POTENTIALISING ALTERNATE CIRCUITS OF VALUE THROUGH CO-PRODUCTION IN YANGON, MYANMAR

In partnership with WFW, ACHR, CAN, YTU and AMA
This report “Potentializing Alternate Circuits of Value Through Co-Production in Yangon, Myanmar” synthesizes the analysis and strategies that emerge from a platform of co-production of knowledge between the UCL Development Planning Unit, Yangon Technical University, Women for the World, Community Architects Network and the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights. This platform “Transformation in a time of transition” focuses on the multiple trajectories of urban development in Yangon.

The analysis and strategies presented in this document aim towards a model of coexistence between the trajectories of these transformation processes. The preliminary analysis (through the lenses of land and citizenship, heritage and finance as mobilisation) of the political, economic and social realities in Myanmar indicate a vector shift in the trajectories of urban development that shape the production of space in Yangon. The initial investigation directs the conceptual and analytical framework with the emergent design research question ‘What are the Spaces of Alternate Circuits of Value?’.

This initial investigation is further explored through field work in Ward 93, Dagon Saigon Township to inform strategies and a vision for intervention. To activate the vision “Potentializing Alternate Circuits of Value through Co-Production” the report outlines three principles and three guidelines across scales of implementation. The principles: recognition, collective mobilisation and multiscalar connectivity; and the guidelines: making visible what is present, creating and fostering partnerships across scales and potentializing ‘intra-stitial’ and ‘inter-stitial’ spaces of alternate circuits of value, aim to activate the vision.

The series of strategies proposed range from site to city scale. Site strategies are built on alternate circuits of value and city strategies potentialize these existing alternate circuits while expanding site strategies by involving actors across scales. The strategies aim to inform long term policy review, to foster a model of equitable urban development.
The Shwedagon Pagoda: Yangon’s chief cultural landmark
Our experience in Yangon was truly inspiring and it would not have been possible without the constant guidance and support of the organisations and individuals, who were key to the development of a platform of knowledge co-production and learning.

We thank our partners at WFW, ACHR, CAN, and AMA for their patience, enthusiasm and expertise for fostering an environment of learning.

We appreciate the dedication of our peers at YTU: Hmu Khant, Minn Htutkyaw and Hsu Yati - whose enthusiasm, patience and constant support helped frame of our learning.

We are grateful to the communities for their warmth, for welcoming us into their homes and for sharing their journeys with us.

We were inspired by the professionals and academics who shared with us their reflections and understandings.

We are thankful to the Development Planning Unit and our principal lecturers, Camillo Boano, Catalina Ortiz, Giovanna Astolfo, Camilla Cocina, Giorgio Tallocci and Ricardo Marten for facilitating our learning process with utmost determination.

Finally, we thank our BUDDies cohort, in particular Group 6, for making every bit of our learning experience a joy to participate in.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contents</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive Summary</td>
<td>pg 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgement</td>
<td>pg 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Team</td>
<td>pg 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contents</td>
<td>pg 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronyms</td>
<td>pg 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Figures</td>
<td>pg 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>pg 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Design Research Methodology</td>
<td>pg 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Context 1.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Myanmar : Wider Context</td>
<td>pg 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Political, Economic And Social Transitions</td>
<td>pg 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Current Urban Realities</td>
<td>pg 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3i Laws And Policies</td>
<td>pg 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3ii Existing Actors</td>
<td>pg 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 Transformation in a Time of Transition</td>
<td>pg 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Framework 2.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Conceptual Framework</td>
<td>pg 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1i Rhizome</td>
<td>pg 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1ii Creative Destruction</td>
<td>pg 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 Definition Of Transformation In A Time Of Transition</td>
<td>pg 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 Analytical Framework</td>
<td>pg 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3i Circuits Of Value</td>
<td>pg 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3ii Hacking</td>
<td>pg 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4 Key Research Question</td>
<td>pg 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Field Work 3.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Field Introduction</td>
<td>pg 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 Field Methodology</td>
<td>pg 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3 Field Findings</td>
<td>pg 56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ACCA - Association for Coalition for Community Action
ACHR - Asian Coalition for Housing Rights
AMA - Association of Myanmar Architects
BSPP - Burma Socialist Programme Party
BUD - Building and Urban Development
CAN - Community Architects Network
CDF - Community Development Fund
CSO - Civil Society Organization
DDA - Department of Development Affairs
DFID - Department for International Development
DHSHD - Department of Human Settlement and Housing Development
DOA - Development’s Affairs Organizations
DPU - Development Planning Unit at UCL
DUHD - Depart of Urban and Housing Development
FDI - Foreign Direct Investment
GAD - General Administration Department
Group 6 - BUDD students working with us in field: Juan
Usubillaga, Salma Nassar, Maria Cristina Mena, Lucia Weilg, Jinmin Ye and Yuqian Shao
IMF - International Monetary Fund
IOD - Industry Oriented Development
JICA - Japan International Cooperation Agency
LOD - Livelihoods Oriented Development
MoC - Ministry of Construction
MoHA - Ministry of Home Affairs
NGO - Non Government Organisation
NLD - National League for Democracy
SEZ - Special Economic Zone
SG - Savings Group
SLORC - State Law and Order Restoration Council
SME - Small and Medium sized Enterprise
TDAC - Township Development Affairs Committee
TOD - Transport Oriented Development
UCL - University College London
UCSB - Union Civil Service Board
UN - United Nations
UN-HABITAT - United Nations Human Settlement Programme
WB - World Bank
WFW - Women for the World
YCBD - Yangon City Business District
YCDC - Yangon City Development Committee
YHT - Yangon Heritage Trust
YTU - Yangon Technological University
List of Figures

Fig. 1-1 Timeline: Political transition in Myanmar - pg 20
Fig. 1-2 Timeline: Economic transition in Myanmar - pg 24
Fig. 1-3 Timeline: Social transition in Myanmar - pg 28
Fig. 1-4 Timeline: Collated transitions in Myanmar - pg 30
Fig. 1-5 Timeline: Law and policy implementation in Myanmar - pg 33
Fig. 1-6 Actor map - pg 34
Fig. 2-1 Schematic: Rhizome typology - pg 39
Fig. 2-2 Schematic: Rhizome as framing - pg 42
Fig. 2-3 Schematic: Circuits of value - pg 45
Fig. 2-4 Schematic: Hacked circuits - pg 47
Fig. 2-5 Schematic: Rhizome - pg 48
Fig. 3-1 Map: Township location - pg 52
Fig. 3-2 Methodology: Plan of action - pg 53
Fig. 3-3 Methodology: Plan of action - pg 54
Fig. 3-4 Methodology: Plan of action - pg 55
Fig. 3-5 Schematic Rhizome: intra & interstitial spaces - pg 56
Fig. 3-6 Rhizome: Alternate circuits of value - pg 57
Fig. 3-7 Rhizome: Multiscalar circuits - pg 59
Fig. 3-8 Housing typologies and livelihoods - pg 60
Fig. 3-9 Housing typology - pg 61
Fig. 4-1 Potentializing alternate circuits of value through coproduction - pg 66
Fig. 5-1 Hacked circuits of value - pg 72
Fig. 5-2 Map: Self governance and migration - pg 73
Fig. 5-3 Expanding savings grounds - pg 74
Fig. 5-4 Community business savings groups for collective infrastructure - pg 75
Fig. 5-5 Community business savings groups for collective infrastructure - pg 76
Fig. 5-6 Community business savings groups for collective infrastructure - pg 77
Fig. 5-7 Recycling for community waste management - pg 79
Fig. 5-8 Map: Capacity building of affordable housing initiatives - pg 80
Fig. 5-9 Map: Capacity building of affordable housing initiatives - pg 81
Fig. 5-10 Actor map: Rhizome - pg 82
Fig. 5-11 Actor map: Rhizome - pg 83
Fig. 5-12 Codesign to inform formal affordable housing projects: Steps - pg 85
Fig. 5-13 Rhizome: Codesign to inform formal affordable housing projects - pg 85
Fig. 5-14 Alternative finance model for affordable housing projects: Feasibility - pg 87
Fig. 5-15 Rhizome: Alternative finance model for affordable housing projects - pg 87
Fig. 5-16 Rhizome: Finance infrastructure through CDF - pg 89
Fig. 5-17 Map: Infrastructure for livelihoods - pg 90
Fig. 5-18 Schematic: Infrastructure for livelihoods - pg 91
Fig. 5-19 Rhizome: Infrastructure for livelihoods - pg 92
Fig. 5-20 Rhizome: Infrastructure for livelihoods - pg 93
Fig. 5-21 Rhizome: Platform facilitating livelihood oriented development - pg 95
Fig. 5-22 Rhizome: City waste management and green energy production - pg 97
Fig. 5-23 Map: City waste management and green energy production - pg 98
This report investigates the trajectories of urban development in Myanmar, focusing in particular on urban settlements within Yangon and their multiple modes of dwelling. Postgraduate students from the DPU’s BUDD programme prepared this report through an initial framing of these trajectories as ‘Transformation in a Time of Transition’ to unpack the multiple drivers of urban development that have shaped the production of space in the city. This report is a synthesis of months of preparation and three weeks field study in Yangon, carried out by BUDD in collaboration with WFW, ACHR, CAN, AMA and YTU.

The report is a narrative of our initial research, our framing of our conceptual and analytical reflections, our field study (in ward 93, Dagon Saigon), the culminating design strategies, and our final conclusions. The lenses of analysis that catalysed our investigation to unpack the multiple drivers of urban change were land and citizenship, heritage and finance as mobilisation. Through these lenses, we framed our understanding of ‘Transformation in a Time of Transition’ by reflecting on Deleuze and Guattari’s framework of rhizomes; bodies of non-hierarchical intersecting trajectories that cannot be defined in a binary. Thus we understood the transition process of catalysing urban drivers as being rhizomatic, and transformation as framing this process indicating the intersection of different actors across scale.

The link between informality and innovation was also key to our conceptualising, and thus we reflected on Schumpeter’s work on creative destruction. Following on from our conceptualising, we grounded our reflections to form an analytical framework by reflecting on Harvey’s circuits of value and Sassen’s appropriation of ‘hacking’, and thus developed a design research question and methodology to guide our investigation in the field. The research question which catalysed our investigation was ‘What are the spaces of alternate circuits of value?’; and as a result of our field study and subsequent conclusions, we prepared a vision to engender processes to address the uncovered inequitable trajectories of urban development: Potentializing alternate circuits of value through coproduction.

