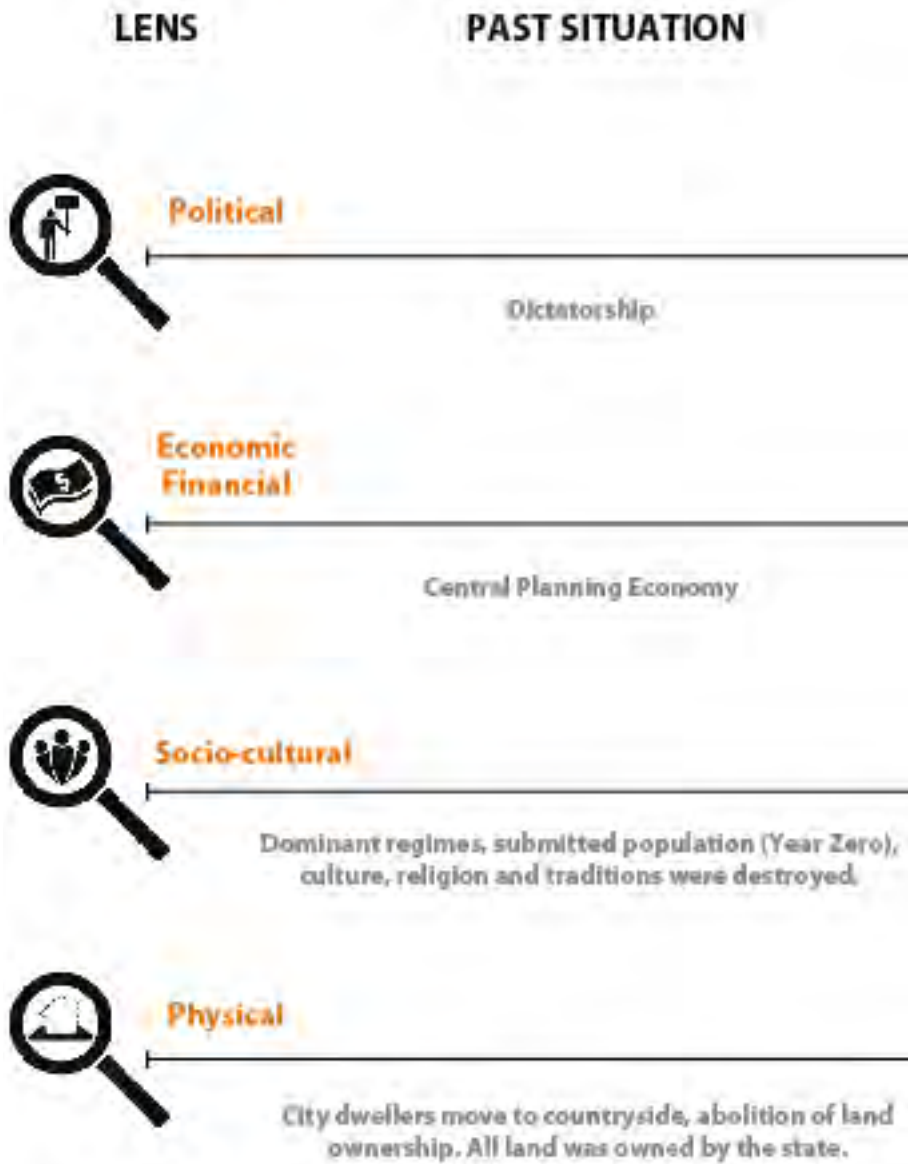7.Savings groups

8.Generational change

9. Influence from external actors

10.Access to media and information

11.Alternative strategies to relocation

12.Land as an asset

13.On site upgrading

14.Scaling-up

The framework was built over the breaking points, initially based on the readings, and then found during the analysis of the different territories and the Cambodian context under four lenses. Each lens shows how the reality of the country and specific actions performed by different actors can create situations that can be used as opportunities to develop strategies and proposals that impulse transformative processes in the country. Moreover, by testing these hypothetical opportunities in the territories it is possible to verify the initial idea of transformation or find new breaking points to redevelop this concept. The breaking points are illustrated in the diagram in Figure 046, where the initial ones are in orange for better understanding. For the political lens, three elements were identified: protest and constructive resistance, institutional reform and decentralization, and linking authorities to communities. For the economic/financial lens: informal economy, formal economy and industrialisation, cooperatives and savings groups. For the socio-cultural lens: generational change, influence from external actors, access to media and information. Finally, for the physical lens, four main opportunity points were identified: alternative strategies for relocation, the concept of land as an asset, on-site upgrading, and scaling-up.

LENS	PAST SITUATION	CURRENT SITUATION	BREAKING POINTS
Political	Dictatorship	Constitutional Monarchy "Democracy"	
Economic Financial	Central Planning Economy	Free market economy, international speculation, privatization, investors, economic aid, neo-liberal processes.	
Socio-cultural	Dominant regimes, submitted population (Year Zero), culture, religion and traditions were destroyed.	Global identity. Baby boom.	
Physical	City dwellers move to countryside, abolition of land ownership. All land was owned by the state.	Private land ownership, new developments, urbanisation, rural to urban, environment under threat, land grabbing and violation of human rights.	

Testing the framework

Political lens:
Protesting and Resisting

The hypothesis is that the emergence of a more democratic regime presents the opportunity of transformation through political resistance and protests. For some sites political resistance has not been observed, for example in Battambang, while heavy and continuous acts of resistance have been observed in other contexts such as Borei Keila and the railway settlements in Serei Sophon. However, in the latter, it cannot be judged whether the resistance has a transformative potential. In Russey Keo, the hypothesis cannot be validated and it is interesting to note that transformation may be achieved through the established regime. Furthermore, it should be noted that observations from Tra Pang Cherng Srok and Andong point towards a different entry point; not that of resistance but of collective action.

The protests at the railway settlement (Sae Sen and other villages) shows signs of resistance, but from what could be seen, it doesn't have any transformative power since it is not constructive resistance. However, this resistance to the relocation plans offered a tool for negotiation when dealing with the local authorities through the possibility of on-site upgrading.

In Battambang, signs of transformative resistance in Chamkar Samroung II are minimal. There is a weak bond between community members and residents spoke about internal conflicts, both between the two communities, as well as between and within households. The lack of threat of evictions may contribute to the passivity of the community since they are not under pressure of eviction.

Borei Keila shows signs of resistance through many instances of unrest and protest against the police. However, these actions cannot be considered as constructive, making their transformative potentials questionable. Particular actions suggest more individual resistance, such as an elderly woman who was promised a new flat but was then refused now sleeps in the corridor. Other residents refuse to leave without adequate compensation.

In Russey Keo, the limited access to information makes it difficult to assess the level of protest and resistance in the district. With frequent meetings between the CDF-network and the local authorities, and the CDF-network's participation in the District's board meetings, the network is largely involved in the established political regime. Whilst aware of the limits of the network's accountability, it may be concluded that there is an alternative to the political resistance, in form of changing the system from within.

During the visit to Andong 4 & 6 settlements, a strong presence of NGO's in the site was found. Foreign aid along with government partnerships are leading the development of Andong, however the diverse realities of the people are disregarded in this process. Even though the vision for this site is to "build a new city" and in the process people would get their houses for free; the opinions found in the field often contested these events. While the housing units will be delivered as a finished product, there is an imposed limitation of not allowing any upgrading for the first five years. As a result of this, the residents would rather save and be able to build their houses by themselves. In this context, resistance is not a tangible manifestation, but is evident in their reluctance to accept the relocation and the terms in which it will be carried out.

Even though the community in Tra Pang Cherng Srok has been relocated twice and people are currently living in different sites, they have retained the links between them and are still working together to get their houses built. In this context, the notion of resistance is that of preserving the connections within the community through time and space, towards a common objective that requires collective action. In this process assertive leadership is important in order to mobilise people towards action.

F 047. Garnment workers protesting for increased minimum wage in Phnom Penh [phnompenhpost.com].

F 048. Monks protesting in central Phnom Penh against the alleged decision of the Government to sell off the institute's land to a casino operator [phnompenhpost.com].

F 049. Political rallies of the opposition party CNRP in Phnom Penh before the local elections of 2014 [JM].

Economic lens:
Informal economy

The hypothesis is that the informal economy presents a transformative potential in the form of expanding livelihood. While different forms of more or less informal activities and occupations can be observed across all sites, it cannot be judged that they present a particular transformative potential. In the particular case of Russey Keo, the formal economies, and the industrialisation, present an opportunity in increasing income and training.

F 050. Woman selling corn in Battabang [JA].

F 051. Dried fish pra-hok, traditional product of the riverside communities in Phnom Penh [EF].

F 052. Children in Chamkar Samroung II [JA].

F 050

F 051

Many residents in the railway settlements work in the formal economy, such as construction. Additional to this, there are open positions for new workers in a factory close to the relocation site. On the other hand, there are other more informal livelihoods. A strong example of this is the garbage collection and recycling initiatives. Residents spoke about the collection of used bottles that are then sold to a recycling company.

In Russey Keo, the formal economy, and more particularly the industrialisation, seems to be an entry point for the residents of the informal settlements, with raised income from factory jobs and with new skills learned through training programmes. The informal economy seems to be linked with the pressure for land, with vendors and moto drivers, seeking a place close to the centre, risking eviction.

Both formal and informal economies are active within the settlements in Andong. Many people work in the construction and garment industry whilst others run their own business in Andong Village such as running grocery stores, selling cold drinks and food shops). Here, there is a formal market in which people rent stalls to operate their small businesses such as selling clothes and food. Others work more directly in the informal economy, such as vendors and tuk-tuk drivers etc.

Socio - cultural lens:
Generational change

The hypothesis is that the new generation presents transformative potential, as they are not as scarred by the history of conflict and as there is a shift in education levels. Across all sites, it is clear that there is a divide between generations, with the elders who rule and attend to community matters and the young who work and provide for the livelihood. It cannot be inferred whether this divide is dependent on time or age, i.e. will the situation change when the young grow up or will they take over the existing roles of the elders?

F 052

In Chamkar Samroung II, it became apparent that the majority of the younger working generation are not very active in community issues because they are very busy with work to support their families. Whilst visiting the site, the most active members was the elder generation because they were actually present and have the time to focus on community issues. However, we observed a change in livelihood, with many of the younger generations working in Siem Reap and Phnom Penh.

The younger generation living in the railway settlements seemed to be more proactive and demanding in the dream house exercise and in the collective activities. However, due to work commitments, not many youngsters were present on site. This shows how their role is fundamental for income generation but they may not be able to actively participate in the processes of change that were proposed. Many children were also very engaged in the exercises and show potential for change.

It became evident that the majority of children in Borei Keila attend schools and receive proper education. This may be recognised as a potential for higher levels of education in future generations.

In Baret, it was observed that younger generations are not very active on site. The older generations have a more clear understanding of the situation and their future options with regards to eviction and relocation.

The new generation in Russey Keo presents itself with interest in and eagerness for better levels of education. However, in some areas this is often hampered by the family's economic situation. From the collected data and impressions it is not possible to judge whether this generation is less submissive. However, it is clear that there is a will to learn, in order to achieve a better livelihood for the families.

Physical lens:
Land as an asset

The hypothesis is that the undefined status of land and the general dispute of land in Cambodia, can be used as leverage for transformation, by challenging the system with alternative strategies. With Tra Pang Cherng Srok, Battambang, and the Railway settlements the hypothesis is clearly validated. For the Railway settlements it is interesting to see that this is a transformative opportunity in negotiating the clash between scales. On the other side we have Andong, Russey Keo, and Borei Keila, where land is clearly a threat. The principles of land sharing in Borei Keila go well with the hypothesis. However, it is clear that the market forces and the extreme pressure for land overrules the potential. With the observations from Russey Keo it is essential to stress that the potential is undermined by the lack of collectivity and particularly the complex relationship between illegal structure owners and their tenants.

The city of Battambang is still in the process of establishing itself. As a city, it is not under pressure of redevelopment when compared to Phnom Penh and Siem Reap and according to the municipality, relocation would simply reposition the problem to another site rather than solve the problem. Therefore they consider on-site upgrading as the solution for beautification of the city.

In the railway sites in Serei Sophon, relocation may be considered as a positive alternative since people would be able to acquire collective land tenure and hopefully better infrastructure, as was offered by the municipality. Although these plans still need to be approved by the provincial governor, these plans show that the municipality aims at improving the living conditions of the poor settlements. This may be considered as a transformative proposal and suggests that land is an asset.

Borei Keila is the first example of landsharing in Cambodia. The project had the potential to be of benefit to both the developer and the residents, however this was lost once the agreement between the developer and the residents was broken. This shows that although a range of alternatives may be found for inner city settlements, collaboration and transparency is required for the process to be successful.

In Russey Keo, land ownership and urbanisation is considered as a significant analytical point. Individual finances may be observed as an opportunity point and route towards security of tenure, but this seems

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inadequate to develop whole communities, let alone the district. The lack of collectivity (and the relationship between house owners and renter) undermines the opportunity of "land as an asset" while alternative forms of tenure still presents an opportunity in principle.

In Andong Village, a house is provided by PCL at no charge. Although the residents do not have the land title, they are given a land certificate by the government. In this way, the families are allowed to sell their house after five years living on the site. Through informal conversations with PCL, the reason why land title is not given to the residents is to prevent the selling of land to the rich. Without land title, the residents are constantly under threat of eviction.

The acquisition of land title in Tra Pang Cherng Srok is a way of supporting other processes of settlement upgrading that will benefit the community, for example in requesting infrastructure from the local authorities. Similarly, the layout for the plot allocation may act as a platform to start the process of housing design to request a loan through the ACCA program to build them. In 2008, families who formed part of the savings groups received land certificate and allocated the plots through a lottery.

Identifying cross-cutting themes

Other important points were identified during the site work, which enriched our diagnosis of the context and allowed us to refine our assumptions, especially regarding the major aims and the opportunity spaces for action. Following, the three main themes that were encountered during our work, as we found them across the territories.

Collectivity

The Battambang municipality has shown strong interest in collaborating with communities in Battambang. It is very clear that without collaboration with the municipality, a project can only proceed so far. The presence of separate savings groups within the same community created conflicts between residents. There needs to be a collective force working to develop a more holistic development structure for upgrading settlements.

Although the families of the Baret settlement are not organised as a community and do not have a community leader or savings groups, they have some social practices that show a collectivity and collaboration amongst residents. Additional to this, the scheme developed by ACHR in collaboration with the Municipality, CDF, and CAN-CAM has established a vertical structure that doesn't give space for communal initiatives.

While the families in Rong Masen, in Serei Sophon, are more organised as a group, and are willing to discuss the option of relocation, the people living in the other three villages – in a more strategic location – are strongly opposing the official relocation plans, and are only willing to discuss upgrading and small improvements on site. Hence, it emerges that the two sites are affected by the same threats but are in different positions and phases in the process of building a community.

Trust

In Battambang, there is a lack of trust in the local authorities that guarantee that once the residents upgrade, they will eventually receive tenure security. The municipality seem to be supportive of the upgrading initiatives and claim to implement circular 03 but there are a number of settlements that have been upgraded and have not yet received land title.