During the field study, we partnered with Group 6 to work towards a community-organised presentation where we articulated back to the communities the information that was shared with us in the form of design strategies. For a final presentation on a proposal for city-wide upgrading, we partnered with Group’s 3, 5 and 6 to synthesise our collective findings and articulate a vision for city-wide upgrading with further proposed design strategies. The site level strategies expand on existing value networks in the settlements we worked in, and promote community capabilities in sustaining modes of dwelling that reflect current practices within the settlement. The city strategies look to unpack how these values co-exist in the wider city context, and ultimately inform a policy review. Through interrogating these trajectories, we unpack a proposal for a vision that is not meant to prescribe a change to this trajectory, but rather promotes the existence of both trajectories as being equally legitimate and valuable.
UCL and YTU students presented community presentations for possible settlement upgrading strategies.
Design Research Methodology

**PRE FIELD SECONDARY RESEARCH**
(BUDD team)
London

- Literature Review
- Lectures
- Analysis through lenses of land, citizenship, finance and heritage — using finance as mobilization as an entry point
- Conceptual Framework of Transition and Transformation
- Analytical Framework
  - Circuits of value, Hacking, Creative Destruction
- Framing the Design Research Question

**FIELD PRIMARY RESEARCH**
(BUDD team + YTU team)
Yangon

- Primary on field research in ward 93
- Visit and discussions on past projects of partner WFW
- YHT Heritage walk
- YTU Workshop with other partners and actors - YCDC, ACHR, CAN

**POST FIELD REFRAMING AND SYNTHESIS**
(BUDD team)
London

- Consolidation and reflection on the embedded research
- Reframing research assumptions and analytical framework
- Testing assumptions and speculations of the research question through observations, discussion and workshop, with actors at the site scale and city scale
- Reframing the design research question
- Site strategy presentations for the community
- City strategy presentation for actors across scales
- Streamlining Site and City Strategies specific to design research
CONTEXT

1.0
Yangon Circular Railway: A local commuter rail network that serves the Yangon metropolitan area.
The Republic of the Union of Myanmar is a sovereign state, situated in the south east of Asia. It is bounded by India and Bangladesh to its west, Thailand and Laos to its east, and China to its north and northeast. The area is 676,576 square kilometers and the terrain is central lowlands ringed by rugged highlands. The country’s natural resources include petroleum, timber, precious stones and natural gas. The government operates under a nominally civilian parliamentary government, which took power in March 2011 from a previously military government. The population is currently 55 million, with the official capital being Nay Pyi Taw and the economic capital being Yangon. The main language is Burmese, and there are more than 100 ethnic groups including 68% Burman, 9% Shan, 7% Karen and 16% other. The main religions are Buddhism which comprises 89%, Christian 4%, Islam 4% and other 3%. The school expectancy is nine years and the literacy rate is 90%.
The constitution of Myanmar was drafted in 2008 by the current military rulers. The country is governed as a parliamentary system with a bicameral legislature. A portion of the legislators are appointed by the military and the others are elected in general elections. The Pyidaungsu Hluttaw (the legislature) is bicameral and made up of two houses, upper and lower. The upper house Amyotha Hluttaw, has 224 seats and is the House of Nationalities. The lower house Pyithu Hluttaw has 440 seats, and serves are the House of Representatives. Of the upper house which consists of 224 members, 168 are directly elected and 56 are appointed by the Burmese Armed Forces. Of the 440 members of the lower house, 330 are directly elected and 110 are appointed by the military.
Economic growth in Myanmar is dominated by rising investment and commodity exports, which the IMF indicated by noting a 8.5% increase in 2014. Myanmar’s low wage level and the presence of a large labour workforce make it attractive for FDI. In 2012, the country experienced a liberation of its key economy sectors. FDI is concentrated in the oil and gas sector. The government has implemented hostile land protection laws. The economy is still, however, dependant on agriculture and its large informal sector. The presence of the informal sector has been identified to contribute to the country’s relatively weak tax base which aggravates its fiscal deficit. The universities closed in 1980, which has contributed to a skills gap, which the country is currently dealing with. Yangon currently contributes 23% to Myanmar’s total GDP. The key performance sectors in Yangon are tourism, construction and manufacturing.
1.2 Political, Economic and Social Transitions
Myanmar has experienced a shift in its political landscape as the country attempts to open up its markets to global influences. This has permeations illustrated in its social landscape. There are a number of social forces that intersect with the political and economic drivers of urban change. These forces are perhaps best illustrated through the ideology of “Nahlemo”, the Myanmarese manifestation of the idea of an unspoken agreement or implicit exchange which governs social, economic and even political encounters.
1.2 Political, Economic and Social Transitions

SOCIAL

- 1980: City renamed Yangon
- 1990: Rangoon Protest
- 1990: YCDC was established
- 2000: Formation of East Dagon as a new industrial city
- 2010: Saffron Revolution (many monks took part)
- 2010: Initiative to create National Building Codes launched
- 2020: Yangon Heritage Strategy
- 2020: Yangon included in the World Monuments Watch
- 2012-2020: Liberalisation of key economic sectors
- 2002-2011: Increase in land values
- 2008-2011: Supra state activities
- 2011-2013: Present privatisation
1.2 Political, Economic and Social Transitions
1.3 Current Urban Realities

1.3i LAWS AND POLICIES

**LAND ACQUISITION ACT**

Land Acquisition Act (1894) - 4. (1) Whenever it appears to the President of the Union that land in any locality is needed or is likely to be needed for any public purposes, a notification to that effect, shall be published in the Gazette, and the Collector shall cause public notice of the substance of such notification to be given at convenient places in the said locality.

**CONSTITUTION**

Constitution (2008) - 37. The Union - (a) is the ultimate owner of all lands and all natural resources above and below the ground, above and beneath the water and in the atmosphere in the Union; (b) shall enact necessary law to supervise extraction and utilization of State-owned natural resources by economic forces; and (c) shall permit citizens right of private property, right of inheritance, right of private initiative and patent in accord with the law.

**SPECIAL ECONOMIC ZONE**

Special Economic Zone (2011) - 35. The Central Body; (a) shall may, with the approval of the Government, permit the developer or investor land lease or land use after causing payment of fees to be made for land lease or land use, for at least 30 years.

36. The developer or investor shall bear the expenses of transferring and compensation of houses, buildings, farms and gardens, orchards fields, plantation on land permitted by the Central Body if those are required to be transferred. Moreover, he shall carry our to fulfill fundamental needs of persons who transfer so as not to lower their original standard.

37. The developer or investor: (a) shall use the land which he is entitled to lease or use in accordance with the prescribed terms and conditions; (b) may, in accordance with the existing Law, rent, mortgage or sell the land and binding to another person for investment business within the term granted to operate in accord with the stipulations.

**FOREIGN INVESTMENT ACT**

Foreign Investment Act (2012) - Art. 126 - The investor shall, if it is necessary to transfer and clear houses, buildings, farm and garden lands, fruit trees and edible plants etc. on the land on which work is carried out relating to carrying out of invested businesses, discuss and carry out with the approval of the relevant Government department, Region and State Government together with the statement of agreement and satisfaction of the relevant owner on the transfer and resettlement of them, paying in local current price and paying damages.
1.3 Current Urban Realities

1.3ii EXISTING ACTORS
A conclusion that can be drawn from our investigation into the current urban realities through the lens of land and citizenship, heritage and finance as mobilisation is that Myanmar is in a time of transition, politically economically and socially. There are rapid transformations in both the material space as well the underlying drivers of urban development. The question of exactly what transition entails when it is understood through the lenses of a political, economic and social context remains to be seen, however some conclusions can be drawn based on the data available.

Firstly, the political context of the country connotes a huge shift in its trajectory, exemplified by the still recent shift to a nominally civilian government democracy which took power in 2011. In addition to this, the economic context indicates that given the country’s large labour workforce and low wage level, it will be attractive for FDI which brings externalities: the government will have to balance economic benefit through the liberalisation of its markets with the associated externalities, which will be primarily felt at the community level such as an erosion of social opportunities and unequal investment in community infrastructure. Furthermore, the social context indicates the existence of value circuits that intersect with political and economic trajectories of urban development. These value circuits are perhaps the spaces where community-centered transformation can occur.

The changing political, economic and social context examined through the lenses, indicates that the country is in a state of transition, and thus the spaces of transformation need to be unpacked to understand exactly the trajectory of urban development. Therefore, the lexicon surrounding the terminology of ‘transition’ and ‘transformation’ needs to be carefully interrogated, suggesting a definition of “Transformation in a Time of Transition” is needed in order to frame a conceptual and theoretical framework for a methodology to be implemented during the field study.
“The rhizome resists the organizational structure of the root-tree system which charts causality along chronological lines and looks for the original source of ‘things’ and looks towards the pinnacle or conclusion of those ‘things.’ A rhizome, on the other hand, is characterized by ‘ceaselessly established connections between semiotic chains, organizations of power, and circumstances relative to the arts, sciences, and social struggles.’” - Deleuze and Guattari
Deleuze and Guattari introduce Rhizomatic as describing a theory that allows for multiple, non-hierarchical entry and exit points in data representation and interpretation. [It is in opposition] to an arborescent conception of knowledge, which works with dualist categories and binary choices. There is no binary or dualistic categorisation of the forces each of the lenses describe, but rather they operate without vertical or linear connections. We understand transition in the context of Myanmar is Rhizomatic because there isn’t a binary or hierarchical trajectory in the forces of urban dwelling, rather they coexist through ceaselessly established connections between semiotic chains.

We understand transformation therefore as closing and framing the intersecting urban trajectories within a rhizome as the meeting of different actors across scales.

Methods of representing rhizomatic structures fall into three categorisations: Distributed, decentralised and centralised. Distributed notes methods of representation that are uniform in their presentation, decentralised notes no central structure from which the branches expand from whereas
"The process of industrial mutation that incessantly revolutionizes the economic structure from within, incessantly destroying the old one, incessantly creating a new one" - Josef Schumpeter
Creative destruction is a process that revolutionizes the economic structure from within destroying the old one and creating a new one. Following on from this, Schumpeter argued that innovation-orientated market power can provide better results than invisible hand and price competition in providing both successful and equitable urban development. Technological innovation often create temporary monopolies, allowing abnormal profits that would soon be competed away by rivals and imitators. Temporary monopolies provide incentive for firms to develop new products and processes.
We understand that transition in a time of transformation in context of the four lenses of finance as mobilisation, land and citizenship and heritage can be understood as a rhizomatic body of intersecting urban trajectories. The forces do not operate in a binary of urban dwelling and are a non-hierarchical in their nature. Transformation is understood as framing the rhizome to understand the involvement of different actors across multiple scales.
Alternative water distribution system in Ward 93
"The shift from housing to the house represents precisely a narrowing of the kind of economic exchange that can occur in (these) spaces, and the privileging of certain circuits of accumulation and value circulation over others" - Gautam Bhan
Circuits of value can be characterized as upper circuits and lower circuits of consumption, creation and connection in the context of the formal and informal. C. Marx argues that circuits of value can be understood as two broadly entwining circuits. These circuits can be understood as containers of the formal and informal, each influenced by the nuance of different trajectories of urban dwelling. The creation and connection is parameterized within the informal, whilst the consumption is in the formal.

Colin Marx further argues for a more nuanced definition of value by noting that “as value circulates, the act of exchange does more than transmit value”. He expands on this by indicating “if value is to be exchanged, it must be valued by both parties and validated in terms of social reproduction” which suggests that there are many forms of value that can do this. It follows then that the question is not what is the value itself, but rather what is the value observed to be doing?

We thus argue that within the circuits of formal and informal, there are multiple currencies and exchanges that aren’t necessarily monetary, but still reciprocal in their nature. For the purposes of our analysis, we define these circuits as ‘alternate’.
“Emblematic is, perhaps, that the metaphor of ‘hacking’ has been dislodged from its specialised technical discourse and become part of everyday life. In the face of a predatory regime of intellectual property rights we see the ongoing influence of the free software movement.” - Saskia Sassens, hacking in the technology industry
Sassen and Sennet argue for the re-appropriation and re-imagining of existing urban conditions through hacking. The use of hacking in the context we're working in is closely related to how we understand circuits of value are operationalised rhizomatically.
We understand the transition process in Myanmar as rhizomatic - a non-hierarchal body of intersecting urban trajectories that cannot be defined in a binary. To understand the importance of a non-binary understanding of these urban drivers, we present the theory of circuits of value to explore how the formal and informal intersect and coexist with each other through the exchanges of multiple values and currencies of urban dwelling. The presence of innovation in the informal is highlighted through Schumpeter’s theory of creative destruction, and its relevance to the wider city context is highlighted through his work on innovation which argues for innovation based market solutions as opposed to invisible hand and price competition based solutions. The process by which we will operationalise the the space that allow for the coexistence of these forces of urban development will be through Sassen’s use of ‘hacking’ as a metaphor for re-imagining and re-calibrating existing urban conditions.

The synthesising of our framing is encapsulated in our key research question, which is:

“What are the spaces of alternate circuits of value?”
FIELD WORK

3.0
an informal settlement in ward 93 fearing eviction as the government fails to recognize those settlements as legitimate and new unaffordable housing developments are multiplying.
The following diagrams demonstrate how our actions related to our analytical lenses and learnings on field, in Yangon.

We spent the first few introductory days in different places in Yangon. This included a heritage walk, several insightful presentations by various professionals at Yangon Technological University (YTU) and some workshops with the YTU students at the Association of Myanmar Architects Headquarters.

The rest of our research was done in settlements (ward 93, and 67) at the peripheries of the city. The first day we spent in Hlang Thariyar where we were warmly welcomed by the community and Women for the World. The other days we were based in Dagon Seikkan township where our major studies were carried out.

A more detailed plan, notes and methodology can be found in our appendix. Although we went to the settlement with a plan, we modified the plan according to community dynamics and grouped strategically to investigate different parts of our site according to our lenses of analysis.
3.2 Field Methodology

PLAN OF ACTION

**INTRODUCTORY MEETING @ YHT**

**DAY 1**
- TRANSECT WALK
- DEBRIEFING & REFLECTION

**DAY 2**
- EXPERIENCE SHARING
- PYIT TINE HTANG HOUSING VISIT
- DEBRIEFING & REFLECTION

**SEE SEIN PROJECT OPENING CEREMONY**

**LENSES OF ANALYSIS**

- **YHT** were part of the formulation of zones in and around Yangon. These zoning plans have moved people and their livelihoods around the city.
- **Land & citizenship**
- **YHT** appreciate the other forms of heritage. Their vision is not inclusive of other values of citizens which are also part of the heritage of Yangon.
- **Heritage**
- **Capitalising on the riverside is the next step in YHT’s plans. Warehouses will be removed and high-end residential units & cafes in their place**
- **Finance**

- **Land** is shared according to how much people want to pay and how close they want to be to the road. The closer to the road, the more costly.
- **Savings groups have established trust and negotiation practices within the settlement. This feeds into how they guard and distribute money.**
- **Women’s savings groups are a good example of how microfinance can mobilise communities.**
3.2 Field Methodology

PLAN OF ACTION

**DAY 3**
- INAUGURATION ADDRESS @ YTU
- PRESENTATIONS ON MYANMAR
- HERITAGE & PRESERVATION IN YANGON
- COMMUNITY-LED INITIATIVES
- COMMUNITY Led Initiatives:
  - DEBRIEFING & GROUP WORK
  - DEBRIEFING & REFLECTION
  - PLANNING & URBAN DEVELOPMENTS

**DAY 4**
- MEETING THE SETTLEMENT LEADER
- FIELD PREPARATION WITH YTU
- TRANSEC WALK WITH INDIVIDUALS
- DEBRIEFING & REFLECTION
- INVITING COMM MEMBERS TO WORKSHOPS

**DAY 5**
- ICE BREAKER ACTIVITIES & WORKSHOPS
- TRACING PHOTOS EXERCISE
- DRAWING IDEAL STREET
- BUSINESS CARDS ACTIVITY
- VALUES THROUGH WORDS EXERCISE
- DEBRIEFING & REFLECTION

---

**LENSES OF ANALYSIS**

**Intimate economies**—no binary distinction between public & private, local & global, male & female, productive & non-productive work.

**Creative destruction**—from land & citizenship, heritage, and finance.

**Jayde Roberts** spoke of how cities cannot continue to function on binary principles, in line with creative destruction.

**Informal inhabitants** hold smart cards that act to give advocacy and means of access to mainstream social protection.

**There is a strong connection** between the settlements and the monastery. 12 major events are held by the monastery to collect donations.

**Investment in the area**—an international bus station is opening nearby and has provided a number of individuals with work. Still unknown as to future effects of development in the area.

**Now eviction** has been lifted since change in government. People feel safer and thus invest in upgrading their homes from shacks to houses.

**Many value trust** within the community. A lady specifically mentioned she feels safe to leave clothes hanging outside and door open.

**Businesses within the settlement** recycle plastic, rubber, paper. There are common desires to invest in building materials, green space and basic needs: water, elec, streetlights.
3.2 Field Methodology

PLAN OF ACTION

Fig 3-4
pg 55

PLAN OF ACTION

Industrial: Land is evident in all the factories, shipping containers, posted land is to be emptied of its inhabitants and used to house a new golf course.

The multiregional aspect of the settlement is interesting. Each individual has their own story to tell and why they chose to live there.

Living near the Special Economic Zone, the community display acts of self-governance and solidarity in the area. They trade together and support through strong networks of "Nalehmu".

Land is very clearly a collective value. A form of citizenship can be conceptualised through the solidarity displayed within the settlement.

Intergenerational exchange is a finding that was of value to the individuals of 93 ward.

In the settlement and the city we found many circuits of value of which we identified three key circuits.

Both ward 67 and 93 are concerned regarding how they will manage to establish the land as collective residential land despite the location.

Despite transience, settlements are self-organised and governed. People work together in solidarity to be able to withstand pressures e.g. climate change.

Currencies we found on the ground include:
We condensed a wealth of findings into two analytical categories by looking at the nature of the circuits uncovered through our fieldwork; those of intra and interstitial spaces.

Intrastitial spaces encompass the acting alternative circuits within the settlement.

Interstitial spaces are points at which these circuits cross and connect with more formalised, wider city circuits.

Our framework necessitates the adequate potentialising of both types of spaces and the interactions and relations occurring within.

Making these categorical distinctions is by no means to create discrete or absolute categories of the two operational modes, but a way that we found productively conceptualised our findings for our analytical framework and vision. We recognise that the dynamics and opportunities of intrastitial spaces are impacted by what occurs at the interstitial and city level, just as the possibilities of capitalising upon interstitial spaces and relations are influenced by intra-settlement conditions.
The intrastitial diagrams - multiple businesses that are functioning at an intrasettlement level, but possess the potential to increase functional efficiency and reach.

The interstitial diagrams - single businesses beginning to successfully utilise and make connections across the city.

Fig 3-6
pg 57
3.3 Field Findings
MULTISCALAR CIRCUITS

Fig 3-7
pg 59
3.3 Field Findings
HOUSING TYPOLOGY AND LIVELIHOODS

1. Sweet shop
2. Hairdresser
3. Garage for Trishaw
4. Tea shop
5. House with poultry

Fig 3-8
### 3.3 Field Findings

**HOUSING TYPOLOGY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Cost</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Compound &amp; House</td>
<td>15' x 30'</td>
<td>70,000 kyats to 200,000 kyats</td>
<td>Advanced payment 500,000 kyats to 1,000,000 kyats (or) they must pay at least (6) months rental fees. If the tenant wants to sell the house, they must move out immediately.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flat</td>
<td>12' x 30'</td>
<td>100,000 kyats to 200,000 kyats</td>
<td>They must pay (6) months to (1) year rental fees in advance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partial House Rental</td>
<td>10' x 15'</td>
<td>30,000 kyats to 40,000 kyats</td>
<td>They must pay advanced money. They cannot cook and eat. They have seen the house owner disposition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government accommodation</td>
<td>12' x 30'</td>
<td>60,000 kyats to 40,000 kyats</td>
<td>Advanced money or (6) months advanced rental fees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land</td>
<td>20' x 30'</td>
<td>5,000 kyats to 10,000 kyats</td>
<td>You must build your house, the land owner sells the land, they must move out immediately</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squatter settlement</td>
<td>12' x 35' (negotiated)</td>
<td>Start by pooling 2000-4000 kyats per month</td>
<td>No house rental fees, they build the house in their financial capacity, they can move any time they want, but they don’t feel secured unless they hold land tenure.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Fig 3-9*  
*pg 61*
VISION

4.0
Our vision builds on the synthesis of our conceptual framing of ‘transition in a time of transformation,’ our analytical framework of circuits of value and ‘hacking’, and our field findings. Our conceptual framing of ‘transition in a time of transformation’ is understood through Deleuze and Guattari’s framework of Rhizomes which we have understood to frame transition as the intersection of multiple urban trajectories of development that operate in a non-binary and non-hierarchical vector. We understand transformation as framing, or rather, closing the rhizome to illustrate the intersection between particular actors in a moment in time. Through Schumpeter’s reflections on creative destruction and innovation, we hypothesised the presence of innovation on field.