Some residents in Andong are not willing to move to the relocation site because some do not show trust in PCL. This was also observed through their lack of willingness to participate in activities, to avoid being involved with the organisation.

Some people in Sae Sen/Village 4, in Serei Sophon, were not willing to participate in meetings and discuss, and showed signed of resistance towards external actors that speak freely but do not deliver on their promises. Trust between neighbouring residents also varies between villages. It is interesting and challenging to consider how the different sites in Serei Sophon were at different stages of cohesion and organisation when acting towards a future (collective) project. Some were more organised and started savings, some were less structured but had the goodwill to start working together, whilst some were not organised at all and would not participate in collective processes.

F 056

Transparency and awareness

The railway sites presented various issue of transparency and ambiguity of communication and information sharing. In the cases of Serei Sophon, relocation was not a concept that could be discussed with the residents. Because of this, the reality of the situation is hidden from the residents, and the process supports the system of misinformation and lack of awareness that aimed to be tackled in the wider context of the research.
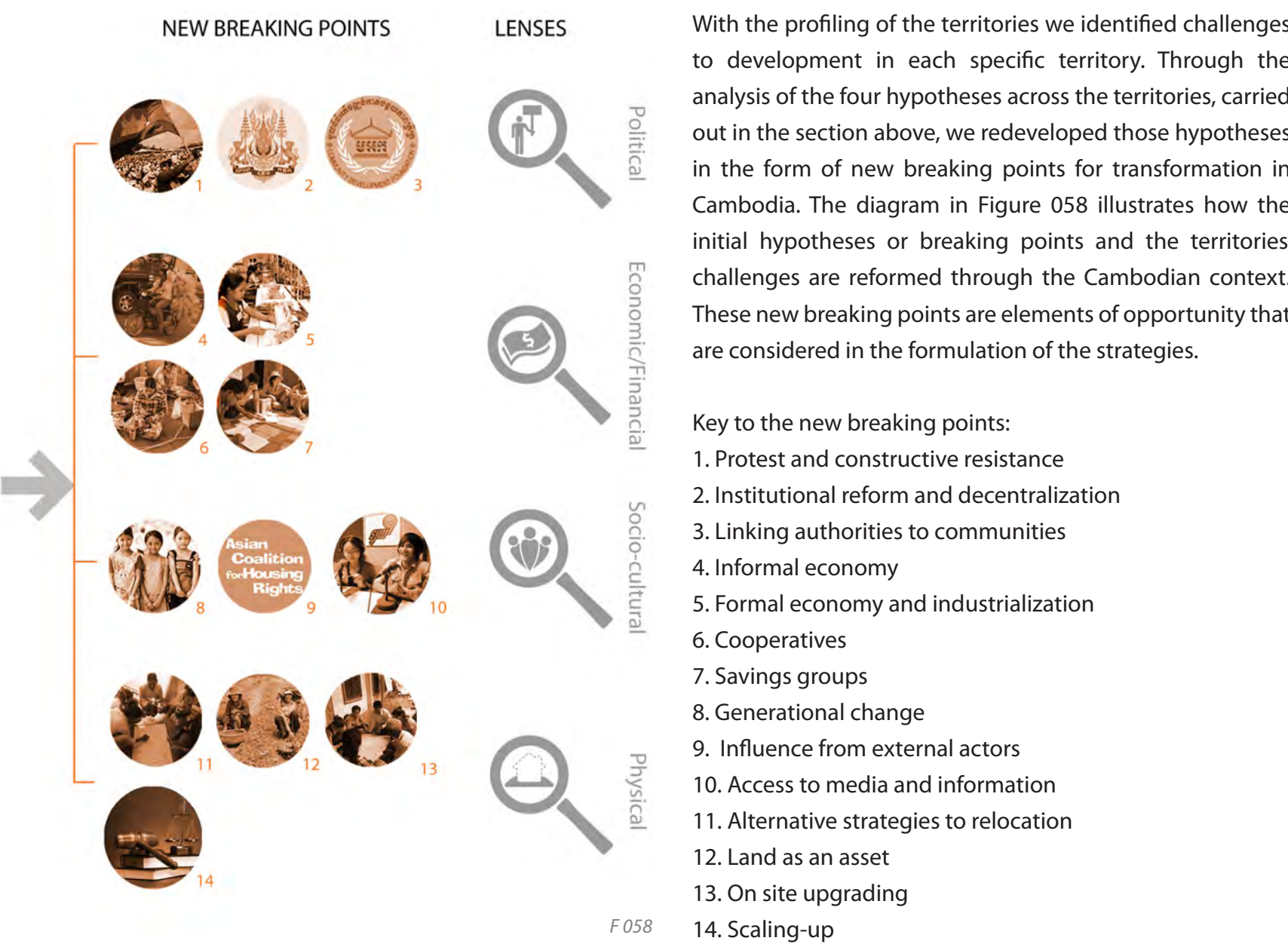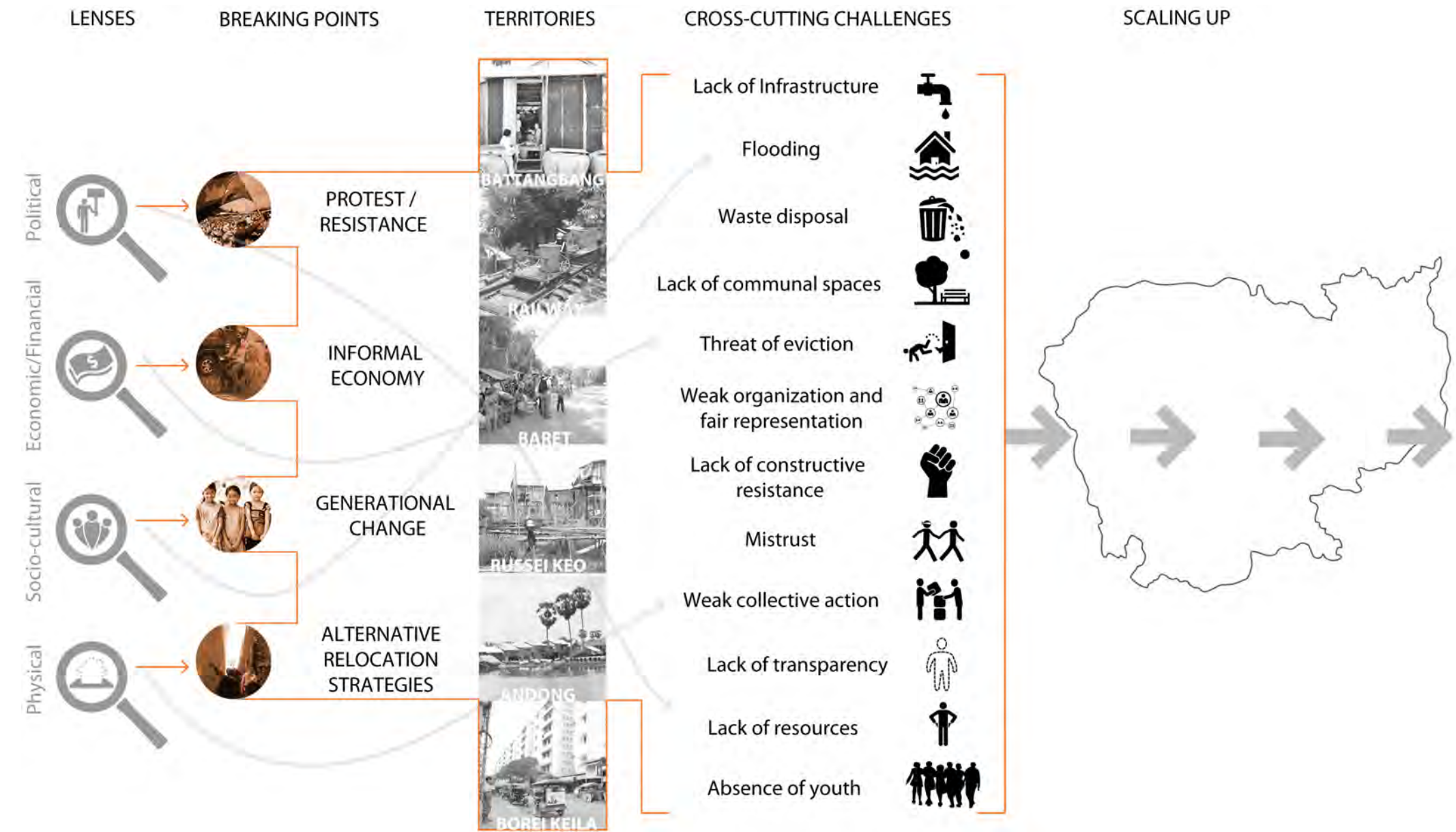
In Russey Keo, although the CDF-network is well established, the representational potential is questionable. The 13 representatives are not geographically representative of the 56 communities, and there have been no re-elections since the initial elections in 1998.

F 057

The new breaking points, from the territories and Cambodia

LENSES | BREAKING POINTS | TERRITORIES | CROSS-CUTTING CHALLENGES | SCALING UP

LENSES
- Political
- Economic/Financial
- Socio-cultural
- Physical

BREAKING POINTS
- PROTEST / RESISTANCE
- INFORMAL ECONOMY
- GENERATIONAL CHANGE
- ALTERNATIVE RELOCATION STRATEGIES

TERRITORIES
- BATTAMBANG
- RAILWAY
- BARET
- RUSSEI KEO
- ANDONG
- BOREI KEILA

CROSS-CUTTING CHALLENGES
- Lack of Infrastructure
- Flooding
- Waste disposal
- Lack of communal spaces
- Threat of eviction
- Weak organization and fair representation
- Lack of constructive resistance
- Mistrust
- Weak collective action
- Lack of transparency
- Lack of resources
- Absence of youth

NEW BREAKING POINTS

LENSES
- Political
- Economic/Financial
- Socio-cultural
- Physical

With the profiling of the territories we identified challenges to development in each specific territory. Through the analysis of the four hypotheses across the territories, carried out in the section above, we redeveloped those hypotheses in the form of new breaking points for transformation in Cambodia. The diagram in Figure 058 illustrates how the initial hypotheses or breaking points and the territories' challenges are reformed through the Cambodian context. These new breaking points are elements of opportunity that are considered in the formulation of the strategies.

Key to the new breaking points:
1. Protest and constructive resistance
2. Institutional reform and decentralization
3. Linking authorities to communities
4. Informal economy
5. Formal economy and industrialization
6. Cooperatives
7. Savings groups
8. Generational change
9. Influence from external actors
10. Access to media and information
11. Alternative strategies to relocation
12. Land as an asset
13. On site upgrading
14. Scaling-up

F 058. Diagram wihch shows the process of formulation of the cross-cutting challenges and the breaking points after the analysis of the territories and the filter of the whole Cambodian context [SG].

4. Transformation in Cambodia

In this chapter, we will conclude upon the analysis in Chapter 3 and reflecting on our definition of positive transformation from Chapter 2, we will draw up a diagnosis of transformation in Cambodia. Inherent in this is a discussion of the opportunity points, questioned by our theoretical anchors.

F 059. Tuk-tuk driver in central Phnom Penh [JA].

Cross-cutting themes in the wider Cambodian context

From the findings in Chapter 3, it is evident that the first hypothesis is not very clearly validated. While the resistance may in cases such as Borei Keila take the form of hopeless acts of despair, other cases present resistance with some potential. Furthermore, the observations point towards the potential of transformation from within the system and parallel to the system with collective action. This links to the definition of transformation and Boonyabancha's idea of transformation as the possibility to take immediate action (Boonyabancha et al, 2012).

As positive transformation has been defined as the space to react, propose, and negotiate one's position in the city, it is clear that this is achieved in multiple ways and it is questionable whether resistance is the most prosperous. On the other hand, transformation is also understood as structural/systemic change and it is not clear that the change from within the system presents an opportunity to actually changing the system itself. Here, the Gramscian concept of the long march through the institutions (Gramsci in Forgacs, 1988) can be applied. Transformation may thus be achieved not at a small scale but through small steps of institutional reform.

The balancing of issues at different scale is evident throughout the country in the development of transport infrastructure, with big international players such as ADB and KOICA driving the construction of national roads and the rehabilitation of the railway (Sato et al, 2011). This may lead to an imbalance in favour of the national scale as capacity of local authorities to handle the local scale may be insufficient. Tep Makathy (2014) from ADB stresses that part of their work is to build government capacity. The ongoing process of decentralisation may assist the rebalancing of the scales, as decision making will be shifted to a level that is closer to the people and their demands. This could help in bridging the gap between big scale plans and projects and the local scale of cities, districts and settlements with their specific needs, given that sufficient capacity is built at the local authorities. Furthermore, it is essential that the people find agency to command these local authorities. Currently, it is not clear how the community can renegotiate their position in this play between scales.

Russey Keo clearly presents an example of how the communities have been able to continuously renegotiate their position in the city. The communities which effectively address surface issues, e.g. the solid waste management and creation of communal spaces in Tonle Sap 1, are

highlighted by the district authorities as examples of the communities' ability to develop themselves. This is clearly linked with the rationale discussed by Boonyabancha et al (2012), that immediate action is a prerequisite for people-centred development. However, the example of Russey Keo may rather be an example of the creation of another layer of government, which needs to be accountable if it should truly present transformative potential. The current situation in Russey Keo shows an imbalance in representation which may point towards the opposite. The potential of positive transformation which builds on the idea of linking people and authorities is only achieved if the link is not captured and institutionalised by a community elite.

The cases of Andong and Tra Pang Cherng Srok work neither against nor within the system, but rather in parallel. They show the ability to take collective action and reshape their own development. Again it is questionable whether this leads to any systemic change, as they are continuously pushed around by the big players in the fight for land, which continues to be driven by unregulated market forces.

With the findings for the second hypothesis, a more positive facet of the market forces is presented. Various informal activities have been observed, but the transformative potential of them is not evident. The formal economy, and the industrialisation in particular presents an opportunity of increased income and training at garment factories. The immediate effect is increased income, the transformative potential comes in turn when the increased

F 060. Collage of pictures from Cambodia [JA].

income is facilitated to build autonomy. This is a key part of the immanent or underlying development in Cambodia. It is not clearly evident how this can be used to challenge the system and reposition the people. One observation is that more financially resourceful households use their individual funds as collateral for microfinance and in turn individual upgrading of their houses, again highlighting the lack of collectivity in the ongoing transformation of Cambodia. The dependency on competing NGOs and competing financial institutions further complicates the route to collective action. The creation of cooperatives may point towards how the increased income can be combined with collective action. Another point observed is the lack of school attendance of the least resourceful, which may mean that an increased income could lead to better education in the new generation, pointing towards the third hypothesis.

With the exception of one village along the railway, where the young are found to be more proactive and demanding, the hypotheses seem to be invalidated, or at least not supported by the observations. It is clear that the community action is mostly not a matter for the young generation which is preoccupied with income-generating activities. The big question this leaves is whether a new generation with better jobs and better education will have a better set-off whereby they can reposition themselves and their community, at a stage where they may move towards attending to community issues. However, given the rapid urbanisation as the current pressure on land, it may be that

the real question is how to unleash the potential at this stage.

For the dispute on land, collectivity again presents itself as a defining factor in the ongoing transformation in Cambodia. On the one hand, it is observed that collectivity in communities may be hampered by the relationship between renters and structure-owners, undermining the potential to facilitate land as an asset. On the other hand, it is observed how community savings or collective tenure effectively can reposition them within the city and better their living standards, negotiating government provision of much needed infrastructure. While the security of tenure may be increased in this way, most do not obtain land titles. The key is not the legal form of the tenure per se, but the achievement of perceived tenure, i.e. the situation where all parties view you as the rightful tenant (UN-HABITAT, 2004). Despite land certificate, and arguably titles, the people continue to live under the threat of eviction. Borei Keila presents a way of challenging the legal issues building upon the collectivity, in the form of land sharing as an alternative to relocation, achieving on-site upgrading by mixing the development market price units. As such, this case has potential to use land as an asset for all parties and create systemic change. However, this has not been achieved as the contract was broken and the unregulated market forces continue to lead in the game of land in Cambodia. Furthermore, ambiguous legal documents such as Circular 03 on the one side create potential to challenge the system and demand influence in planning, as it states that infrastructure to support living should be provided and resolutions should be sought with dwellers (Royal Cambodian Government, 2010). On the other hand, the Circular justifies the eviction of dwellers on environmental grounds (ibid.), making the widely present threat of flooding not just an environmental threat, but a threat to the security of tenure.

Collectivity is a conclusive factor for all aspects of transformation in Cambodia. The lack of collectivity is further linked to the issue of trust. A lack of trust was observed within communities, which self-evidently undermines collectivity from within settlements, but also one towards government, authorities, and NGOs that makes progressive development complicated. However, trust building and collectivity are not in a sequential relationship, rather interdependent. In this way CDF's introduction of savings groups may build trust through collective action. Here transparency is central, again both between actors within the communities and to outside actors. The current transformation of Cambodia is not always happening in a fair and transparent way. Here, the new generation may present itself with unreleased potential again, in the form of challenging the transparency with increased access to media and education.

Diagnosis of transformation in Cambodia

Transformation in Cambodia is driven by autocratic authorities and international market forces, where community action is both within, in opposition to, and parallel to this established system. The transformative potential of the new generation and the economic development is unleashed. There is a lack of collectivity which undermines the development of this latent potential to achieve systemic change. This may be rooted in the absence of trust and transparency between actors, both within the communities and between communities and authorities. The ongoing transformation is by large permeated by individual action; however these attempts at collective action are often inhibited by random law enforcement and forced evictions. The emerging immanent culture of resistance is repressed, and links between people and authorities fail to create trust. Additionally, the imminent development requires better elements of transparency to be considered as transformative.

F 061. CAMKO satellite city, developed by a joint Cambodian-Korean company in the outskirts of Phnom Penh [AP].
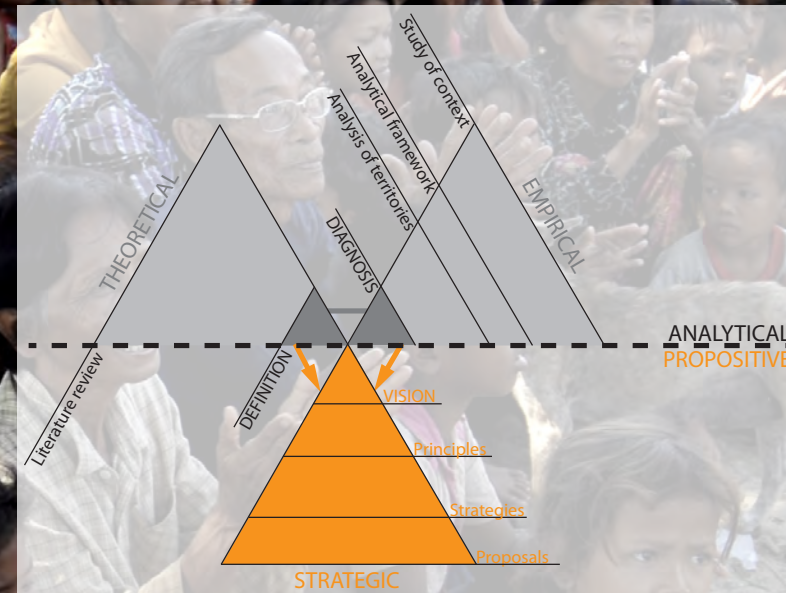
5.0verall strategy and proposals

F 062. Meeting with the community in the Baret settlement, Serei Sophon [LC].

In this chapter, we will develop the strategic output of the research. We will first present a vision for transformation in Cambodia ("*trust*formation"), which is the strategic counterpart to our theoretic definition of positive transformation and our empiric diagnosis of transformation in Cambodia. The vision is then expanded in principles to direct our strategies and proposals, which give concrete examples of how our vision can be achieved.

Our vision

Our vision is to build trust at multiple levels: trust amongst the citizenry and trust between people and institutions. This can be done through the promotion of collective action, the encouragement of resistance acts that are constructive – rather than destructive, and the creation of negotiation spaces guided by principles of transparency and collaboration between key actors.

We focus on building trust as this issue emerged from the diagnosis of the current processes of transformation in Cambodia. A history of violence and a recent dependency on fluctuant international programs are some of the reasons that have generated distrust in this context, with the consequent emergence of oppositional poles, the institutions and the people.

Collective action refers to the creation and use of critical masses to originate change. Related to this principle is the notion of constructive resistance, which implies conducting existing opposition towards existing and accessible contestation mechanisms that are more apt to lead to transformation. Finally, the creation of adequate negotiation spaces will enable people to put forward their claims, rights and aspirations, therefore achieving an equal

and transparent relationship of both giving and taking from the city. It is not just the institutional pole providing for the population in a one-way process. The population pole is equally active in the development process of the city with small actions that can be efficiently scaled up and influence the wider processes of the city production.

In sum, these actions should first decrease the existing gap between the institutional and the population poles by amplifying the voices of the citizens, especially the marginalized groups. Of course, these transformations involve an ongoing process that has to happen simultaneously and incrementally from both poles, in order to disrupt and deactivate the existing logic and order, finally positioning the people at the center.

Principles for *Trust*formation

Collectivity through connectivity

Collectivity through connectivity refers to the creation and use of united critical masses to enact change. Because communities are at present weakly connected, they fail to use the power of collective action. As a result, the input of these communities in determining urban processes is generally minimal, if not inexistent. This principle can be put into practice gradually, with small actions that build a collective sense of belonging, and that create bonds at three levels: between the people of a given community, between different communities and between communities and other actors.

Constructive resistance

The notion of constructive resistance relates to the use the potential of opposition groups to conduct change in a positive, non-violent manner. By providing these groups with the tools to propose alternatives (e.g. facilitating access to contestation mechanisms, training on legal rights), it will be possible to channel present protesting energies to real transformation (e.g. challenge plans and negotiate the right to be in the city). If communities use existing contestability instruments rather that violent-led ones to voice their need for change, they may be able to construct a space for negotiation that is more apt to promote the desired change, as it can involve government and institutions directly and empower communities by giving them an equally audible voice.

Visibility

Increasing visibility means moving the issues of the poor at a higher level in the political agendas and establishing channels and platforms for the discussion of claims, duties and demands across scales. Bringing the reality to the surface and initiating a discussion is what can bridge the gap between the people and the institutions.

Solidarity through recognition

Solidarity through recognition refers to the positive appreciation of cultural diversity to build cohesiveness. While it is true that communities are not homogeneous and that different groups and individuals in the settlements have different demands, it is also true that this heterogeneity offers an impressive range of different but equally relevant potentials. Once these differences are identified and accepted, the main common issues affecting the community can be solved, positively drawing from existing capacities. Indeed, the existence of a wide set of skills and experiences can be a valuable resource but only if directed towards a commonly shared and valued goal.

Collaboration

Collaboration relates to the creation of healthy dialogue across levels, ranging from the governors to the children living in poor settlements. This builds on the idea that a combination of forces, perspectives and positions can go far beyond what can be achieved by only one body acting in isolation. It also relates to the concept of sustainable transformation as one that can only happen when there is a high degree of inclusiveness and participation. The urban poor and the authorities should seek this collaboration in order to obtain a win-win situation, in which both parties can see their agendas fulfilled. In this scenario, the participation of other actors such as CDF and CAN-Cam as a link is crucial.

Transparency and accountability

Transparency and accountability are two interrelated principles that imply that information held by authorities should be made accessible to citizens and that decision-making processes should be open to all relevant actors in order to ensure that governmental and institutional stakeholders remain responsible for their actions. The present ambiguity, misinformation and authorities' non-transparent attitude in dealing with marginalised groups has led to the diffusion of distrust and confusion amongst the population. Transparency and accountability can be however promoted by raising awareness on official plans and citizens' rights through campaigns, and ensuring that those organizations that work to empower the poor base their relationships with the communities on fair decision-making mechanisms.

Overall framework for strategies

The aim of the three strategies presented in this chapter is to address the challenges faced in the Cambodian context by a series of proposals and actions that pursue the construction of trust and collectivity as a base of an equitable, incremental, people centred development. These strategies and proposals were developed based on the potentialities and cross-cutting opportunities found from testing the breaking points in the different territories during the fieldwork. In fact, the implementation of these strategies is thought as a collaborative process built over actions carried out by influential local and international actors in Cambodia.

In order to guarantee the success of the above-mentioned process, we propose to strengthen the role of the involved actors and deepen the influence of their action. Complementary to this, we propose a framework that establishes the following stages for its execution:

1. Assessment: "Profiling the site": The objective of this stage is to identify the current conditions of the settlements and communities that are part of the process and define their threats, potentialities, weaknesses. This analysis will allow to establish the kind of intervention that must be applied and the priorities of the actions.

2. Intervention: Implementation of a series of actions responding to existing conditions.

3. Evaluation: "Intervention assessment": As is illustrated in the diagram in Figure 061, this stage of the framework is constant and its aim is to identify successful features to scale up or weak points of the strategy to improve/support.

4. Scale: "Connection with the city": Support site initiatives with potential to operate at a citywide level.

This framework should be used as a flexible tool to facilitate the implementation of the strategies and proposals in various scenarios and facing diverse issues.

Phases

3 EVALUATION: "intervention review"
Identify successful features to be scaled and weak points to improve

1 ASSESSMENT:
Profiling the site

Identifying the current conditions:
threats, potentialities, weaknesses

2 INTERVENTION

Actions building on existing conditions

4 SCALE:
Connection to the city

Support site initiatives with potential to operate city-wide

1 Community selection

2 Strategy implementation

4 Replication and scale

Co - production of the city

F 063. Diagram which shows the phases of the proposed framework, highlighting the relation between the phases and the wider scale of the city [LC].

Strategies and proposals

TERRITORIES

BATTAMBANG

RAIL WAY

BARET

RUSSEI KEO

ANDONG

BOREI KEILA

CROSS-CUTTING CHALLENGES

- Lack of Infrastructure
- Flooding
- Waste disposal
- Lack of communal spaces
- Threat of eviction
- Weak organization and fair representation
- Lack of constructive resistance
- Mistrust
- Weak collective action
- Lack of transparency
- Lack of resources
- Absence of youth

PROPOSALS

+ = Promote organised communities

+ = Saving groups

+ = Spatial intervention

+ = Saving groups

+ = Micro-business and entrepreneurial initiatives

+ = Challenging eviction

+ = Relocation as opportunity

STRATEGIES

Strategy 1: Building collectivity

Strategy 2: Activating local economies

Strategy 3: Land as an asset

NEW BREAKING POINTS

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8 Asian Coalition for Housing Rights 9
10
11
12
13
14

LENS

Political

Economic/Financial

Socio-cultural

Physical

KEY for the diagram

1.Protest and constructive resistance

2.Institutional reform and decentralization

3.Linking authorities to communities

4.Informal economy

5.Formal economy and industrialization

6.Cooperatives

7.Savings groups

8.Generational change

9. Influence from external actors

10.Access to media and information

11.Alternative strategies to relocation

12.Land as an asset

13.On site upgrading

14.Scaling-up

Strategy 1: Building collectivity

The lack of trust and organization between the members of the settlements in Cambodia are the main issues faced during the implementation of process of development. For this reason, this strategy proposes to build collectivity by promoting organization of communities, supporting savings groups and implementing small physical actions to improve the current conditions of the settlements.

Actor mapping

community
city+province
national
international

Lenses of transformation

political
social
physical
economic

*F 065. Children in Baret,
Serei Sophon [LC].*
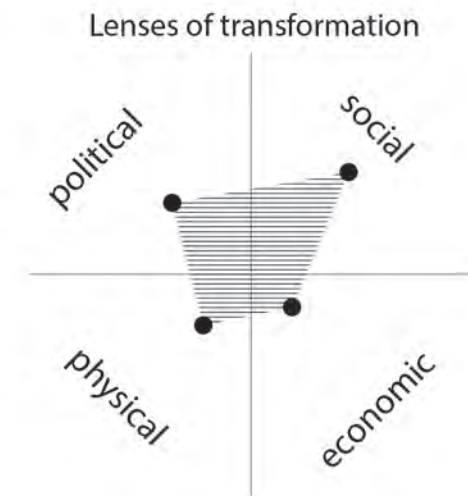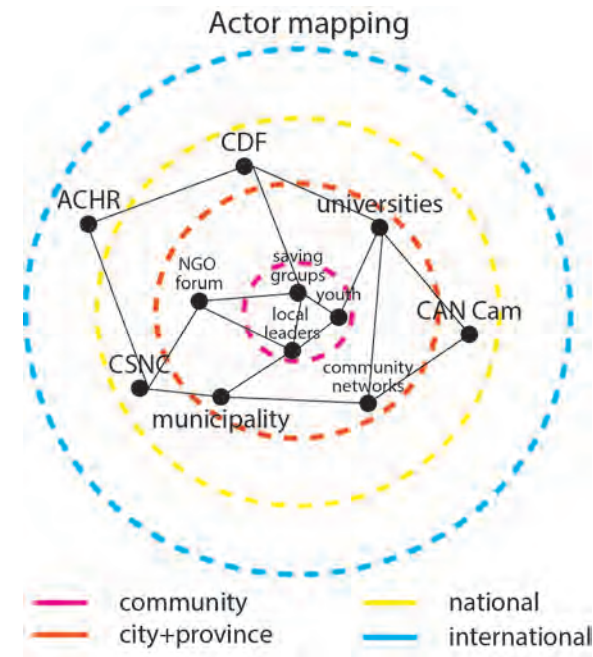
Proposal 1.1:   Promote organised communities

Why?
Organisation is a way to join individual capacity towards collective agency. In doing so, communities can become stronger and visible actors within the city. Additionally, organised communities have the capacity to shape their environment, create partnerships with other actors and negotiate better living conditions.

How?
- Promoting meetings to elect local leaders that represent the interest of all the members of the community.

- Supporting collective initiatives and practices developed by different groups of people (youth, elderly, women, children, etc.) within the community.

- Encouraging participation through the organization of events and activities that mobilised people and include marginalised groups.

- Creation of arenas where the member of the community can express their concerns and initiatives to their peers.

The activities organised in Andong 4 and 6 were thought to engage as many people as possible. Through these exercises (which were interactive and had a visual layout) the objective was to bring people to discuss the main issues they were facing at the moment: how they were affected and possible ways to address them collectively.