Our field findings noted the existence of presently ‘hacked’ circuits of value that operated through the exchange of a more nuanced notion of currency. The currency that operationalised exchanges within the informal is encapsulated through the ideology of ‘nahlemu’. Nahlemu is an unspoken agreement or implicit exchange that governs social, economic and political exchanges, and this exchange is categorised by trust, solidarity and self governance. Our vision for equitable city development recognises the value that is already present within the informal, and pivots on the notion of potentializing this. The potentializing of these circuits will be operational through Sassen’s notion of ‘hacking’, which denotes the need to re-imagine and re-calibrate existing urban conditions.
4.2 Principles

POTENTIALISING ALTERNATE CIRCUITS OF VALUE THROUGH CO-PRODUCTION

RECOGNITION

This principle will operationalise our vision through understanding the notion that there are existent and operationalized alternate circuits of value currently operating within the city and shaping trajectories of urban development. Through recognition of these alternate circuits, our strategies will build upon what is existing and scale to create a process of urban design that is equitable.

COLLECTIVE MOBILISATION

This principle recognizes the substance that binds community-focused modes of dwelling and understands the profound impact that could be achieved when it is catalysed. Collective mobilisation refers to the channels for mobility of the community needs.

MULTISCALAR CONNECTIVITY

This principle understands that for a change in trajectory from the current modes of urban development, there needs to be a meeting between different actors that operate on multiple scales. By understanding the need for multiscalar connectivity and communication, our strategies can incubate processes that bring about tangible and long-lasting shifts in the uneven trajectories of urban development.
MAKING VISIBLE WHAT IS PRESENT

This guideline activates the principle of Recognition. Recognition refers to the recognition of existing alternate circuits of value, and what will be made visible is the nuance perspective of currency that governs the social, economic and political exchanges that shape the production of space in Yangon. By making visible these alternate circuits and currencies, this guideline will inform the strategies that permeate from it actionable steps that can shift this trajectory towards equitable urban design.

POTENTIALIZING INTRASTITIAL AND INTERSTITIAL SPACES THAT INCUBATE COLLECTIVE MOBILISATION

This guideline activates the principle of collective mobilisation. An investigation into how the multiple currencies and values were transferred within the settlement, and exported outside of the settlement noted that there was a tangible circuit that has been “hacked”. This guideline builds on this and understands that when the collective unites, the mobility of these values will gain momentum.

CREATING AND FOSTERING PARTNERSHIPS ACROSS SCALES

This guideline activates the principle of multiscalar connectivity. The actionable step of creating and fostering partnerships across scales will create the spaces for transformation to occur. Our conceptualising understood transition as rhizomatic and transformation as the framing of different actors across scales within a rhizome at a moment in time. Following on from this, it can be understood that for the transformation in the processes of equitable production of space, there needs to be a meeting between different partners across scales.

STRATEGIES

The site level strategies build on potentializing the interstitial spaces of the alternate circuits of value that our field findings uncovered. Out of the recognised density of interactions characterised by the alternate circuits of trust, solidarity and self governance, the strategies build on mobilising and scaling these spaces that have been “hacked”. The site strategies are Expanding the Scope of Existing Savings Groups, Business Savings Groups for Collective Infrastructure and Recycling for Community Benefit.

The city scale strategies expand on the intrastitial strategies at site level through connecting them with interstitial actors at the city level. The strategies will be phased and collated along a timeline and form two overarching clusters of characterisation: ‘Housing’ and ‘Livelihoods’. Building on the definition of transition as rhizomatic, the city scale strategies are open to further processes of iteration and also to be integrated with further catalytic strategies. The city scale strategies also feature a step towards working to a long term policy review as a synthesis of the ‘Housing’ and ‘Livelihoods’ strategies.
Potentialising Alternate Circuits of Value through Co-Production

**Principles**
- Recognition of Alternate Circuits of Value
- Multiscalar Connectivity
- Collective Mobilization

**Guidelines**
- Making visible circuits that have been hacked
- Creating and fostering partnerships across scales
- Potentializing inter and intrastitial spaces that incubate collective mobilization

**Strategies**
- Expanding Savings Groups
- Business Savings Groups for Collective Infrastructure
- Upgrading recycling for community benefit
- Capacity Building Of Affordable Housing
- Infrastructure For Livelihoods
- Long Term Policy Review

**Time**
- Short Term
- Medium Term
- Long Term

**Fig 4-1**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SHORT TERM</th>
<th>MEDIUM TERM</th>
<th>LONG TERM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Upgrading recycling for community benefit | Expanding Savings Groups | Expanding Savings Groups
| Business Savings Groups for Collective Infrastructure | Business Savings Groups for Collective Infrastructure | Business Savings Groups for Collective Infrastructure
| Upgrading recycling for community benefit | Capacity Building Of Affordable Housing | Capacity Building Of Affordable Housing
| Infrastructure For Livelihoods | Long Term Policy Review | Long Term Policy Review

**Ks**
- Expand savings group
- Business savings group
- Waste Collection

**TRUST**
- Solidarity
- Self Governance

**Collective Mobilization**
- Making visible circuits that have been hacked
- Creating and fostering partnerships across scales
- Potentializing inter and intrastitial spaces that incubate collective mobilization

**Intra-stitial Spaces**
- Existing site city

**Inter-stitial Spaces**
- Multiscalar Connectivity
5.0
Strategies

Site Scale
(Intrastitial Strategies)
a) Expanding the Scope of Existing Savings Groups
b) Business Savings Groups for Collective Infrastructure and
c) Recycling for Community Benefit

City Scale
(Interstitial Strategies)
a) Capacity building of affordable housing initiatives
   1) Codesign to inform formal affordable housing projects
   2) Alternate finance model for affordable housing project
   3) Finance infrastructure through CDF
b) Infrastructure for livelihoods
   4) Platforms facilitating livelihood oriented development
   5) City waste management and green energy production

c) Long term policy review
5.1 Recognition of Alternate Circuits of Value

HACKED CIRCUITS OF VALUE

At the site level, the monastery shares a strong relationship with the formal and informal circuits.

- Prior Monk
- Monk
- Novice Monk
- Service Volunteers
- Main Community Leader
- Sub Community Leader
- Formal Conditions
- Religious Volunteers
- Home shop businesses

Decentralized
- Ward 93 (Informal)

Distributed
- Monastery
- Ward 93 (Formal)
In our initial goals we had aimed to hack the existing circuits within the settlement and on a city level. During our field work we learned that the settlement had already hacked these circuits by creating alternate circuits of: Trust, Solidarity and Self governance. There is also a prevalent circuit of migration that exists in this community.
Through hacking the circuits, the community is able to establish savings groups that are primarily dependent on trust.

Expanding these savings group can benefit the community by allowing them more flexibility.

There are existing savings group present in the community that are a source of empowerment and facilitation of urban conditions. Expanding these savings groups can give access to capital, labor, and space to community members to improve their livelihood conditions.
The community possesses strong entrepreneurial value that can be utilized to create networks that benefit the infrastructure of the settlement and create savings groups which can help foster businesses.

Existing Actors
- WFW
- CAN
- Individual Community Members

A formal understanding of a developing settlement is to acquire land first, establish infrastructure, build a housing structure and settle a community.

An informal system of the settlement starts by the community settling into a housing structure, developing an infrastructure and eventually acquiring land.

Fig 5-4
pg 75
5.3 Community Business Savings Groups for Collective Infrastructure

SITE (INTRASTITIAL) STRATEGIES
PROPOSED CONDITIONS

The community possesses strong entrepreneurial value that can be utilized to create networks that benefit the infrastructure of the settlement and create savings groups which can help foster businesses.

Proposed Actors
- WFW
- CAN
- Community Leaders
- Community Entrepreneurs

1. Recognize
   Recognizing the existing system of governance that exists in the settlement

2. Identify
   With the help of the defined jurisdictions, identifying the existing business typologies present in each

3. Cluster Meetings
   Identifying the existing business models and creating business networks

4. Savings Group
   Creating clusters of business groups connects the settlement businesses to form savings groups

Fig 5-5

Transport circuit
Collective Transport Circuit (Shops)
Collective Fishing
The typology of the housing in the settlement is usually a shop house configuration where people live and work. Considering this factor, it would be beneficial for the community to create savings groups from which businesses can invest in: 1. Creating capital for new businesses, 2. Improve existing business structures and 3. Develop infrastructure on site to facilitate better transport routes and energy creation.

Building on the trajectory of informal settlements, there is space to negotiate the factor that savings group create possibilities of improvements beyond simply ‘housing’.

Proposed Actors
- WFW
- CAN
- Community Leaders
- Community Entrepreneurs
Waste management is an issue that was raised several times during field work and this strategy aims to tackle the issue by creating an efficient waste collection and management system.

**Recycling for Community Waste Management**

**SITE (INTRASTITIAL) STRATEGIES**

**EXISTING CONDITIONS**

The existing system of waste collection on the site exists on an individual scale. Through creating efficient networks, the waste can be collected on a larger scale.

The waste on site is collected by individual business owners as they have the need to get rid of existing waste to run their business smooth.
Recycling waste can contribute to interstitial and intrastitial circuits by connecting them via waste collection and distribution systems within the informal settlement and across the formal urban conditions.

This collective mobilisation of waste collection can potentially lead to job creation such as designated community members who segregate the waste and dispose it in appropriate destinations, recycling institutions or contributing to energy production for the settlement by providing them to regenerative energy production plants.

Fig 5-7

---

1. Recognize
   The existing structure of waste collection

2. Connect + Collect
   Creating a collaborative platform to collect waste

3. Segregate
   Efficiently collected waste can be segregated in categories
5.4 Capacity Building Of Affordable Housing Initiatives

Fig 5-8

- formal 'affordable' housing projects
- informal settlements
- informal settlements part of workshop with DPU-YTU-WFW-CAN=ACHR 2017
This strategy aims to build the capacity of government affordable housing initiatives, which currently do not meet the demand of low income housing due to affordability and typology of units. It aims to do so through 3 inter-related sub strategies.

1. Formal 'affordable' housing in township
2. Ward 3 density
3. Informal housing design includes livelihood considerations

Fig 5-9
Lack of community engagement at the design stage results in inappropriate housing typologies that are not designed to the needs and aspirations of people. Our research has shown a diversity of housing typologies within informal settlements, based on the diversity of household based enterprise and livelihoods.

The field findings indicated a mismatch between what was required by the community in the typology of housing production and the affordable housing schemes implemented by the government. Furthermore, several households also operate as manufacturing bases for many members. These livelihood requirements have not been taken into account in the rigid.