The closing activity was an open forum in which people claimed to have a better understanding on how they could manage their community together. These games were short but were a tool to show the community´s capability of organization.

F 066. Participatory activities in Andong [Andong site group].

Proposal 1.2: Savings groups

Why?

Savings groups can be an asset when partnerships or negotiation are needed. In fact, having common funds can multiply the community's capacity to act on their priorities assuming a proactive and collaborative role with other actors. When carried through transparent and inclusive processes, collective savings would build links and trust between those involved. At the same time, having visible outcomes from these collective actions will encourage other members to participate.

How?

Using workshops to share knowledge and experiences through the community's network can support the replication of savings groups. As seen in the field, sometimes the will to start savings is there, but the know-how is missing, therefore the "training-by-doing" (UPDF, 2013) can encourage the creation of these groups as accessible credit sources.

F 067. Organisation of savings groups in Baret [LC].

In Baret the staff from CDF gave talks on the benefits of having savings groups and how to start them. In this case, collective savings can be catalysts to build stronger communities that will start bigger projects in the future.

F 067

Proposal 1.3: Spatial interventions

Why?

Once organised and also during the organizational process, people can voice their needs, discuss and prioritize initiatives to be implemented in their communities. When these interventions are materialized they become tangible outcomes of an organized community and encourage other community members to participate because they have concrete examples to measure the effectiveness of collective actions.

How?

Identify neglected and/or vulnerable spaces to act collectively within a community. From the experience on the communities, this collective action could target issues in the communities that can be addressed through small actions and funds.

F 068

F 068. Collage of pictures of participatory design in Baret [LC].

Local physical interventions can strengthen the relations in the community. According to each case, small interventions can foster a sense of trust and collectivity.

In Baret, the proposal was to build swings as a way to have spaces where people could gather. Similarly, having real processes and outcomes will encourage collective action.

F 069. Small interventions to build collectivity [Baret site group, FP].

Strategy 2: Activating the local economy

Savings groups and activities in the informal market were very important elements identified in the context of Cambodia. Currently, the CDF programme aims at promoting savings groups as a way to unlock communities' capacities, identify their priorities and establish a link between them and the municipality. On the other hand, informal market represents more than 80% (ADB, 2006) of the economic activity of the country and it is possible to see a large variety of small business initiatives and community enterprises. Under these parameters, this strategy aims to activate the local economy and guarantee economic independence of the communities by encouraging the creation of savings groups and supporting rising enterprises in the informal market. In brief, this strategy aims to reduce the levels of poverty by building collective capital and increasing people's income.

F 070. Local business in Andong [PV].

Actor mapping

— community
— city+province
— national
— international

Lenses of transformation

political — social — physical — economic
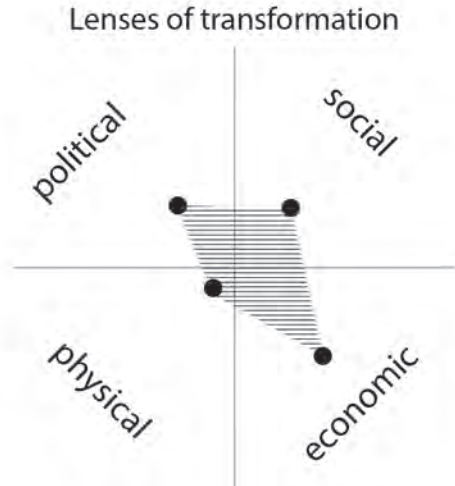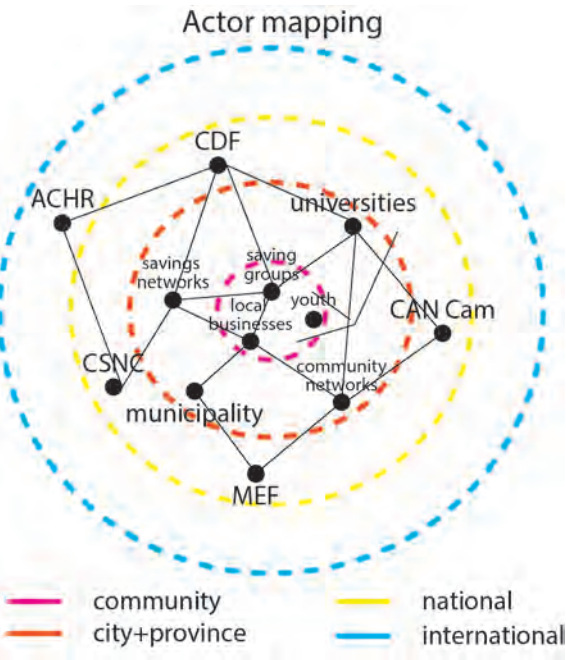
Proposal 2.1: Savings groups

Why?
This proposal uses the existing structure of CDF in Cambodia as an asset to build collective capital, allow residents access to loans – both individually and collectively – and support the role of the community as an agency in the creation of new projects.

How?
- Building a platform to discuss and show the benefits of savings groups.

- Developing projects that can be built with collective funds and use them as an incentive for other people to join the savings groups.

- Sharing information about the steps to follow to have access to loans and the conditions of payment.

- Setting up training programs through CDF and Municipality that involves communities, universities and NGOs.

F 071. Savings group members and houses layout in Tra Pang Cherng Srok [Andong site group, AH].

Community savings can release bigger loans than individual credits and are often more accessible than financial institutions. Similarly, collective savings can trigger empowering processes in which the communities are directly involved.

The Tra Pang Cherng Srok Community obtained their land through a loan granted by CDF. The savings group in this community is formed by 115 families.

F 072. CDF training in Baret [LC].

Proposal 2.2: Micro-business and entrepreneurial initiatives

F 073. Local business in Battambang: dried mango [JA].

Regarding the livelihoods, a number of business opportunities were found in each settlement. In Battambang one of the main initiatives revolved around local resources.

During the visits we observed that the production of dried mango was common in the area. Adding training and finance to this activity may enable the creation of cooperatives that could reach a bigger/ city-wide market.

Why?
This action aims to support initiatives generated in the communities, boost productivity, increase revenue and wages, create new employment and impact the city economy.

How?
- Construction of premises to support business activities.
- Promoting the use of raw materials.
- Setting up training programmes and workshops aimed at building residents capacities and skills for financial and economic activities.
- Sharing information about successful business experiences of other communities.
- Giving access to funds through microfinance and savings groups.
- Encouraging programs that include youth as the main human capital for the creation of business enterprises.

F 073

Strategy 3: Land as an asset

The undefined and unstable status of the land is one of the main causes of the insecure living conditions for informal settlements in Cambodia. Taking this into consideration, strategy 3 aims to use land as an asset by challenging unfair process of eviction and creating alternatives to this process if it is possible or using relocation as an strategy to improve living conditions in the settlements, develop options of housing typology and land uses and explore options to obtain land title.
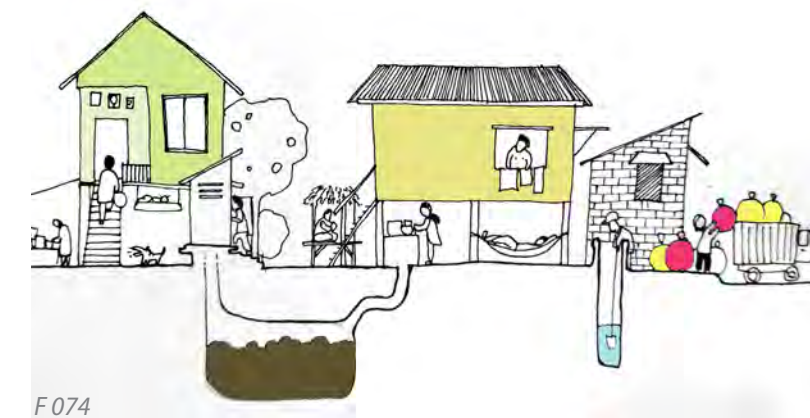
F 074
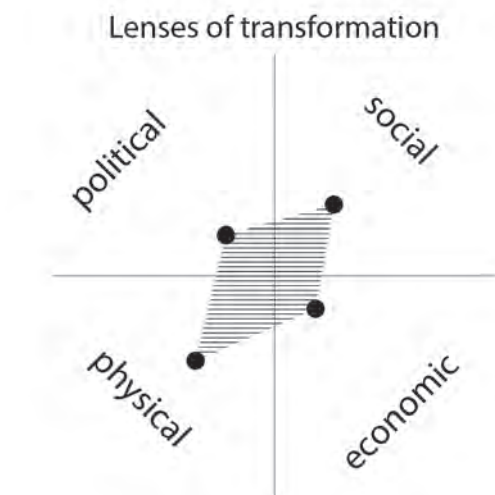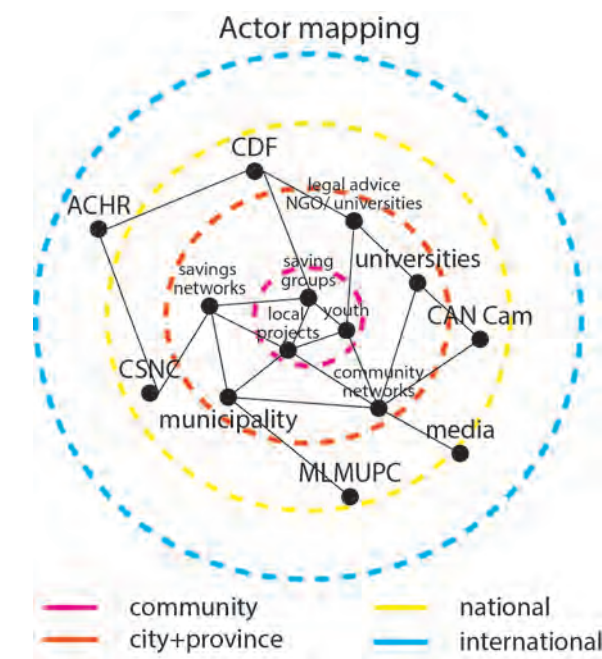
F 074. Relocation as an opportunity to improve living conditions [Baret site group, FP].

Proposal 3.1: Challenging evictions

Why?

This proposal supports and encourages people to claim their rights in the city through people centred processes of development. These practices aim to make visible unfair processes, look for alternatives to define land status and obtain recognition from the city.

How?

- Building platforms to discuss cases of eviction and defining if the processes are fair and respectful to human rights.

- Creating partnerships with actors that can provide legal advice in order to use the laws in favour of the people.

- Proposing projects in order to challenge the legal foundation in which evictions are based.

- Developing alternative options to relocation such as land sharing projects, upgrading interventions and re-blocking plans.

- Using media and other methods to make visible unfair situations expose proposals of the communities and call people to participate.

- Using previous cases as precedents and learn of them to create new alternatives.
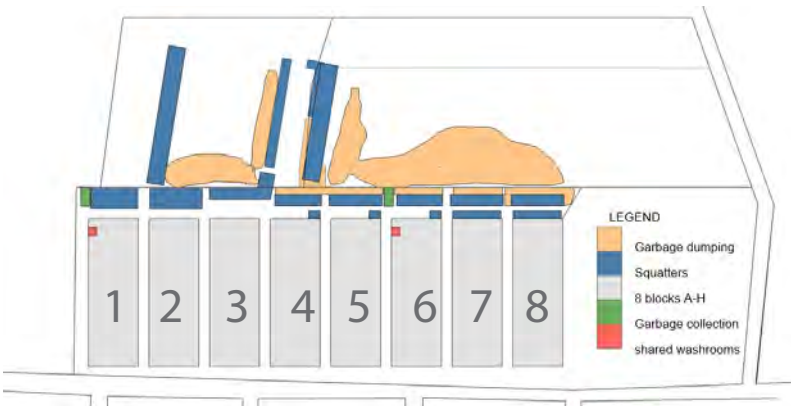
F 075

In the case of Borei Keila the aim was to challenge the possible eviction by mapping, enumerating the residents and squatters and proposing a housing alternative that will respond to their situation.

In the process, the will to collaborate and negotiate are fundamental, therefore a promising entry point is the garbage collection together with the local authorities. This might create a platform where residents and authorities could negotiate.

F 076

F 077

Building Additional Units
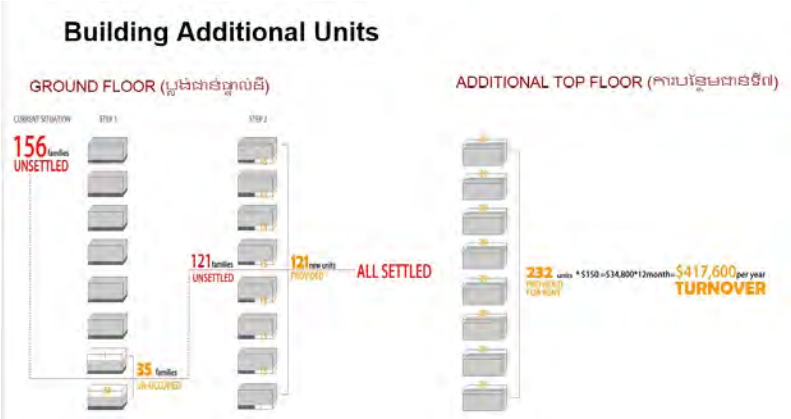
F 078

F 075. Borei Keila: layout scheme [Borei Keila site group].

F 076. Housing block in Borei Keila [Borei Keila site group].

F 077. Borei Keila blocks: uses scheme [Borei Keila site group].

F 078. Aditional housing units proposed in Borei Keila. [Borei Keila site group] .

Proposal 3.2: Relocation as an opportunity
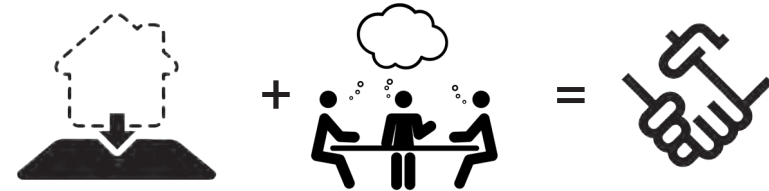
Why?

Relocation processes can be seen as an opportunity to improve living conditions if they consider social practices, everyday life and aspirations of the people during the design of the new settlement. In fact, applying a participatory design process is a way to strengthen the relationships between the community members and increase cohesion to guarantee a sustainable result. Finally, this can be an opportunity to establish new partnerships between the municipality, CDF and the communities in order to build infrastructure, amenities and other projects that connect the new settlements with the city.

How?

- Analysing the new land intended for the relocation and its access to infrastructure, public services, job opportunities, etc.

- Implementing strategies of design that encourage the participation of the community in order to include their desires, ideas and practices in the process.

- Formulating new housing typologies, constructive methods and land uses.

- Proposing options of clusters that include spaces to translate existing collective activities in order to strengthen community cohesion.

- Using the process as a mean to negotiate land tenure and recognition from the municipality.

- Proposing projects to include informal settlements and communities in the future development of the city and build a proactive and reciprocal relationship between them.

F 079

Relocation can be an opportunity when the communities have a say in the process; when the new site guarantees the necessary characteristics to improve their living conditions and to preserve their social networks.

In Baret the proposal was to face relocation through flexible and incremental construction for the houses as well as for the whole settlement. This could be carried by having different housing typologies according to their needs that could be modified through time. This initiative could be an opportunity to be recognized by the local authorities and to get land titles.

F 079. New public services and amenities could be implemented in the relocation site [Baret site group, FP].
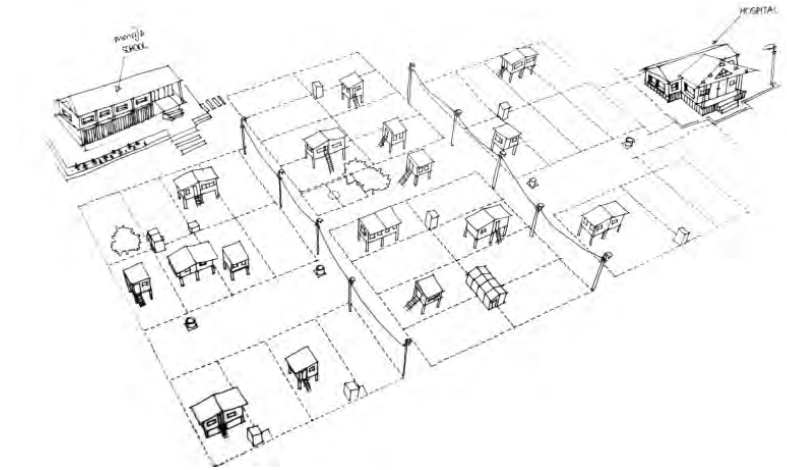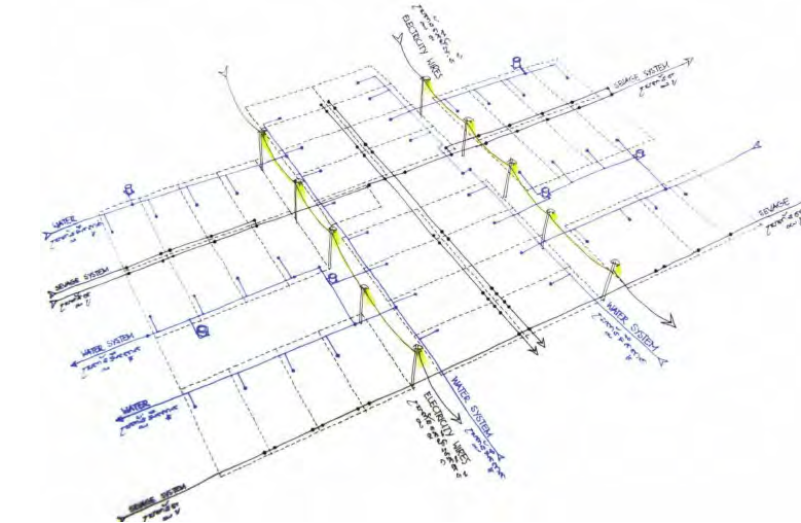
F 080. Incremental growth in relocation site [Baret site group, KP, FP, LC].

VIsualisation of the strategies and the proposals

The aim of this section is to visualize the strategies and proposals discussed previously. Through these images we want to show possible imaginaries based on real actions found and/or suggested on each community. At the same time we want to show how the scenarios could integrate more than one strategy to address different issues simultaneously.

Visualisation of Strategies 1 and 3, Proposals 1.1, 1.3 and 3.1

F 081. Visualisation of a playground for the Rong Masen Village, Serei Sophon [Railway settlement site group, Serei Sophon].

F 082. Visualization of community action and election of leaders. [JA].

The image represents some actions that illustrates the aim of our strategy that search build a "collective sense of community". Upgrade the sites, build spatial interventions and promote elections of community leaders are some of the actions to achieve the strategy.

Proposal 1.1: Promote organised communities

Proposal 1.3: Spatial interventions

Visualisation of Strategy 2, Proposals 2.1 and 2.2
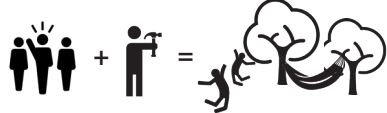
F 083. Visualization of business and savings training and mango cooperatives [JA].

The image shows some actions proposed in order to achieve the goal of activate the local economy. Training the people to get new skills but also to share information with their peers is maybe the most important action. The image also illustrates one training activity based in a real case of mango products micro – business case that we discover in a Battambang settlement.

Proposal 2.1: Savings groups

Proposal 2.2: Micro-business and entrepreneurial initiatives

Visualisation of Strategy 2, Proposal 2.2

F 084. Proposal for using alternative materials. [Railway settlement site group, Serei Sophon].

This initiative looks for a simple way to engage the community, especially young members. The execution of this small physical action could be the base to strengthen social links in the community, improve the current conditions of the settlement and found new economic alternatives. In this case, the collection of garbage and the recycling of plastic bottles can generate an alternative material for construction and therefore a new economic initiative.

Proposal 2.2: Micro-business and entrepreneurial initiatives

Visualisation of Strategy 3, Proposals 3.1 and 3.2

Proposal 3.1: Challenging evictions

Proposal 3.2: Relocation as opportunity

Visualisation of Strategies 1 and 3, Proposals 1.3 and 3.1

WHO ?

Residents / Municipality / C D F / Architecture students

Pallet producers / Supermarkets / Restaurants / Private users

HOW ?

SHORT AND MEDIUM TERM

Workshops on construction with recyclables

Collection of second hand material: pallets, tires, cans

Clearing of the first 3-5 m from the railway

Design of the layout and joints between elements

Construction of temporary walkway and houses fronts

Rainwater collection system for individual households

LONG TERM

Collective **loan** from CDF for infrastructure upgrading

Drainage and paved **walkway** construction

ADVANTAGES

Cheap and resistant
Adaptable and easy to cut
Permeable to water
Increased walkable area
Reusable

F 086. On site upgrading [Railway settlement site group, Serei Sophon].

In the proposal we suggest to use spatial interventions or upgrading as a way to challenge the eviction. This action could open a space for negotiation with the municipality searching for a future agreement avoiding the relocation. In the case of the railway, the small action or entry point proposed by the group that worked on this site aims to improve the area by building temporary walkways and house fronts using recycling materials.

This improvement in the conditions of the settlement could be used as a base for future negotiations with the municipality, because this project also contributes at the same time to improve the image of the city.

Proposal 3.1: Challenging evictions

Proposal 1.3: Spatial interventions

6. Conclusions

Positive transformation is the capability to challenge the status quo and develop alternative realities where people are set equally at the heart of development and where the room for manoeuvre allows the people to reposition themselves in the city. Positive transformation nurtures a culture of constructive resistance, where the people can continuously reshape the development. Thus, questioning the existing hegemony by collective action and through transparent links between peoples and institutions. Inherent in this are two levels; the collective relationship between the people and the one between the people and the institutions. Our vision is to build trust at these two levels.

The current transformation of Cambodia is marked by an absence of trust within both of these levels or spheres. The transformation is driven by autocratic institutions, in the form of unregulated market forces and authorities with a deficiency of accountability. Actors and representatives from communities respond to these autocratic actors both within the system and in opposition to it. Furthermore, communities are observed to take collective action to act parallel to the system, taking charge of their own development. However, collectivity is generally undermined by the dependency on competing financial institutions and NGOs and further by the differing aspirations of renters and structure-owners. Ambiguous legal documents such as Circular 03 create both the potential to demand influence in planning, and the justification of eviction of dwellers on environmental grounds. Alternative strategies may combine the issues of legal ambiguity and a deficiency in trust, collectively challenging the system. Here the economic development and the new generation present themselves with unleashed potential, with increased income which may be facilitated to build autonomy and increased access to media and education, challenging the lack of transparency between the institutions and the people.

The essence of our vision is to decrease the distance between the two poles, the institutions and the people, and draw these poles together, with incremental actions from both sides. Collectivity is a conclusive factor for all aspects of transformation in Cambodia. Our vision builds on the transformative potential of collective action. The key to achieve this potential is both the creation of a critical mass and a sense of trust, and collectivity within this mass. A positive transformation is then achieved in a two-directional manner; firstly, the collective of people taking charge of their own development and secondly, the collective prompting action from the institutions. The aim for this twofold action, drawing the poles together, is a stage of co-development.

Our strategy is to build collectivity, activate the local economy, and reposition land as an asset. In practice we propose to build collectivity through the establishment of local activities and networks. Savings groups can be a way to initiate the collective of people, when it is demonstrated how funds can be used for collective projects. The activation of the local economy similarly draw on the principle of building collectivity through collective projects, e.g. commercial cooperatives. Moreover, it goes towards the key aspect of autonomy, in our definition of positive transformation – creating communities which are less dependent on the competing NGOs and institutions. This goes together with repositioning land as an asset, as the threat of eviction is an obstruction to these strategies. Alternative strategies, challenging the need of eviction or using the eviction to negotiate better standards of living, may on the contrary help to build collectivity. In this way the strategies tease out the twofold action, not only building collectivity but also prompting co-development, going toward a stage where collectivity is both the collectivity within communities but also between communities, and between communities and institutions – collectively developing Cambodia.

List of Figures

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Dollar by Mister Pixel from The Noun Project

Community by Daniel Llamas Soto from The Noun Project

Trust by James Keuning from the Noun Project

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F 088. Walking on the railway tracks in Phnom Penh [AP].

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F 090, taking notes [STr].

A1. Summaries of the lectures pre-field trip
A2. Summaries of the lectures in Phnom Penh
A3. Visits to the settlements around Phnom Penh
A4. Site Groups diaries

Summaries of lectures pre-field

28/02/2014
Lecturer: Hallam Goad
Title: Phnom Penh - Devlopment De ja vu? (development going round and round in circles)

In this lecture, Hallam Goad introduced the history of Cambodia and the main issues that are faced there with regards to aid, coordinating policy, eviction, government performance and the displacement of power and money. He then introduced the cases of Boeng kak (lake) and Dawn Taok. In the case of Boeng Kak, Goad spoke about the perception most people have of the authorities, that we should consider work alongside rather than against them. Additionally, his opinion is that giving land titles to low-income settlements who had nothing before is dangerous because once they get the land titles, they are likely to sell them for a large amount of money. In the case of Dawn Toak, people got certificate of land from authority instead of land title, which is an alternative way for acting. But some organizations and official bodies were completely against this process, so it didn't go any further.

7/03/2014
Lecturer: Giorgio Talocci
Title: Transitions - "the charming city" (1954-2014)

Summary: At first, Giorgio introduced the new Khmer architecture which is built after the colonial rule of France and before the ruling of Khmer Rouge (1953-1970s). During this period, the nation is already under a process of transformation, with the introduction of a number of public spaces around the city.

Following this, 1975 is known as Year Zero, marking the date when the Khmer Rouge entered Phnom Penh. Under the ruling of Khmer Rouge, a large scale evacuation took place in which people who lived in the cities were forced to move to the rural areas, during which thousands of people were killed. The capital city---Phnom Penh--- became empty over one night.

A brief overview was then given about the change in regime after the Khmer Rouge were removed, spanning from Vietnams' rule to the more recent history of the Cambodian Peoples Party.

Nowadays, Cambodia is going through a new form of transformation; that of high-end development, sprouting

up around the city. The concept of gated communities has spread within elite circles. The government has developed a master plan for Phnom Penh (2020), but the plan has very simplistic zoning of the city.

Giorgio also spoke about the issue of land. Relocation sites are usually all cheap land, which implies that they are usually far away from city, without proper infrastructure. He introduced two cases of forced relocations: Borei Keila and Dey Krahorm. After 2 years, they still don't have water/electricity and live in houses built by a Christian NGO. In Oudong Moy, people first lived in tents to seek protection from natures elements. The influences of the church are always present and point towards an important power relation, even if the residents are all buddist. This community is now starting to thrive, however because of its location, they are very far from common amenities such as trading areas. Many residents who receive a plot of land simply sell it and return to Phnom Penh to live in the previous bad conditions.

07/03/2014
Lecturer: Geoffrey Payne
Title: Land tenure and the city wide scale of urban development in Cambodia and Phnom Penh

There are three types of land in Cambodia: state public land, state private land and private land. Payne spoke about how his work focuses on incremental improvements of tenure security for the urban poor, which was funded jointly by Cities Alliance, UN-Habitat and GIZ to develop innovative approaches to providing secure tenure for the urban poor in Phnom Penh as part of the capital's social and economic development. According to his study, land tenure in Cambodia is very insecure. Nobody was sure about the situation and what was going to happen next, even with regards to threats of eviction. However, an incremental approach was adopted;

Stage 1: a moratorium on relocations and evictions.

Stage 2: relocate settlements in unacceptable conditions to a site as close as possible to existing locations and provide medium term tenure status.

Stage 3: Provide communal lease for settlements deemed fit for formalisation.

Stage 4: Provide communal title for settlements meeting good governance criteria.

Stage 5: Enable individuals wanting full individual freehold title to obtain this on condition of paying all survey, legal and administration costs.

14/03/2014
Lecturer: Laurie Parson
Title: Labour Migration Contemporatory Cambodia: rural urban linkage and social change

Cambodian garment workers work for a long time (10.5 hours/day) everyday with the national minimum wage (80USD/month). Usually these people live in settlements with poor conditions. A battle between the protest and crackdown is taking place in Cambodia. Garment workers spend on average 51% of their total wage on living in the city. Their remittance flows are very significant in Cambodia in both relative and absolute terms. People can use the money as an subsistance or as an investment.

Parson also discussed natural disasters that occurred over the last 20 years, which affected many people, so many people from rural area moved to cities in response to the climate shock.

Since migrants send money to their families living in rural areas, their resources that they can live on are drastically reduced. The rural household's spending would affect the migrant's lifestyle. The informal network for migrants is very important because they can use it to share inforamtion with regards to jobs, which can help them to make right decisions for occupational moves. Apart from the garment workers, migrants frequently take on jobs as contruction workers or garbage collectors. At last, he elaborated on the hierarchy withinv the occupations. Urban migrant enclaves

in Cambodia are, in general, peaceful and safe. This is achieved with almost no intervention from formal authority.

21/03/2014

Lecturer: DIANE ARCHER

Title: Community-driven approaches to urban upgrading – the ACCA program and experiences in Cambodia

At first, Archer explains her understandings of urban proverty. "Expert" judgements should be used in identifying who are the "poor". There is a proverty line, $1.25/day, that can be used to measure proverty. When poverty should be understoof in further depth, elements of inequality, power relationships, rights and obligations of the state and market and governance failures must also be considered.

She then spoke about the constraints of urban centres, such as when the local government may lack capacity to meet infrastructure, service, and urban management needs. In this case, the government may lack interest in addressing needs of low income populations and rapidly rising land prices.

She also introduced the barriers to secure and affordable housing. Strict land and housing regulations decrease affordablilty. An inadequate land registration system, difficulty in obtaining access to credit, reluctance to regularise tenure, and the tenure system inclined towards those with financial or political power will build obstacles in achieving secure, affordable housing.

The importance of saving should also be given attention. Savings can catalyse collective action, and also can act as a security in the face of uncertain government funding, e.g.

CODI fund in Thailand. Additionally, savings groups may help to keep communities together.