Fig 5-10
Each sub strategy creates a platform between previously unconnected actors to target
1) Codesign
2) Alternate finance model
3) Infrastructure Finance

Fig 5-11
Community members participating in a co-design workshop exercise DPU-YTU workshop in ward
5.5i Codesign To Inform Formal Affordable Housing Projects
CAPACITY BUILDING OF AFFORDABLE HOUSING INITIATIVES

Steps:
1) Platform and partnerships created between WFW, YCDC and ACHR, CAN, AMA, building on the recent workshops;

2) Pilot programme to build on the recent workshops in ward 93, ward 67, Yoley village and 555 village;

2) Participatory workshops held in informal settlements with dwellers for multiple stages of design, which inform new housing projects and upgradation programmes;

3) The platform further connects to the next strategy towards informing an alternate financial model for affordable housing.
Opening day of the newly built
See Sein Shin
Housing Project: A successful women
saving group’s led
housing upgrading
initiative
The current model of financing in the affordable renting sector presents a huge barrier to entry in the formal renting market. Many community members can’t borrow enough for the initial sum to enter the sector, and thus the tower blocks, for example the blocks bordering Ward 93, remain vacant. A proposal for an alternative model of financing is advised, one that is greatly informed by the existing savings group model developed by WFW. Such a system would allow community members to populate the vacant tower blocks and thus reduce the current deficit the government produces when implementing the housing schemes.

Steps:
1) Platform and partnerships created between WFW, financial institutions, YCDC and government developers;

2) The new platform reassesses the affordability of existing business models of formal affordable housing projects;

3) Platform to develop alternate business model, building on learnings from savings group model of finance and collective tenure, supplemented by city budget;

4) The platform further connects to the next finance based strategy towards a city development fund for infrastructure.
Bamboo bridge built annually and collectively by the community in ward 93 along streets for accessibility during...
A community development fund to finance infrastructure is necessary in order to meet the demands of the current settlement in terms of both raising the standard of dwelling and business output. Our field investigation uncovered an interconnectedness between housing, business and infrastructure. The housing settlements also serve as shop fronts for entrepreneurial informal vendors. The community currently benefits from schemes to borrow to finance the building of the housing units, but currently there is no fund to develop the infrastructure of the intrastitial spaces within the settlement. Building on from this, a community fund to finance infrastructure can help business and collective infrastructure prosper by improving their supply chain logistics by allowing goods to move in and out of the

Steps:
1) A CDF (city development fund) is created as a platform between YCDC, financial institutions and community savings groups through enagement with WFW;

2) A pilot infrastructure project is identified, and incremental projects are supported financially through the CDF, to connect the informal infrastructure that has been produced collectively, to wider city networks;

3) The CDF further links to community lead infrastructure including streets, electricity, sanitation and community waste management.
Example of livelihood circuits in ward 93 with the city. For further information, refer to appendix:

- construction worker
- construction leader
- toy maker
- rubber recycler
- tailor

Fig 5-17
This strategy aims to strengthen the connections of the existing livelihoods of informal dwellers with the formal economy, building towards a longer term review of policy that recognises these livelihoods as vital contributors to the city economy. It aims to do so through 2 substrategies that focusses on economies.

1. Platforms facilitating livelihood oriented
2. City green energy production and waste management

Long Term Policy Review

Fig 5-18

Livelihoods in ward 93

pg 91
Our research has shown that the informal is a contributor to the economy through production and consumption. Inadequate channels exist that strengthen this, in terms of investment of finance and in human resources, building on existing skills.
The strategy aims to create multi-scalar economic partnerships. These partnerships build on the existing capacities within settlements, and aggregates these through proposed platforms between actors with overlapping interests.

4) Platforms facilitating livelihood orientated development
5) City waste management and green energy production

Fig 5-20

5.6 Infrastructure For Livelihoods
PROPOSED ACTOR DIAGRAM
5.6i Platforms Facilitating Livelihood Oriented Development

MANUFACTURING PLATFORM

The platform links individual informal enterprises together to create a network that can connect to larger markets and increase exporting opportunity.

SERVICES PLATFORM

Vocational Training facilitated by township-level platforms on construction sites for tradesmen and artisans.

Steps:
1) Platform and partnerships created between WFW, financial institutions, YCDC and YHT;
2) Identification of mutually overlapping interests;
   For example, living heritage and culture by YHT, trade of crafts and formal revenue by YCDC, existing enterprises in the settlements and business savings groups as suggested at the site strategies.
3) Capacity Building and market research to expand skill base and expand enterprises;
4) The platform further connects recycling based enterprises to the next strategy towards waste management and green energy production.

This strategy is necessary in order to recognising the changing nature of the job market in Myanmar. As investment in the key growth sectors continues such as in tourism, construction and manufacturing, there needs to be a parallel investment on the behalf of the government in delivering training for people within these industries, building on their current skills and livelihoods.

Fig 5-21

INFRASTRUCTURE FOR LIVELIHOODS
A city waste management and green energy production strategy will capitalise on existing strengths within the communities and deliver jobs as a result of its implementation. The communities had systems of waste management and green energy production, which was a manifestation of their inherent innovative nature, and streamlining this with a city scale strategy will help foster the development of a green energy sector and also provide jobs in this sector.

Linking the existing informal recycling and waste segregation to the city's waste management plans.

Connecting the site scale recycling strategy to the city's proposed biogas plant.

Steps:
1) Platform and partnerships created between WFW, financial institutions, YCDC, as a multiscalar partnership with the proposed community recycling unit (as per site strategy);
2) Setting up of a waste and compost collection system that includes the informal settlements;
3) Connecting this system to the proposed biogas plant in Hlaing Tharyar for clean energy production.
Fig 5-23

- Garment Factories
- Townships of study with home based enterprise
- Industrial Zones
- Special Economic Zone
HOUSING POLICY

The need for a housing policy reform is necessary, and is evident by the fact that there are many affordable housing tower blocks that remain vacant bordering Ward 93. The first reason is derived from the need for housing developers to recognise the diverse needs in terms of housing typology required by the local community. The need for a diverse housing typology logically follows from the evidence of a diverse distribution of livelihoods in the informal sector. Expanding on this there is scope to expand community participating in affordable housing schemes. The first relates to implementing systems of finance that could be informed by the existing savings group model, and the second could include programmes of implementation that pivot on the capacity building strategies proposed.

LAND USE POLICY

The need for a land use policy reform is necessary in order to recognise household based enterprises within the informal settlements as industrial units in of themselves. SEZ’s and industrial designated land benefits from infrastructure investment to develop supply chain logistics such as roads, street lighting and community transport. By recognising the output potential of household based enterprises, a change in the land use of the settlement area should logically follow to allow the businesses to flourish and thus benefit the wider economy. What is required by this policy reform is a succinct definition of industrial; one that understands the typology and trajectories of urban development in the area.
CONCLUSIONS

6.0
In conclusion, this report focused on understanding the driving forces behind the trajectories of urban development in Yangon. The concentration of power that was evident in discourse and practice in law and policy, market forces, and people and organizations with resources was observed as catalysts for inequitable urban development. The design research question indicated the need for a shift to uncover a mode of urban design that was people-centered in order to address this inequality.

The transition process Yangon has been presented as rhizomatic; Deleuze and Guattari’s description of a non-hierarchical body of intersecting urban trajectories that cannot be defined in a binary. It follows then that we understand transformation as framing different actors across scales; defining the parameters of the rhizome. We also reflect on Schumpeter’s work on Creative Destruction to highlight the intrinsic link between innovation and informality. To elucidate further, we present the analytical framework of alternate circuits of value to explore how the formal and informal intersect and coexist with each other through the exchanges of multiple values and currencies, as exemplified by ‘Nahlemo,’ to inform the modes of urban dwelling in the site, township and city context.

Our design research question interrogated the binding substance behind collective community action, and noted the need for this to be articulated in the context of working in the inherently entrepreneurial nature of informality, instead of a narrative that lends itself to a process of concentrating power and resources among a few individual entities. Trust, solidarity and self-governance were defined as the parameters of these alternate exchanges and thus our vision builds on Sassen’s notion of ‘hacking;’ the vision looks to potentialise the spaces where these alternate currencies can inform methods of gaining the essential capital for livelihoods and housing development.

The site level strategies look to capitalise on the existing alternate value networks, theorized through our framing of a rhizomatic body of intersecting urban trajectories with embedded nodes of entrepreneurial capacities. The purpose is to promote community capabilities in raising standards of living as well sustaining current practices of dwelling. Building on this, the city strategies aim to unpack how these values interact with the city, and thus scale their operational capacity to engender more equitable urban development through a policy review.

Promoting the coexistence and giving legitimacy to all modes of urban dwelling is incorporated in both the site specific and citywide strategies. The strategies endeavour not to tackle just the material issues presented, but were preceded by an investigation into the underlying drivers of urban development and thus aim to tackle the hidden root of the problem. The strategies endeavour to create conditions where transformative change can occur, and ultimately scale into a policy reform that recognises the need for a coexistence and legitimacy for all all modes of urban development.
REFERENCES

Bhan, G, (2017) From the basti to the ‘house’: Socio-spatial readings of housing policy in India, in Current Sociology, Vol 65, Number 4, Monograph 2


Boonyabancha, S, (2001), Savings and loans; drawing lessons from some experiences in Asia. Environment and Urbanization, 13

Brennan, D & Mullerat, R 2011, Corporate social responsibility; the corporate governance of the 21st century, Kluwer Law International, Alpena aan den Rijin

Deleuze, G & Guattari, F (2004), A thousand plateaus: Capitalism and schizophrenia, London: Continuum

Dupuy, P & Vinuales, J (2013), Harnessing foreign investment to promote environment protection; incentives and safeguards, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

Feasibility of Alternate Housing Finance Model, Yangon, Hlaing Tharyar, DPU BUDD Group 2, 5th June 2017

Florini, A (2003), The coming democracy; new rules for running a new world, Island Press, Washington, DC


Harvey, D (2014), Seventeen Contradictions and the End of Capitalism, London: Profile Books

Heritage Value Mapping, Yangon, Ward 93, DPU BUDD Group 6, 5th June 2017


Keay, A (2015), Board accountability in corporate governance, Routledge, New York


Marx, C (2017), The Intertwined Nature of Land and Finance in Urban Development, PU1, UCL, 24th Feb 2017


Schedler, A 1999a, The self restraining state; power and accountability in new democracies, Reinner, Boulder


စိုက်ပျိုး
မိုးကြည်ချက်မှု
This was the opening ceremony of a new housing project for 500 people that was started together by 140 savings group members. There were 4-5 savings groups that had got together and bought land that was state/military owned, on a collective land tenure. This collective land tenure is not legally recognised, but the members of the community have a document which all of them have signed. The land that they have built on is agricultural land, so legal permits for construction may be dubious. A question at this point is whether this could influence the choice of materials used to build their houses.