She then introduced the basic information about Asian Colaition for Housing Rights (ACHR) as well as its Asian Coalition for Comunity Action Programme (ACCA). ACHR provides the loans or grants for communities to upgrade their infrastructure. In the case of Serey Sophoan, some small upgrading projects is taking place, which includes 30 riverside squatter households that is yearly facing floods and eviction. The repayment of the loan should be managed so that the community can seize the opportunity to demonstrate effective management of a savings group. She also introduced two cases of community-driven process in Cambodia.

Currently, the slums or settlements are facing challenges such as rapidly rising land values, no land title, spreading limited resources, no platform for negotiation as well as not enough support from CDF foundation.

14/03/2014

Lecturer: PHILIPPA MCMAHON

Title: Cambodia's Urban Poor: Resettlement, Livelihoods and Coping Mechanisms

At first, she introduced the history of Cambodia from 1953 to 2010 and then she explained the methdology that is used in her research. She presented 7 sites (3 sites facing eviction, 4 relocated sites) with providing the basic information, such as location, the year of relocation/built, the number of people that is survyed.

The main body of the presentation is about the urban poor in Cambodia, so Philippa firstly explained "who are the poor" in Cambodia according to the her research through providing statistics of people's gender, marital status, education level etc. Then the resettlement site data was presented to show the information that is collected from the interviews, such as livelihood, occupations, etc. Finally, she introduced the coping mechanisms to deal with various problems for different actors.

Summaries of lectures in Phnom Penh

Housing and planning policies: Insights and debates in local and national government
By Beng Hong Socheat Khemro, Deputy Secretary General at Ministry of Land Management and Urban Planning and Construction in Cambodia

The historical factor has big influence on the development of slums, as all private land was relinquished and the cities evacuated. Land was more or less randomly allocated when people returned after the fall of the Khmer Rouge in 1979.

The boom in re-urbanisation after 1979 also resulted in a boom in slums around the 1990's.

The regional trade is another important factor, with especially Battambang depending on cross-border trade, contributing to the ongoing urbanisation in Cambodia. Here it is essential to note that migrants, and especially seasonal migrant are not interested in purchasing land.

In the connection to intercity development, ADB should be noted as a central actor and funder of large scale infrastructure linking the major cities of Cambodia, i.e. Phnom Penh, Battambang, and Sihanoukeville. Here the Mekong Region is stressed as a new Asian growth corridor.

Essential to the cross-border development of the Mekong Region, is the establishment of peace in the key border towns and the development of friendship and cooperation with the neighbouring countries. This can be achieved through the improvement of infrastructure and planning.

"Many urban centres in Cambodia will benefit from the International Development Corridors by improving infrastructure and planning"

The government has developed a hierarchy between this strategic, international development and operational detail land use plans.

F 091. Chart showing the population trends from 1960 to present, highlighting the gap between Phnom Penh and the other cities in Cambodia [B. H. S. Khemro].

F 092. Map showing the main national connections [B. H. S. Khemro].
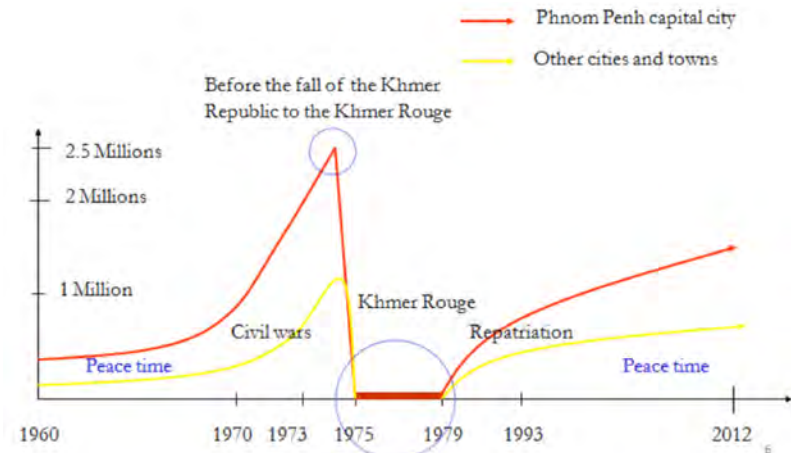
F 091

We build community now
By: Sokly Ye

In this lecture the work of CAN was explained. It was stressed that trust is an essential factor in development, and that distrust is very expensive. The act of listening is seen as a potential route for healing this distrust. Furthermore, the lecture gave examples of particular tools used in the work with the development, e.g. mapping & surveying, 1:1 scale building, community builder training, etc. The vision was to achieve physical and social transformation through design and planning.
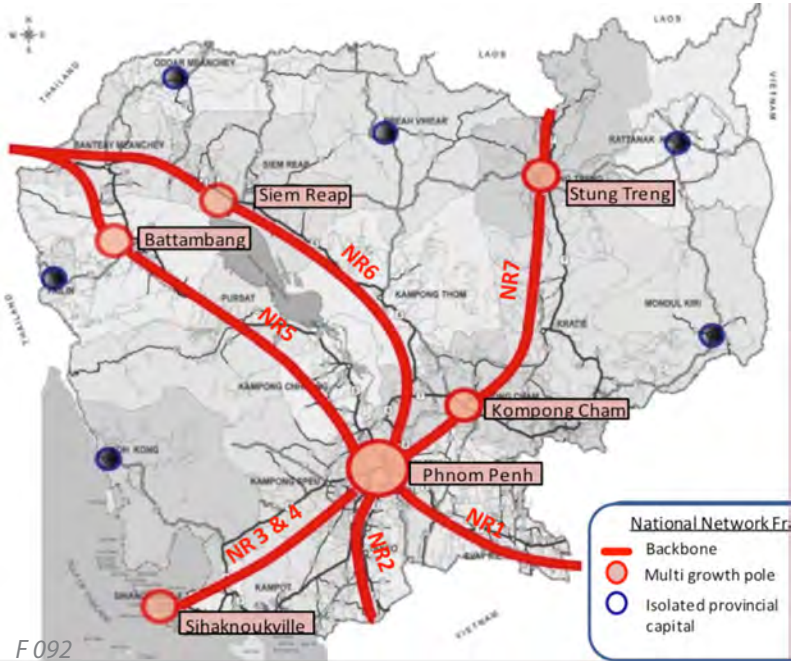
F 092

Cambodia Early Years
By: Maurice Leonhardt from Asian Coalition for Housing Rights

In this lecture Maurice sums up the work of ACHR through the last 24 years, starting from a focus on housing rights and evictions developing into a focus on citywide upgrading today, emphasizing the process of exchange visits and cross-community learning. In Phnom Penh a five-year effort was made to build a strong people's network.

Housing and Planning Policies: Insights from and the Role of NGOs and International Agencies
By: Vanna Sok from UN-Habitat

In this lecture the Cambodian context were explained, with the main urban challenges such as unequal urban development, unplanned growth, lack of infrastructure, and insufficient capacity for management. Furthermore, it included a brief introduction to key documents in Cambodian planning, such as Circular 03, the Rectangular Strategy, and the National Housing Strategy. Following the context, the work of UN-Habitat and in particular its role as facilitating the Technical Work Groups were explained.

Visits to the settlements around Phnom Penh

6:30 Wake up

7:00 Perfect Goldiana Hotel breakfast buffet

8:00 Set out! Felt so excited…

13:00 After long-time journey on the coach, we eventually arrived at the first community, Neang Kong Hing Community. When we got off the bus, we were surprised at people's warm welcome--- they had prepared gifts for everyone of us which is a package of a bottle of water and local traditional sticky rice ball.

13:15 We start a meeting with local community. It is interesting that they put bricks on the ground and we sit on those bricks as if they are simple chairs. The weather is very hot and the sunshine is very strong. We sit in the colorful tent and they introduce to us the process of how they rebuilt their home. They had moved from along the river bank of the Kizona Bridge and the gate of the health center. They got the land from the government (around 4m*10m per family) who had installed the infrastructure such as water system, electricity and road.

13:45 After the meeting, we took a walk around the whole community.

14:00 Got on bus heading for the next stop!

14:20 Arrived at Sersib Pir Knorng Community in Kampong

Cham Province. The residents gave us some adorable hand-made flower necklaces which are really beautiful!

14:30 Lunch time! We were invited to local people's house to enjoy the local food. We sit on the ground in a circle with fantastic Cambodian food in the center... Except for some annoying flies.

14:50 After the lunch, there was a short break. We walked around the community and talked to the local people.

15:15 Gathered in a little plot of open land, we sit on the Cambodia blanket and listen to the introduction of the community. This was not so easy as the translation was not ideal and there was a barrier in the communication. Especially in the part of Q&A, sometimes they did not get what we mean and answer in another way. Anyway, we still get a lot of information about the situation of the community as well as their culture in an invisible way.

Well, as for the relocation, they once located along the Mekong River Bank, which faced eviction as the local municipality had planned to build a new bridge and landscaping project for the embankment. The community got organised, started a savings group and negotiated with local authorities to get a new plot of land. But the land allocated to them resulted too small: only 16 square meters per family. Therefore, UPDF

supported the community with a loan of 2,200 dollars to purchase a neighbouring plot. Once they got land tenure on the good-sized area, the community started a process of participatory housing design, and in December 2011 they inaugurated their new settlement. Sersib Pir Knorng Community acted as a model for other communities, also in other provinces, with which they shared their positive experience.

16:15 Got on the bus moving on to the next!

18:30 Finally arrived at Pro Lay Tek community! In the dark! It is located along a canal in the Peam Ror district. Also the people prepared a lovely package of gift which has a bottle of water and some lotus nuts.

18:45 Then we started a meeting with local people in the dark under the faint light with thousands of mosquitos'attendance.

This community didn't risk eviction, as the canal is not very used, but were subject to consistent flooding hazard for 6 months every year, during the raining season. Local authority therefore granted the land for an ACCA-funded on-site reblocking project to make the housing flood-proof. 2 household, evicted from nearby pagoda, were included in the project, which involved 35 families in total. The design process was carried out with support of students and lectures from Phnom Penh University. It led to the solution of a landfill and a long slab of houses. The project is now completed and the people already moved in. The land ownership will be collective, and transferred to the community once they pay back their loan to CDF.

F 093

F 094

F 095

F 093. Community presentation in Neang Kong Hing Community [JA].

F 094. Sersib Pir Knorng settlement after upgrading through CDF [NL].

F 095. Pro Lay Teuk Community after upgrading through CDF [JA].

Site groups diaries

Transformation along the river, Russei Keo district

Introduction

The site is the district of Russey Keo, and in particular the 56 "communities," scattered along the Mekong and Ton Le Sap riversides in an area twenty times greater than the City of London. The district is located to the North of central Phnom Penh and the district experiences a pressure from land from South.

This analysis is based in site observations, interviews with community leaders and for the main data gathering, and in order to bypass the heavy gatekeeping, through family portraits. The family portrait was an im promptu developed interview method, where Mathias first drew his family and then Vyran and him asked children to draw a stick men portrait of their family. We then used the stick men to talk about each member of the family.

F 096. Collection of family portraits [ME].

F 097. Pictures from the communities along the river, Russey Keo [ME].

F 096

Physical : Alternative strategies for relocation / Land as an asset

An underlying issue is the security of tenure. This is clearly seen in Psar Toch A+B, where tenure is mostly disputed. Only the least resourceful risk to stay. The majority rents and the owners do not have finances to upgrade their houses, at least not individually. The dispute over land clearly stems from a significant discrepancy between the unplanned development and the plans for the area. Across all communities, the river presents a pressure on the land and an opportunity for development. Both in terms of the riverside development related to the highways and the cargo transport and in terms of the many floating houses, which present an interesting issue of land tenure, when you do not live on land.

While the pressure for land is evidently highest in Psar Toch A+B , a variety in legal and perceived tenure can be observed in each community. The pressure for land is reflected in the typology of the different communities, and it is clear that the pressure for land is highest closest to the center of Phnom Penh. The second, key conclusion from the observation of space and typology is that the more established communities in areas with a lower pressure for land, such as Nesarth 10 and Tonle Sap 1, has a huge variation in terms of houses, ranging from timber structures with tin cladding to concrete and bricks.

F 097

The variety in individual houses can be linked with the variety in access to individual finances. While community savings are well-established in the districts, they may work more as individual savings, i.e. a community bank, not collective savings. This can be used as collateral for individual micro-finance. Furthermore individual households receive finance through a variety of more or less specialised NGOs.

Land ownership and urbanisation is proved a significant analytical point. Individual finances may be observed as an opportunity point and route towards security of tenure, but this seems inadequate to develop whole communities, let alone the district. The lack of collectivity (and the relationship between structure owners and renter) undermines the opportunity of "land as an asset" while alternative forms of tenure still presents an opportunity in principle. To this comes the specific opportunity point of river living, since this can legally challenge the concept of tenure (and further challenge the right to evict people under environmental threats, as it is specified in Circular 03).

Political : Protesting and Resisting

The CDF-network (elected representatives from the communities) has a significant potential to work across these individual finances. While the network, is well established, the coverage is questionable. The 13 representatives are not geographically representative of the 56 communities,

and there has been no re-elections since the initial elections in 1998. This is not questioning the work of the network in itself, simply stressing that representation is key to create the sense of collectivism.

Here it is important to understand the communities along the rivers as a multitude. They are not simply homogenous fishing communities. Collectivism needs to be build on something else.

The heavy gate keeping in the data gathering makes it difficult to assess the level of protest and resistance in the district. The first level to pass was to actually get information from others than the community leaders, and especially the thirteen representatives who followed us around. Splitting up, was a simple trick. Yet, we were outnumbered and directed to certain parts of communities. Nevertheless, talking to people it was clear that the communities were less coherent than it occurred in interviews with the leaders (and I would like to find the inverted commas again). With frequent meetings between the CDF-network and the district and the CDF-network's participation in the District's board meetings, the network is largely integrated in the established political regime. While cautious of the limits of the network's accountability, it may be concluded that there is an alternative to the political resistance, in form of changing the system from within.

Economy : Informal Economy

While the cornerstone of CDF's work in the district is the prahok-loans, we need to understand that the prahok is not an essential part of their occupation -- prahok is nevertheless an essential part of their culture. Interviews with 11 families across 4 communities shows a variety of employment, mostly outside the fishing-sector, with the biggest group employed in garment factories . Furthermore, significant unemployment.

The formal economy, and more particularly the industrialisation seems to be the opportunity point the district of Russey Keo, with raised income from factory jobs and with new skills learned through training programmes.
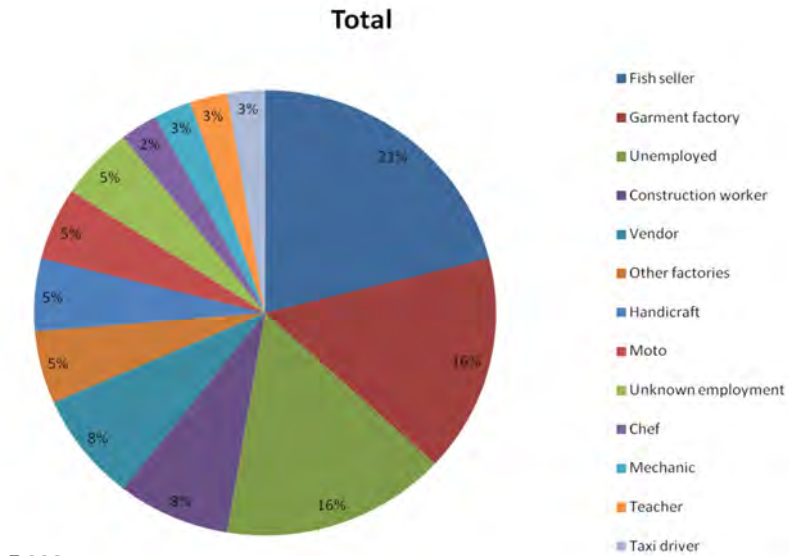
F 098

The informal economy seems to be linked with the pressure for land, with vendors and moto drivers, seeking a place close to the center, risking eviction.