The residents were first staying on government land, didn't pay rent, but were at threat of eviction. They didn't feel safe - they lived alongside the road and drain owned by YCDC. They started the savings group by collecting 4000 Kyat per person/family per month on a weekly collection basis. After someone had saved 100,000 Kyat, it was possible to borrow. At the opening ceremony, there were some performances of singing and dancing by the children of the community. The atmosphere was celebratory and festive, and we received a very special welcome. The community was proud to display to us, as outsiders, some of the success that they have had.

At this opening event Liza from WFW and Michael Lee from Hana Bank spoke to the group. Michael Lee is CEO and President (managing director) of Hana Microfinance Limited, which was established in 2013 and acquired a license from the Myanmar government in 2014 for the development of Myanmar’s “grassroots” economies.

Lee has been in charge of strategic planning and volunteering activities for Smile Microcredit Bank, the apex body of a microcredit institute founded in Korea in 2007 and officially renamed in 2009 for microfinance and social business fostering. He has extensive experience with more than 35 years in the financial industry, covering investment and commercial banking, insurance and microfinance. He is also the director of the Hana Foundation, set up by the Hana Financial Group and a member of the executive committee of the Social Enterprises Network in Korea. As a microfinance institution, Hana Bank has partnered with WFW on this and other housing projects to provide WFW with the necessary loans to allow these projects to materialise. We note at this point that it would be interesting to know more about the terms between Hana and WFW, and all the other projects that they see a potential to partner together on, other than housing.

There were women leaders and members of savings groups from other townships present as well and we had opportunity to have a focused group discussion with 5 of these woman after lunch, with Mhu Khant facilitating the discussion. We note here that it is important to ensure that Mhu's role does not simply fall into that of a translator and that he is a full participant in the process, gaining the opportunity to learn and ask his questions as well being someone to learn from. He knows much that we could benefit from in a reciprocal working relationship.

Participants of focussed group interaction
Us (group 8)
Participants of focussed group interaction

Us (Group 8)

Hmu Khant – Master’s student at YTU; studies Architecture, final year Masters

Ma Sam Sam Ma – from a different township, was part of one of the first savings groups that started in 2009.

Aye Aye Khay – leader of the organisation of a savings group in another settlement since 2009

Nom Myat Then – leader of the housing project since 2014

Than – community member of savings group of the housing project that was being inaugurated

Toy Toy The – community member of savings group of the housing project that was being inaugurated. Her husband drives a trishaw cycle for work and works on construction projects in other townships.

How do the savings groups work to finance housing?

A group of 7 to 30 members (there are different numbers in each settlement) get together to form the savings group. Since the number of members differ in each group, the required time period and incremental amounts they can borrow changes.

For example, in 2009, the group members we spoke to started by pooling in 2000-4000 Kyats at a time per week. After 3 months, members of the savings group were entitled to borrow 30,000 Kyat at an interest of 2% that they started paying back in small amounts from the next month onwards. In what seemed to be another case in 2009, they pooled 500 Kyat per week per family.

The maximum number that any member is allowed to borrow at a time is 15,00,000 Kyat (this is 15 lakh kyat – equivalent to 1,500,000 Kyat). The monthly repayment to the bank is 50,000 kyat.

Interestingly, this 15 lakhs is the total cost of construction plus the cost of land. This figure of 15 lakh kyat also dictates how they decide how much to spend on construction. While they buy the land on a collectively signed lease. The plot value of the land decreases as it recedes from the road. In this current project, they parcelled the land into 4 strips. The front strip (closest to the road) is priced at 8 lakh kyats, then its 7 lakh kyats, then 6 and then 5 lakh kyats. The remaining money from the 15 lakh loan is then spent on construction (material and labour), and as per what is affordable to each owner.

The savings groups meet every Sunday. They have an office in the housing project. They say there is no age or religious restriction, but given that the groups are run on trust and existing communities it would be interesting to know if there are any interfaith savings groups. The other rule is that the members must pay money regularly and on time. Priority is for those without a home. The savings groups contact WFW on a monthly basis and have monthly meeting of the savings group leaders.

Ma Sam Sam Ma told us about how her savings group started in 2009. She earlier said she lived in central Myanmar – we are not sure whether she meant Myanmar or Yangon – it felt like the words were being used interchangeably. On reflection it might have been better to ask what state in order to get an accurate description. She used to rent, but felt unsafe as there wasn’t safety from evictions. Now she says she feels safe and settled and there is no need to move.
Morning, Location 1: Hlaing Tharyar Township_ Yoely Village_ Pyit Tine Htaung

Her children do not live with her but live with her parents in central Myanmar/Yangon as she did not want to keep moving them. It would have been interesting if we had been able to ascertain whether getting access to an id had anything to do with this decision. It only took her 1 year to acquire her house.

Where do people work?
From the initial conversations we had it appears that many husbands go to Downtown Yangon for work, which is mostly on construction sites. Many wives work either at home or find work nearby. They didn’t give specific answers, but did say everyone – men, women and children worked.

About the houses
Each plot in this settlement is sized 12 feet by 35 feet. The actual frontage is however, 10 feet only, to accommodate for the eaves of the roof.
Each house is made on a raised plinth, with a PCC tapered foundation with mild steel reinforcement. The floor is a timber raft – bracings made along the sill level. The roof is done in parts to allow for light/ventilation. The walls and roof are mostly made of a thatched mat which allows for cross ventilation. All the houses were made by 3-4 members of the community who work on other construction sites in the city. They do charge the residents for their labour. Each row is constructed by a different carpenter/mason. Interestingly, we met the carpenter/mason for the last row and he took us into a few houses, and finally into his as well. For his house he had used corrugated plastic instead of bamboo, which seems to be a status symbols of being able to afford these modern materials. This means, however, that his house will heat the fastest as compared to the bamboo ones he has built for others. All of the houses standing houses were built in a month; very fast construction!
The back of the plot has toilets and kitchen together. The toilets have a soak pit, as waste management- not sure if this is emptied or if this percolates directly into the groundwater. If it does percolate into the groundwater then this is dangerous as people use the groundwater for non-drinking purposes. Drinking water is purchased.
This project was located close by Pyit Tine Htaung housing. See Sein Shin is a savings group housing project started in August 2011 with 23 members. After 1 year, the number of members increased. The members increased incrementally each year, first with an additional 14 members, then an additional 24 members. They now have 65 families in this housing compound.

The savings group bought empty paddy land (farm/agricultural land). They could only afford to buy 1 acre of land which was flooded. They fixed several of these problems, made a bamboo bridge connecting the houses (like Venice, the women joked). They built structures of leadership that has now paved the way for the next generation. They first built small tent structures. The government didn’t allow them to build permanent structures since they were living on farmland. Initially plot sizes were 15’ x 35’. First, only one person was the leader, and everyone else followed. There was corruption, fighting and communication issues.

Later, after 2 years, they fixed their problems by changing 2 things; the site plan and their leadership structure. They realised that many of their conflicts, trust and communication issues were due to the fact that on the site their houses were in groups that did not face each other. They decided to rework the site plan together, and worked incrementally, row by row, convincing and negotiating with one another. They also, interestingly agreed to decrease their plot sizes to smaller plot sizes. Residents stayed in their neighbours houses when demolition happened. This demolition and rebuilding process resulted in 48 households giving space to 68 households.

Now the nearby village’s population has increased, and because of the extension of the village land, there is a possibility to apply for a settlement grant. They went to the village administrative office for a collective land title. There is no official policy of collective title though, but they have a common document where they are 65 signatories of ownership. They have rules for this ownership; they can’t rent the land and, if desired, can only sell the land within the community. They can transfer the land to their children as inheritance. Savings are to continue throughout life, even for children who become members by inheritance.
Savings provide the investment capital to start a business, some of which are collective, whilst others are individual. The women explained how they use their log books and the mother book. They have multiple members with various designations and roles; 2 log keepers, 1 cash keeper, (a different person keeps the key) and 2 accounts keepers. They meet every Sunday from 1pm to 3pm. Everyone has to bring the money that meeting.

We spoke to a few shop owners/businesses in the community:

a) Shop with sweets, biscuits, small packaged eats – the lady we spoke to has had the shop since for a year, coinciding with the birth of her daughter, Yoon Wati San, whom the shop is named after. She and her husband buy the supplies from a bigger shop in Ward 86 and go on a motorcycle/cycle to pick up the supplies. The shop is a small part of the house which the kitchen and toilet located at the back. They had always planned on opening a shop in their house. Her husband does car washing. We note here that we should have asked where the car wash is located and where the water comes from.

b) There was a vegetable shop at the end of the street which marked the end of the community. We couldn’t go talk there because our facilitators were not keen that we left the community boundary, but the neighbours within the community said they buy vegetables from that shop too, as well as buying food from within the community boundaries.

c) Water cart. We met an elderly man with a bike and cart – he sells water in the community at 250 Kyatt for 4 gallons. He gets the water from a purifying machine that is a 30 minute
c) Water cart.
We met an elderly man with a bike and cart – he sells water in the community at 250 Kyatt for 4 gallons. He gets the water from a purifying machine that is a 30 minute bike ride away. He only sells water in his community. He is uncertain whether there are more businessmen like him.

d) Jiga–Jiga shop.
Outside this house there was a wooden work table which looked like a carpenters sawing station, but it turned out that this was an ice-syrup lolly shop. The shopkeeper sells to the community - people come his shop, he is stationary. He gets ice from the market which is a 20 minute cycle ride away.

e) Plants.
All the houses had beautiful plants. 2-3 feet of each street outside each house looked like a mini garden nursery. The homeowners said that they don’t sell these but buy them from the plant vendor that comes the settlement. We should have asked more about how often the vendor visits. One plant costs between 2000 kyat to 3500 kyat.

f) They buy vegetables from the market near bus stop 124

Also to note from today: WaWa (from AMA) mentioned another organisation similar to WFW, called Green Lotus.
Intimate Economies
She then introduced the idea of intimate economies. Intimacy is traditionally considered as part of the local/private sphere but this theory challenges this and argues that intimacy is changed because of outside forces and exists as ‘a domain of power’ (R.R. Wilson qtd Roberts). It argues that intimate ties therefore affect the larger market and seeks to break the binaries of local/global, public/private, male/female and personal/political. An example was given of a family based conglomerate of selling beans and its impact on the larger market. Intimacy is seen as a mode of relationship privatised in the 20th century. It exists not as an opposite to the global but ‘as a corrective supplement, or its undoing’. The intimate functions as a supplement to reach to the undoing of capitalistic modernity as cities cannot continue to function on binary principles of creative destruction. Savings groups are cited as an example of intimate economies. These groups are shaping the environment in the village, aiming to prevent land speculation, which has been an issue since 2005 and extremely noticeable since 2011. Collective purchase by communities is emerging as a way of preventing speculation.
Nalehmu
Dr Roberts then spoke about the concept of Nalehmu that exists in Myanmar. It is a shared or common understanding built on long term social interactions; an unspoken agreement or implicit exchange. It can be abused by those in power, and used for granting unofficial permission. The informal system has been the dominant system, at the level of everyday and government transactions depend upon relationships and who you know. Very little is formalised or consistently applied or monitored. Where there are laws on paper these are not made public and in reality rarely applied. For example, in the villages there is no law for collective ownership yet. This creates an unpredictable environment in which it is difficult to plan or act for the future. It also means that assumptions surrounding arrangements and relationships cannot be made on the field. Nalehmu is both a source of community management and a source of corruption. Collecting money from street vendors is an example of an abuse of Nalehmu (ward authorities often collect fees of 200 kyat). Living in homes based on Nalehmu results in feelings of insecurity, as occupants have no way of appealing or safeguarding their rights. The landlord of a property often does not own the land, but rental to them is through Nalehmu. Documents are, however, often not wanted because no party wishes to be traceable. When it comes to Nalehmu, Dr Roberts stresses that it is not about dismantling this system, but about understanding and building upon its positives and potentialities.

Dr Roberts then spoke about how residents in the US are experiencing feelings of disenfranchisement as the privatisation of the public realm occurs. In Myanmar, she argues, urban residents have never been enfranchised and the lines between the public and private sector remain unclear. The idea of the Right to the City and the right centrally including the right to participation and the right to appropriation is still, in practice, a contested topic in western countries and unrealised in the global north, and therefore radical for Myanmar.

Moving on to talk about politics and law, Dr Roberts cites a quotation from Nick Cheesman in The Opposing Rule of Law, that “the rule of the law is lexically present but semantically absent”. In YCDC elections, only one person per registered household could vote, which equated to only 5% of the Yangon population. This was, however, only really following precedent. People are not involved, have a lack of voice and are not enfranchised into the urban environment.

In the 1950s 50,000 squatters came to Yangon, fleeing civil war in rural areas. These informal settlements were seen as a blight but the AFPL didn’t clear the slums because it needed public support. In 1958 the military could because it didn’t need any public support and the settlements were cleared. In Myanmar urban growth is determined more by political than economic factors.
In urban development the economic is usually the driver of change. The influence of the nation state is still very significant. Thin Sein made a notable effort towards decentralisation, but cities and towns still existed as nothing more than driving cogs in the national economy. DOAs manage the second tier city but DOAs functioning as municipal governments have no capacity for urban planning. There are only 20-30 urban planning officials in total.

The worry is that universalised visions that fail to consider the subtleties of context will triumph in this environment. The idea of the ‘machine of the city, still holds attraction here as scientific order and rationality appear as a solution to a chaotic urbanisation environment. With the emergence of Special Economic Corridors, ASEAN views Myanmar as a land bridge for trade. Physical inclusion into ASEAN will increase transnational change but impact, not necessarily positively, upon cities in these economic corridors with a push for national and regional development prioritising growth of actual lives in cities.

Yangon Youth Forum is highlighted as a think tank of interest.
SPEAKER 3: Somsook Boonyabancha, ACHR  
“Citywide Upgrading Insitu; Housing Solutions with People”

Somsook began by talking about the physical and social demolition (of communities, cultures and the informal economies that exist within them) that occurs in slum eviction. This community should be being invested in. She stresses the energy and ingenuity of the people on the ground and that they should be seen as actors not victims. City-wide upgrading and housing solutions should be conducted with the people. People exist as ‘solutions’ and a ‘force for change’, with community driving housing solutions being the way forwards. People suffer from lack of money, information, knowledge, power and confidence. Money can be tackled through savings groups and community funds, whilst information can be gathered through community surveys. Knowledge can be grown and share through community learning and meetings, whilst power can begin to be leveraged through stronger negotiation, alliances and networks. A lack of confidence can be countered through collective action.

CODI (the Community Organisations Development Institute), the Thai government’s national policy for city-wide slum upgrading 2004, manages community development funds (with a 3% loan structure). It works at scale on the city, with a wide not projects approach. The work is active and demand driven, with urban poor communities as active actors and owners of the projects.

The trajectory of city-wide change is to decentralise the work of larger city strategy to communities in an arrangement where cities work as partners in a city joint development process, alongside a new finance system to support this. The aim is to bring knowledge down to the people about processes – how and why decisions are made. Intelligence comes from being on the ground and planning is not only physical but used to unlock other structures; social, economic, political and cultural. There is a traditional problem of privileging the physical over the social, something Somsook refers to as ivory-tower syndrome. Savings groups exist as a financial bridge between the informal and the formal. Building savings refers to something beyond money; people and community. Savings group managerial capacity builds a community financial system for housing development.

She then spoke about different methods of upgrading; on site/insitu upgrading, land sharing reconstruction, relocking and adjustment and resettlement, which should all be conducted in a planned manner, as a community. Land-sharing is posited as an alternative to eviction, with people building together, reducing construction cost and building community bonds at the same time. This creates a sense of ownership and agency, which in turn cultivates a culture of respect where communities are invested in maintenance as a collective practice. Women are key actors in housing development (and of the house in general). Budgets for city-wide upgrading do not need to be high (Somsook cites a figure of $60,000), but people need to be involved in the change to their community through small upgrading activities.
« A new politics of cooperation and building of local partnerships is needed to advance this vision of advancing people-centred housing solutions. Communities and cities need to change their political relationship »
City Development Funds stand as the second tier to Community Development Funds. The government agenda is changed through seeing difference not through concept. Therefore, bringing the government into the process and proving by precedent is the aim. Ultimately, everyone saves money and all improve community and group process. The currently poor pay a higher price per square foot of land, as well as for water, electricity, school and health care, in a situation that is both unjust and unsustainable. Choosing to be involved in any part of a savings group process at any level is choosing to be a part of upgrading together and the advancement of a socio-spatially just vision for the future of urban development.

SPEAKER 4: Moe Moe Lwin - Director of YHT
“Changing Urban Landscape Vision & Strategy for Yangon”

From 1962-1988 socialist military rule resulted in a lack of development opportunity. After a change in YCDC by-laws following 1988, development has occurred steadily since 1990. The 2012 change in politics provided an opportunity to promote development and heritage so the Yangon Heritage Trust (YHT) was set up. YHT is seeking development control for the area they delineate as the Downtown Historic Area, an area of 2km². Unregulated development has resulted in a multitude of different architectural designs, qualities and heights. Multiscalar action plans are required by sector, by area and by building.

YHT is involved in the following categories of work: advocacy and outreach, public policy development, building conservation, capacity building and research and archiving.

YHT defines nearly 41,000 heritage buildings that require correct methods of conservation in terms of repair and stabilisation. Criteria for heritage selection is restrictive; with a stipulation that the building/area was built before 1945, is publicly owned and has a story behind it (this includes streets where important protests have been held). YHT is committed to sharing knowledge of conservation practices to professionals, authorities and workers and believe original building trades need to be promoted. Therefore, YHT’s strategy does involve capacity building, in a program where conservation knowledge and practices are passed on to young professionals as part of a wider aim to encourage the appropriate safeguarding of heritage buildings. Workshops are advertised with local contractors and participants receive an invitation to the Construction and Engineering Association or AMA. Some free workshops are supported by the Australian and UK governments, with further collaborations hoped for the future. Within Yangon, YHT are partnered with Turquoise Mountain to carry out this renovation and capacity building. We note that here there may be potential at some stage to expand this learning program to build the skills of lower-income workers as well as more formally trained professionals.
As part of an ‘advocacy and outreach’ programme the organisation has launched a blue plaques project to mark significant sites. Seventy plaques have been placed so far. Heritage does not just encompass buildings but needs to be connected with the wider functioning of the city. They view rivers, lakes and green spaces as heritage and are keen to progress a vision of Yangon that has a liveable and useable waterfront area for the public. They state that they heed to the government’s vision of Transit Orientated Growth. YHT is currently working on the Four Pagodas Heritage Path, an initiative to connect the pagodas in an integrated park system. They are also part of street improvements such as parking and pedestrian routes. Different streets in the city are dominated by different trades (such as 36th St and its fishing related businesses) and the flavour of these streets needs to be protected. YHT were also involved in the 2016 Mingalabar Street Festival and are involved in the My Yangon, My Home; Art and Heritage Festival 2017, which they cite as evidence of the fact that their heritage strategy goes beyond the material to the cultural and social life of the city.

YHT’s heritage focus is upon British colonial heritage and pagodas in the original city area and their survey of buildings in currently only conducted up to Shwedagon. We recognise here that they are, however, only at the start of the process of developing a heritage strategy and are restricted by actor relationships and expected roles in the political climate.

SPEAKER 5: Saw Sandar Oo, YCDC
“Planning and urban development in Yangon”

The head of YCDC’s Urban Planning division then spoke to us about Yangon from YCDC’s perspective. In terms of socio-economic development, Yangon contributes 22% of the country’s GDP, has 29 industrial zones and 43% of business in the city is private. The tertiary sector makes up 70% of working population. She spoke of the Yangon Development Vision 2040 and of the Waterfront Urban Development Heritage Project. An informal settlement map was produced in collaboration with UNHABITAT, but one gets the impression that informal settlements are seen as a weakness and a burden upon the city. The official did not use the word ‘slum’ though. Most government lands are owned by the MOC. Transport systems with the city are YBS, water taxi, circular railway and a wider TOD plan. Decentralisation and in particular sub-centre development in coordination with transport orientated development is a priority. A New Yangon Plan involves the relocation of 150,000 people from informal settlements in the south west (sites along Nga Moe Yeik creek).
Speaker 6: Chawanad Luansang, CAN Representative
“Co-Creation; Let People be the Solution”

This talk was brief due to time constraints, and the fact that we would have further contact with the speaker (due to CAN being a present partnering organisation in the upgrading workshop). The following is a summary of the main points. Mapping and social networks were connected to power and potential. The benefits of making models of houses and arranging them as a community in order to how the positioning or aesthetic qualities of one house can impact others, leading to discussions of size and height etc were raised. CAN workshops usually run for one month of the format; one week in the field, one week of research, one week field, one week research. In Myanmar however, as CAN is only beginning its work in the country, only a 10 day mapping workshop in Mandalay has been conducted so far.

Also mentioned was the new use of technology; in 2009 people were not allowed smartphones, now communities are much more connected. The role of children in designing public space was also highlighted and the importance of including all ages groups, genders and professions in workshop activities. A piece of infrastructure such as a road can mean also public space and community; something beyond its physical function. An example of a bridge building project – Tulaykawayan Bridge- was given to highlight the importance of the space that the tool and the process coming together creates. In this example, people were the implementers. Action involves dealing with the government, budget and the issues of scale, in a process that must include planners, politicians and people.