Socio-cultural : Generational change

This leads us to the issue of education, a key point to get out of unemployment or low income jobs. A considerable amount of the children attend school but many stay home, to due duties in the house or leave at gr. 7 to work. It is also interesting to notice that the age of children who start Grade 1, range from 5 to 13 years old.

The new generation present itself with interest in and eagerness for education, while this is hampered by the
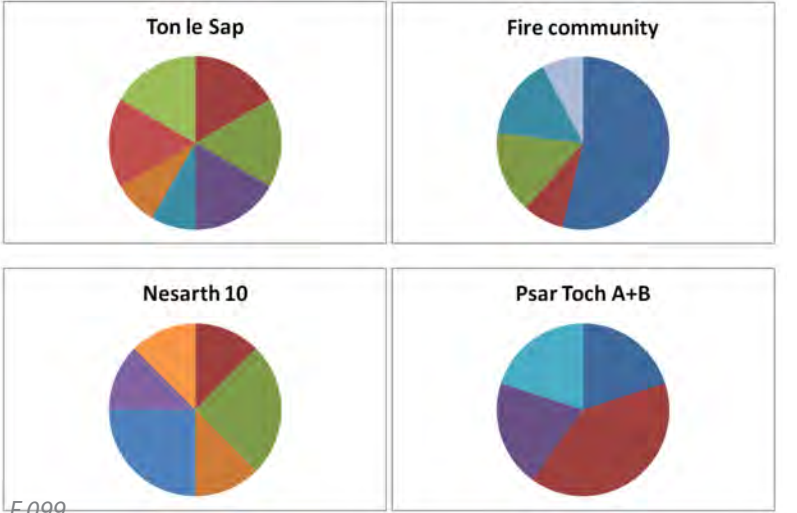
F 099

F 098. Pie chart on occupations across the communities that the Russey Keo site group worked with [ME].

F 099. Pie charts of occupations of each community [ME].

104

105

family economy in some places. From the collected data and impressions it is not possible to judge whether this generation is less submissive. However, it is clear that there is a will to learn, in order to achieve a better livelihood for the families.

Strategies for Russey Keo

While the issues are complex to unbundle, there is a certain hierarchy to them. We have stressed in this presentation that land is an underlying issue, this does not mean that nothing can be done before it is solved. We think that both the underlying an associated can, and should be addressed together. In a simplified model, the government
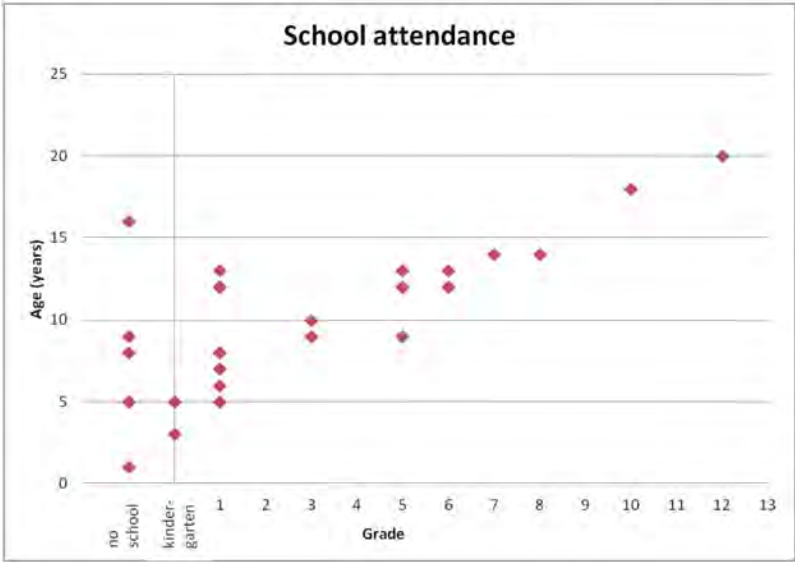
and authorities can act from the base, i.e. from the underlying issues and up, towards land, education and beyond. To prompt this government action and show capability to develop, the community can act from the top, addressing initially the associated issues . We have seen how some communities, e.g. Tonle Sap 1 has been able to effectively address surface issues, such as garbage handling, common space, and pathways. Finance is also addressed in Tonle Sap, though it may be improved with a collective commitment.

In order to move turn this two-action approach and the pyramid, with the associated conclusion points into something tangible, some concrete proposals, we developed four key strategies: **problem dilution, drawing in new resources, network building** and **increasing visibility.**

Problem dilution is the idea that instead of moving the problem, as it happened e.g. with Andong, the problem is diluted. In essence the existing dwellers are not a problem but a resource. The problem is that their resources may not be enough to achieve the desired development of the area. The strategy of problem dilution is in this way closely linked with the second strategy of drawing in new resources. You add something or someone resourceful, in order to get a lot less problematic mixture.

With the third strategy of network building, it is important to stress that the existing situation is not a total lack of resources. As highlighted earlier, the existing network presents a huge potential for the district. Network building is not building from scratch but building on the existing, but

also the emerging human resources in the communities. Networking between the old, the new, and the emerging.

The strategy of increasing visibility is essential for both the strategy of network building and that of drawing in new ressources. Both in terms of in order to build collectivism and renewed energy and momentum of existing network and to in order to highlight the potential of the area.

Proposals

Our first proposal is the concept of river sharing. The idea is basically the same as the idea of land sharing, simply on the river and not on ground. This presents some legal and technical challenges, e.g. connection of utilities. Nevertheless, we believe that these are far outweighed by the benefits it can achieve in terms of visibility. The river sharing is combined with our second proposal of mixed development, mixité. Going towards our strategy of drawing in new resources, by mixing for example more expensive flats with flats for existing dwellers in the river sharing programme. This mixité can also be achieved on land and goes beyond accommodation, e.g. by considering cafés in a mixed use development -- these may appear naturally, as the social mixture is changed. Building strongly on our strategy of problem dilution, yet again stressing that the people are not the problem but the potential.

The second proposal is to facilitate the rivers for infrastructure and tourism. Drawing in new resources, in form of a new economy. Increasing visibility is the key here, to attract the tourists, but the river also has huge potential in terms of the local transport and communication infrastructure -- already evidently more continuous as you sail along the communities on the river, than when you drive along the highway. A stronger riverside connection may also help building network between the floating communities and the communities on land.

With the third proposal we want to stress that the spatial development alone may not spark the network building. As highlighted a few times through this presentation, the existing CDF-network has huge potential in the future network building.

Considering the issue of education and occupation, we think that a concrete proposal for enhancing network building, especially in terms of the emerging human resources, may be the establishment of a CDF-Youth-network. This network can work both as a young professionals network, and help with homework. It may also arrange sporting events, form clubs for particular interest, or otherwise help to build social relations across communities. As such is it not a competitor to or a replacement of the existing CDF-network, but a network catering for a different group. The interplay between the two may also give renewed energy and momentum to CDF.

Borei keila

7 May

Today we woke up very early and feel excited for the following site-visit and curious about what would happen. We arrived at Borei Keila at about 10:00 in the morning, and walked around the whole site. After that, we spoke with the community leaders about the history of this community. After a Cambodian-style lunch in a small lane, we headed to the office of the municipality. However, the officer did not want to speak to us as he thought he couldn't do this without preparation. Disappointed with that, we left the office and continued our site visit. Despite that, we were still lucky to have Sam Sak to show us around the new buildings and told us stories of the community. A number of interviews were carried out in the 6th building and at the same time observed their living condition. From our interviews, we found that the people living in the apartments are quite satisfied with their current living condition except for the lack of land tenure. For the first family we interviewed, to some extent they had already accepted the fact that they had to pay for the flat (they were supposed to get the flat for free, but they didn't, so instead they needed to buy the flat).However, what they want now is the land title and security.

And from our observation, we found the people living in this building especially on the 6th floor have a good relationship with each other. They take care for their neighbours' children when their parents go out to work.

F 101

8 May

The main task that we set for today was to go deeper into people's lives and their understanding about the current situation, and also what they want for the future. We started interviewing people in the old building at 10:00am. The first one we met was a retired policeman. From him we learnt that there are still 11 police families living in the old buildings where there was no service like water and gas. Something we did not expect was the fact that they weren't expecting a flat from the 8 new buildings because they thought it was dangerous to live there. Instead, they were looking forward

to being compensated for about $15,000 to $100,000 per flat. After this, we visited the squatters to observe their way of life. They are very friendly to us and talked much about their current living conditions to us. We can't even believe our eyes because they were almost living on the garbage! After this, we had more interviews in the new buildings as a continuous work for the first day.

F 102

9 May

The task of today is understanding the use of the space within and around the blocks. The first thing we did was to map the layout of the ground floor to see how they use the space, as shops, parking lots, living, or etc. After this, we continued our interviews in both the new buildings and the squatter settlements. We found that 28% of the squatters are into recycling. This means that garbage disposal and management could be used as an entry point in this

community. At the same time, we started to think about try some way to resettle the squatters, may be on the ground floor of the new buildings? Or somewhere else?

F 103

11 May

Today's task is mapping the number of empty apartments on the ground floor, finishing the mapping of the ground floor, and finding out the number of the squatter families through interviews and observation. We were divided into 3 groups, one was to do the mapping, one was to interview the people in the shops and the other was to interview the squatters. From our effort, we finally figured out the exact number of people in squatters which is 156 families. We finished our work at about 5, and now need to start preparing the presentation for tomorrow. We are thinking about mobilizing the people from both the

buildings and the squatters to do the garbage collection work which might be helpful to not only clean the physical environment but also as a way to build collectivity. From our perspective, now the power of people in Borei Keila is too scattered, people have different interests and they do not trust each other which will hinder future development. The people living in the buildings do not care about people struggling in the squatters, so the people who are actually homeless and living on the garbage are very poor and weak to protect themselves. The previous conflicts in Borei Keila had made this site a very contested place and a sensitive political issue in the city, after which the dispute on the land title had made the thing even more complicated. Now the NGOs are not welcomed to come to Borei Keila to help. And this has made more difficult to find a solution to the problems in Borei Keila.

F 104. Interviews with shop owners in Borei Keila [JL].

F 105. Presentation with the Mayor of 7 Makara District [ST].

F 104

12 May

Today is the presentation day! We gave our proposals to the community leaders and municipality, and got some comments from the vice mayor of Khan 7 Makara. What was out of our expectation that they said they already their own plan for the garbage and settlement of the squatters as well as the future development which we had never heard of before. They said they already had their own plan for housing the 156 families but they didn't explain this in detail. And they also had a plan to deal with the garbage using CINTRI and develop a new road behind the new buildings where there are squatters now. Maybe we should think about another way to develop our idea?

F 105

Andong & Tra Pang Cherng Srok communites

7 May

On 7th of May, we left Goldiana hotel to go to the Municipality of Phnom Penh because we had a meeting with the governor in order to discuss how to improve the collaboration between the government and ACHR. Everyone was excited to meet the governor in person and we spent hours discussing what kind of questions to ask him. In reality, we just attended the meeting and listen to his speech without getting the opportunity to ask our questions. After the meeting, we went back to the hotel by bus. The Battambang site groups were preparing to leave for Battambang city and the Phnom Penh site groups set out to go to their own sites at noon. Our group, together with local students and staff from CDF went to Tra Peng Cherng. We arrived to the site around 13:00 and went to the empty site to have a look. This community is formed by families, which had been relocated first from the Bassac area and then from the Kork Kleang village. When facing eviction, people got organized and started a savings group (115 families) to get a loan from CDF and managed to buy the plot of land where their houses will be located. Currently the main concern is how to start building the houses with a budget of $1500 that will be granted through the ACCA programme.

After visiting the relocation site, we went to the community center to meet the community representatives and invited them to do some activities with us. We asked them to write their names, the number of people in their family, etc. on the paper cards that we prepared. Then, we gave one piece of paper to each family and asked them to draw the typology of house that they wanted to live in. After finishing the drawing, every family spoke to us about it.

F 106. Informal conversations with community leader from Tra Pang Cherng Srok [PV].

F 106

8 May

On the 8th of May, Anna joined our site group. In the morning, we went to the Por Sen Chey district office to meet the district governor. After that, we went directly to Andong Village and had the amazing food that the community had prepared for us. After lunch, we had a short discussion

about the plan and then we decided to divide into two groups. One group would walk around the community and collect information that would be helpful for us. The other group would stay and do mapping. Later, we visited the Andong market, small handicraft workshops and an office of contractors who are responsible for designing and building the houses in Andong. We talked to a contractor from Philippines, who introduced the office's work to us and allowed us to take some pictures of the houses they had designed. After that, we met with the other group to have lunch and shared the information we got. We got back to the hotel around 19:00.

F 107

9 May

In the morning of 9th of May, we went again to Andong Village but at first we went to the PCL center to meet with the staff. They were very helpful and shared with is their experience and information. After the meeting, we divided into two groups; one went to Andong 4 and the other to Andong 6. We visited the two communities to interview local residents and collect useful information. When we got back to the hotel, we started to discuss and prepare the activities that we would do in the next day in both sites---Andong community and Tra Pang Cherng community.

F 108

10 May

On the 10th of May, we went to Tra Pang Cherng community and prepared two activities. Each activity had a designing section and an open discussion section afterwards. In the last forum, one member brought up some interesting

topics such as how to engage the whole community in the meetings and how to reach an agreement in the design; he was also aware that the process might take time and that collective action is fundamental.

Later in the day, we went to Andong village and started to set the activities in Andong 6 community. We prepared a set of activities in order to strengthen their relations between the people from Andong 4 and Andong 6. Our strategy, was to present these activities, as a way to draw their main concerns and to provoke discussions and some common ideas on the topics they brought out. We organized three activities, involving both children and adults since our objective was to engage as many members as possible.
- We selected the most popular topics from the interviews and the attendants were asked to choose the most important: the relocation to the new PCL houses.
- For the second activity, small groups would choose ways to address the previous issue. The last step was to write an idea per group and to vote for the one they concidered as the most important. That was the size of the houses PCL would deliver.
- The last exercise included nine topics (also the one in the previous stage) for which people would normally spend their money. For this activity, they had $30 (which is the minimum income: $1 per day) and they had to decide how to spend it and all the attendants could visualize it.

Given that our aim was to promote experience and opinion sharing between the communities, the closing discussion was for people to share their experience, opinions give their feedback. By the end of the end, people claimed to have a better understanding of the concerns of their neighbors. In addition, they got a better understanding of how much they spend and discussed that saving as a group could be beneficial.

F 109

11 May

On the 11th of May, we were supposed to have a free day and rest, but considering that the next day we had to present our findings to the vice governor of Pen Sen Chey district, we decided to meet and discuss at 17:00. We worked until very late to prepare our proposals. Reflecting on the site activities, the main topic to be addressed with the vice-governor was the relocation. Our strategy focuses on opening a space, where the community could show their collective concern on this topic and change the design of

the proposed units. Collecting signatures and approaching the local authorities to negotiate an open process could achieve a flexible design that could fit their housing needs (better spaces and the possibility of modifying the units).

12 May

On the 12th of May, we continued to work until noon and then we went to Andong village with all the materials we got. We started our presentation in the afternoon, when the vice governor of Pen Sen Chey district arrived. We presented our proposals to the vice governor as well as to the community leaders of Andong Village and then got feedback from both of them. They were very satisfied with our work and expressed their own thoughts. They said that they would take upgrading into account when designing the houses and that they would consider engaging more external organisations to the community development.

F 110. Concluding the workshop with the community members in Andong [NL].

Battambang

8 May

We were lucky to be situated quite close to our site and had the opportunity to get a better understanding of the city. We had been informed that Battambang was aiming to become known as a "city of culture". This had a big influence on the situation that the community was tackling.

The morning was supposed to start off with a meeting with the governor of Battambang. However, once we arrived at the City Hall, we were informed that His Excellency would not be able to attend the meeting. Although disappointing, this possibly turned out for the better since we entered into a longer informal discussion with a representative from the informal settlements department, still standing in the parking lot of City Hall. The meeting then moved inside where they presented to us their plans for the implementation of Circular 03, explaining that since Battambang was still being developed and was not experiencing pressures from rich families, the municipality could work alongside the informal settlements in the city without the need for eviction. A representative from GIZ also joined the conversation and spoke about their role in collaborating with the Battambang Municipality. We were informed that a land use map had been submitted to the Municipality of Phnom Penh and were

awaiting the Governors signature. We were also informed that a survey of informal settlements had been carried out in 2009 and the results mapped out.

Following the meeting, we went on a short tour of the architecturally significant areas and buildings in Battambang, organised by the Cambodian students that lived in Battambang.

When lunchtime approached, it was time to finally visit the settlement. We were greeted by the community leader who took us around the settlement. This was followed by a lunch that had been prepared by the community leader and her friends from other communities. she then presented herself and explained the basic composition of the community and its history. Of great interest was the presence of a savings group that had been recently stopped, and the community's relation with CDF.

After speaking with the community leader, we tried our hand at community mapping with the few residents that were present. We wished to understand the spaces around the site and the spaces that are used on a daily basis, for example, where residents go to work, or to buy food. This process also helped to break the ice with the residents. It was interesting to see the transition of the residents who at first did not wish to actually draw on the map, but after some time would take the pen and continue.

F 111. Mind mapping with community members in Chamkar Samroung II [JA].

9 May

After the previous days unplanned attempt at mapping, we approached the day in a more structured way. Four members of the group were visiting each household and gathering data about the residents and housing typology. In the meantime, three members were building a better understanding of the flooding issues and how the site reacts to these events. The community spoke about a bad flood that affected them in 2013. It was the first time the settlement had been so badly affected but had immediately prioritised the problem. In the afternoon, the exercises focused on understanding the residents' aspirations for housing upgrading. The resulting dream house of the majority of participants, both young and old, all looked similar to the existing house of the community leader.

F 112. Residents of Chamkar Samroung II drawing their dream house [JA].

F 113. Presentation of key finding and proposals to community members [JA].

F 114. Final presentation with the Governor and Vice Governor of Battambang [JA].

F 115. Presenting the Vice Governor with a gift of gratitude [JA].

F 112

Before leaving the settlement in the evening, a transect walk was carried out with the young kids, to identify the places where they play, their access to drinking water, and if their homes had a toilet or not. The first place they had to take us to was the space in which they play. It is interesting to note that they all went to the same place - a green space in the middle of the main boulevard that ran adjacent to the site. Following this, the kids were told to take us to their homes and get a glass of water. Each child excitedly pulled us to their homes and proudly went inside and filled a glass with water. Many households either buy large quantities in bottles, or drink directly from a well or collected rainwater from their roofs. Additionally, each child showed us that each household had a pit latrine that the family used.

11 May

After spending Saturday visiting the temples in Angkor, it was time for us to present our ideas and findings to the community, ahead of the planned meeting with the Governor on Monday. After a morning of preparations in the hotel, we presented our ideas and discussed what the community would consider as their priorities in the process of upgrading. First, a set of exercises were carried out to get an understanding of the preferred housing typologies; heights of the housing, two one one storeys, individual or continuous housing etc. With regards to preference of infrastructure, the majority chose clean drinking water as their first preference and electricity and road infrastructure as their second preferences. They explained that during the dry season when they cannot collect enough rainwater, they must buy clean water from trucks which is very expensive. The reason why they want improved roads is to solve the flooding issues.

F 113

12 May

The site work ended on Monday with a presentation to the Governor and Vice Governor of Battambang, together with the community leader and representatives of the community.

F 114

F 115

F 116. Discussing needs and alternatives between students and members of the Chamkar Samroung II community [JA].

Baret, Serei Sophon

8 May

During the first day of fieldwork we visited the Municipality of Serei Sophon, where the students presented to the mayor the work developed previously with the communities and she explained the vision and priorities for the future development of the city.

The main points that the municipality wants to address are:

· Housing security
· Drainage
· Environment
· Level of the river
· Garbage management

After this meeting, we visited different sites, to get a general understanding of the city:

- We first visited a plot of land used as a garbage dump where we saw how groups of people pick plastic bottles and other objects for recycling. This illustrated how the rubbish is collected and processed within the city.
- Following this, we visited a small area where people produce soil blocks as

F 117. Visitng relocation site with a representative of the Municipality of Serei Sophon [LC].

F 118. Presentation of dream house exercise by the residents of Baret settlement [LC].

an alternative material for construction. This material offers a large number of benefits such as: small amount of money to start the production, simple technology required, local material, opportunity for new typology.
- We were taken to a house which was in a process of construction that used the soil blocks in order to understand the potential uses of the material.
- The old train station made evident the current conditions of the city's infrastructure and its potential recuperation in the future.
- Site near to the railway.
- Brief visit to Baret settlement where we met a delegate of the municipality that took us to the piece of land where this community will be relocated. He explained the advantages of the new place of relocation, its connection and proximity to services and the option of give collective land tenure to the people.

F 117

9 May

This day started with a meeting organized by members of CAN-Cam and the Municipality in order to introduce us to the community. During this meeting were presented the work of mapping developed in previous days by CAN-Cam. This exhibition opened a space to discuss with the community about the conditions of the settlement, the problems that they want to solve and their priorities. After this conversation and having a first impression of the site we divided the group in small groups to walk through the 3 communities that shape the settlement. During the walk we talked with people about the current conditions of their houses, their daily activities and livelihoods.

In the second part of the day people drew their dream house both individually and in small groups. The results looked very similar but each example showed different uses of the space according to their daily activities. Moreover, when people presented their work they talked about specific details of the spaces around their houses and the relation between the public and private spaces. Finally, one of the members of the community point out that they are settle on public land and therefore they will be relocated in the future. After this, the discussion focused in the imminent relocation process and the people agree that this could be an opportunity to improve their lives and obtain a land title.

F 118

10 May

Cambodian students and CAN-Cam architects drew sections and collected extra information on site. These works were used to develop the proposal for the community.

11 May

After the first discussion about relocation, the 4th. day started with an exercise of participation that aims to collectively design the options to cluster the houses in the relocation land. During this exercise we discussed with the people their aspirations about infrastructure and the option of build incremental bathrooms that would be shared initially but in a later stage could growth according to the needs

and budget of the community. We suggest the possibility to reach this objective through the use of collective savings. Additionally the members of the community locate their houses and decided as a group how they want to group and what services they want to share.

In this process we found different options of social and common spaces that should be translated to the new settlement, existing relations between the people of the community and aspirations in order to have better life conditions. The people defined where to put streets, shops, garbage bins and other fundamental elements of the place.

F 119. Participatory design of new clusters for relocation [LC].

F 120. Fieldwork presented to the Municipality of Serei Sophon in collaboration with the students and community members [LC].

F 119

12 May

In the last day of fieldwork we join the community to show the proposals design based on the previous exercises. Initially the people were not interested in the meeting but once they saw the drawings of the proposals and the members of CDF started to expose their experiences, the people gathered and started to participate. When the presentation of CDF finished, in a surprising act, people started to collect money to initiate a new savings group.

In the afternoon our group and some members of the community present the work developed during our days on site in front of some members of the municipality. This presentation was a way to bring people close to the authorities and express their concerns.

F 120

Railway settlements

8 May

On the first day we went to the municipality and met the mayor of Serei Sophon. The vision for Serei Sophon is touching upon five key issues, housing security, environment, drainage, garbage management, and the river level.

In relation to the railway settlements, the houses that are further than 30 meters away for the railway can stay and upgrade on site.

The rest would need to move to the relocation site. Information about the new site's location was not given to us, but according to the mayor, the site is close to a school, a factory and the market. The municipal government is going to provide water, electricity and roads.

Later in the day, we visited all three settlements, yet very briefly. Surprisingly, when at the third site, we managed to negotiate and actually visit the relocation site.

9 May

When we arrived to the first site, Rong Masen, a peri-urban settlement located south-west of the center, we find many people gathered under a huge tree, in the shade,

F 121

F 122

F 123

F 121. In the office of the Mayor of Serei Sophon [AP].

F 122. Exploring the new railway track in Rong Masen village [CN].

F 123. Houses on the railway track, Rong Masen [CN].

apparently waiting for us! This means that as soon as we get out of the van, things will start without even the time to discuss with the others in the group. Without even knowing the place and the people, things are already set up for us and we decide to start with a collective exercise to find out, by drawing on paper, what are the strengths and weaknesses of the village. Here our role shifts drastically since we cannot control the situation, without knowing a single word of khmer. The cambodian students are those who need to manage the exercise and try to explain us what the villagers are actually talking about. We set up some sheets on the floor and start working in different groups. Ah! At least they are drawing something, otherwise it would be impossible to follow.

From the activities in the morning, we find out some common themes from the different groups, such as the main problems of garbage and flooding, the lack of a drainage system and the need for better infrastructure and housing. After the two exercises with the residents of Rong Masen, we have some time to wander around the area to visit some houses and get a better idea of the layout of the settlement. With the help of Nylen, the CDF member who helped us throughout the week on site, we manage to learn more information about the everyday life of the people. Much more information could be gathered with this methodology rather than with collective exercises, which of course are useful for other purposes, definitely to trigger collectivity, discussion and understand common elements and issues.

After lunch, we have a meeting and discuss together the experience and achievements of the morning, and a little about the organization for the upcoming work in the afternoon. In the afternoon we went to a different site, near the old railway station, where members of three settlements living along the tracks will be coming to meet us and discuss their situation – or, at least, this is what we think before getting there! The situation becomes chaotic very soon. People are not there to listen or participate in anything, but to ask for clarification and protest against the risk of eviction that they are facing. We no longer have a group of people to organize in groups and do activities with, but a messy lot that for a moment we also think can be the precondition for an unpleasant conclusion, possibly violent. People were gathered alongside a very long map placed on the floor, which had information on each house. Still in chaos, not being able to control the situation, there is one girl from Cambodia who has managed extremely successfully to start a conversation with some of the residents, writing on post its lots of information. Our group decides to split and see if outside the station, walking along the railway and the houses, people would calm down making it possible to set up a conversation, even if individual or one by one.

The decision to split proved to be the right on for that moment, even though we did not manage to trigger discussions and understand common elements and issues.

11 May

While in the bus to Rong Masen, our group decides to split into 2 smaller groups. One group would go to Rong Masen as planned while the other would go to Sae Sen and Village 4. We took this decision because we felt that the afternoon meeting would not be long enough in order to get all the information we needed. As explained in the description of the first day, we did not manage to start group discussions and identify the common issues and aspirations of those villages. Knowing that the people did not want to discuss the possibility of relocation, our group explained that we are students from London and that we were not there to make decisions on whether they are going to be relocated or not. This wasn't easy at all since as people explained, they were tired of people coming and going without anything changing and they did not want to participate and give information about their lives. We wanted to meet the village chief but nobody was willing to take us to his house because a meeting was already arranged for the afternoon so we continued mapping the housing typologies and asking people questions about their villages and livelihoods.

The second group went back to Rong Masen. We arrived on the settlement a bit earlier that the arranged time and thus we decided to walk around the area, map the houses and ask people whether they are aware or not of the savings groups and whether they would be interested to start one. At the same time, we were making sure that people were aware of

F 124

F 125

F 126

F 124. Working with the community in Rong Masen on the main issues they face [AP].

F 125. Collective presentation of the work done with the community [AP].

F 126. View of Sae Sen and Village 4 railway settlements: people tend to gather in the afternoon around wooden platforms across the tracks [AP].

the meeting that would take place later in the day and if not, we invited them to join. From interviews, we found out that some people are already saving with another organization called RACHA. One woman told us that she wasn't aware that some people had decided to start saving and when she asked to join the answer was a bit undermining so she felt offended and did not join them. For this reason she wanted to attend the meeting with CDF since she believed that saving is a way to make her life better.

Most of the people we met during our walk were interested in saving and believed that it would have a good impact on their lives. In terms of housing, there was one specific house we visited that really got our attention. This house was beautifully constructed, with concrete piles, bamboo details and a system for the rainwater collection and storage. When the owner came, he explained to us that he is a constructor worker and he has build his house on his own. One of our group members asked him whether he would be interested to share his knowledge with other people in the village and thus help them improve their houses. He said yes.

The time had passed and we had to return to the meeting point in order for the session on savings to start.

The purpose of todays meeting was to inform people on the work of CDF. Why are savings important and how can they benefit for those. Unfortunately, less people than yesterday were there. As Neylan explained, during that time, women were cooking food so they were not able to join. Nonetheless, some people were indeed interested in staring up a savings group and were asking more information about how it works and how to start the process.

It was already noon so we had to go for lunch, meet with the rest of the group, share our experiences and organize the afternoon meeting. We were indeed a bit worried about that afternoon meeting because of our previous day experience. We new that relocation should not be discussed. When we arrived to the site there was only one man there that told us that people would not come. When we asked why, we found out that somebody (we did not know who that man was) had told the people not to come to the meeting. From what we understood, if people did show up that could be misunderstood and suggest that they actually accept the idea of relocation. The discussion was intense but in the end our representative of the municipality managed to convince people to come. After some time, people started joining and we divided into two groups, one for each village. We used a map, drew the railway line and started mapping the issues of the site. Working on the idea of site upgrading and moving back their houses afar form the railway, the village chief explained that the space to set back is actually enough, in contradiction to the other village that did not have enough

space. The most important common issues were those of the drainage system and the pathway. After finishing our discussion we took the drawings with us in the hotel and started working on an on-site upgrading plan.

Village IV - 3   Village IV - 5   Village IV - 14   Village IV - 38

F 127

F 128

F 129

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F 130. Children posing for a picture in the Batet settlement, Serei Sophon [LC].

F 131. Participatory mapping in Chamkang Samroung II community, Battambang [JA].

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