SPEAKER 7: Van Liza, WOMEN FOR THE WORLD

Much of the information gleaned from WFW is situated and embedded elsewhere in this report. In this brief speech Liza poke again of the organisational structure between the savings groups, Women For the World and the bank. The sites Hlaing TharYar were the organisations’ pilot projects. Liza spoke of how mapping is like x ray; a diagnostic tool of survey and assessment. This is then complemented by savings which act as a mobilising tool.
Three months ago, the women's savings groups did a survey in their townships and the sites involved in this workshop were selected from there.

Hlaing TharYar

Garment and light industry, unequal housing, bridges key to growth.

Push factors – landlessness from delta, low wage seasonal paddy farming, drought, natural disasters, clash between govt. and ethnic groups, cost of housing and land value.
Pull factors – stable factory jobs, better access to education and health care, urban rural mobile communication, to find better job opportunities

Dagon Seikkan

Established in 1994. In 2009 it had a population of 10,000 which had grown to 250,000 by 2014. It is made up of around 4000 squatter houses which are rented. The two monasteries on the boundary of the official settlement have a unique relationship with the extension area of the ward, through the unspoken protection that they offer to their land tenure situation. The settlement relies on self-electricity of generators and a few solar panels. Water is sold within the community, and there is also distributed government water line that reaches some areas of the settlement but not others. Drainage and flooding is an ongoing issue, as is waste management. Most workers are in construction, carpentry, masonry. 63 Ward was constructed on government land that used to be empty and contains 3000 houses with a 9000+ population. Plots sizes are 5’x10’, 6’x10’, 8’x8’. The administrative structure resembles this: community >> ward administration group >> township administration. Previous November 2016 workshop activity has occurred in Ward 67. In Ward 93 savings groups have been operating for the last 2-3 years, but this is the first time it has been involved in an upgrading workshop of this kind.
In the afternoon we had our first visit to the community in Ward 93 of Dagon Seikkan Township. The monastery provided a gathering space for us, and the visit began with an introduction to a group of around 15 community members that were present. We then went on a site walk with community members of the savings groups (as well as one of the 7 community leaders), which provided us with a chance to ask about businesses and the operation of the settlement, such as; the collecting of plastic bottles, growing plants on roofs of houses, the smart cards that had been recently issued to each community member, the proposed building of housing and a public hospital adjacent to the far side of the Ward 93 extension area, the selling of bundles of wood for cooking obtained from local factories, the selling of food items in small shops (bought from market in South Dagon or Downtown to be resold). It also enabled us to get a feel of the layout, housing typologies and conditions of the extension area.

In the afternoon, after a delicious lunch provided at the monastery by the women of the community in Ward 93 of Dagon Seikkan Township, the visit began with an introduction to a group of around 15 community members that were present. We then went on a site walk with community members of the savings groups (as well as one of the 7 community leaders), which provided us with a chance to ask about businesses and the operation of the settlement, such as; the collecting of plastic bottles, growing plants on roofs of houses, the smart cards that had been recently issued to each community member, the proposed building of housing and a public hospital adjacent to the far side of the Ward 93 extension area, the selling of bundles of wood for cooking obtained from local factories, the selling of food items in small shops (bought from market in South Dagon or Downtown to be resold). It also enabled us to get a feel of the layout, housing typologies and conditions of the extension area.

Van Liza’s Presentation of the 7 classifications of Land in Myanmar:

1) Farm Land: le meimei – Paddy land, agricultural only, transfer possible to one another. Only govt projects can change the land use. Form La Na 39.
2) Ancestral Land: colonial land plots, sold to people, transferable to other land used from farm land.
3) Grant Land: can be leased for 90 years, 60 years, 30 yrs. The most official form of land.
4) Permit Land: no grant, but official land defined by govt. Non-transferable, but can apply for conversion to Rental Land.
5) Squatter Land; rare, permit for low rental for squatters.
6) Invasion Land: no land lease, operates under Nalemhu, 93 and 67 Ward are in this category. No dealing is possible. The colonial government used this category like squatter land, but now this doesn’t happen.
7) Religious Land: Land donated for religious purposes

Officially buildings and business can be run only if permit has been applied for.
Form 105 - permit for farming, established by the land department, establishes ownership of Farmland. You then have to apply for another permit for agricultural cultivation on that land.
Data in form 105: Division, state district, township, village, ward no., holding no., land plot no., land type, size, reason.

In the afternoon, after a delicious lunch provided at the monastery by the women of the community, we explored the Google maps of the area that we had brought with us with the community. We the visited the DUHU housing project, Yadanar Hninsi Residence, which is 5% of the planned housing of this style for Yangon.
On the return to the hotel, we had a collective plenary to reflect upon the experiences of the day in the various township sites.
The group split up in order to make the best use of available time, so the following refers to simultaneous action that occurred in the field.

EXPLORING THE TOWNSHIP:
This visit was done with community members and Wapa from WFW. This was composed of a drive around the SEZ, looking at the different factories; mainly garments, construction, plastic tanks/furniture, wooden furniture, Unicolor Publishing, LP gas filling, T2K brick production. We saw the river and its container shipping/logistics businesses, workers from the community unload goods from the shipping and aid distribution process. A blue pipe carries sand from the river for use in the factories. Factories are leased for 3 years (there were many evictions 2014-15). There is a relationship between the factories and the Ward (workers, selling of materials back).

We saw areas of land pegged out with white posts (much land unused but owned and marked out for industry) and the waste issue in area was clearly evident when driving around the factories. The area was originally squatted by those who were working on the construction of the Kalawal Bridge who then stayed and people have then moved to the area from other divisions due to job opportunities. There is a golf course planned for the area. We saw the first housing project for Dagon Seikkan constructed in 1998/9 (not low cost), and also visited new ‘low cost housing’ blocks also close to community area. There are bus stops along main road (people bike to the stops) and use of second-hand Japanese /Korean buses. There is also a civil hospital and high school along main township road. We saw government housing in collaboration with UN-Habitat (WFW selected those who would stay there).
WALK IN THE COMMUNITY:
Mimiyoso walked with Ruchika, Lucia and Ayettye and explained that she goes to the main markets everyday - Yuzna market (near yuzna housing). The other market is on the 93 ward road. Her son carries stones and earns 10,000 Kyats a day. This work is done early morning from 3am to 10 am and then in the evening after 4 pm. On the walk, we first walked up to a bamboo bridge that community members were constructing together. We then walked past a corner shop for everyday items, a billiards parlour, a clothes shop and some timber shops. We met a water distributor along the way. We ended up on the market road between the ‘legal’ 93 ward and the settlement, and then back to the monastery.

The bamboo bridge:
To construct this bridge each house gave 1500 kyats. 50 houses contributed and it is repaired every year. When it floods water comes to the waist level, which is why the bridge and houses are on stilts. Sometimes water comes into the house and when that happens people take refuge in the monastery.

Corner shop for everyday items:
A young girl was at the shop. The shop was her uncle’s. It had been a shop for the past 3-4 years. They buy the supplies from Yuzana market, by motorcycle. There are many such shops in the settlement.

Clothes shop:
Sells second hand clothes

Billiards parlour:
A tented space was used as a business enterprise; a billiards parlour. The enterprise was set up by a woman 4 years ago. She earlier used to work at a factory. She was the first to set up this idea, now a few others have copied it. She makes 8000 Kyats a day. She was originally from Irrawaddy. She got the tables second hand from Downtown Yangon. In the daytime younger people and children visit it. As it was summer vacations, there were children when we visited. In the evenings, men also come to play after work here.

Water distributor:
The young man said there must be at least 4 others like him with the same business. He delivers (drinking) water to almost 120 houses every day on nine streets. He buys the water from the factory for 300,000 kyats for 100 drums. One drum is 20 litres. He’s been doing this business for the last 2 years. He spoke a bit of English.

Trishaw:
Some own the trishaw, and some rent it. One trishaw costs 700,000 kyats. You can buy one from Yuzana market.

Water business:
This was one of a few businessmen in the settlement who sells ground water. He lives in a house with a brick structure. Mimiyoso tells us he is a rich man. One can of water (non-drinking) is 300 kyats. You can see stacks of these cans in the market.
The 93 Ward administration office is located near the main market street. When driving I noted several car washing businesses and well as roadside rubbish sorting by people in orange jackets.
A COMMUNITY MEMBERS THOUGHTS ON FAMILY
Her son works on a construction site. He has been working there for the last 3 years, every day. He is paid 12000 kyats a day and is the leader of construction. He studied Chemistry and is a graduate from East Yangon University. He works in a site in Hlaing Tharyar and takes 2/3 bus to get there. Her daughter is 28 and is studying zoology in Dagon University. Her husband was a soldier. He died. They moved from the southern region of Myanmar to the middle region of Myanmar, and then to here. In 2005 her husband died. The monks have helped her a lot. She mentioned yuzana market and the garden. She is a part of the savings group and said you can take a loan for 10 days but the amount depends on how much you have saved.

DAILY ACTIVITIES OF WOMEN IN THE MONASTERY:
1) wake in the morning >> wash face >> worship >> prepare meal >> boil rice and go to 93 market >> come back and prepare lunch for the monks >> has a small shop in her house where she sells water and snacks >> afternoon rest >> sell snacks >> at night goes to the market to buy for the next morning.

She sells; biscuits, snacks, sweets for children, juice, water. For the water, she buys a 20 L drum and refills bottles. She goes to the 93 market on foot.

2) wake up in the morning >> worships >> cooks food >> goes to yuzana market on a trishaw >> comes back and washes clothes >> rests in the afternoon >> walks on the streets in the afternoon and scolds the children on the street (she has planted trees on the street and children spoil them when the play)

Cost of trishaw ride is 500 kyat for a single person, for 2 its 1000 kyat.

3) Wakes up >> prays (she is Christian) >> at 8 am takes children to their KG >> washes clothes on alternate days
FURTHER CONVERSATION AT THE MONASTERY (after Township visit):
After the township visit we found ourselves with some spare time back at the monastery, from the conversations we had the following key points came out; Male workers carry rocks from 3am-10am, then 4pm onwards due to temperature, the community members often go to 20 market in South Dagon instead of the market nearby the government housing because it is cheaper (next to Citymart supermarket). This was from a conversation with a young female community member (20 years old) who used to live in South Dagon, so knows a lot about both areas.
We then reflected upon our findings and began to devise activities to be conducted the next day. Before we left we ensured we spent some time walking around the settlement personally inviting those community members we were most interested to talk with (specifically those who ran their own businesses form home) to our workshop activities the next day which would begin at 10am in the morning.

PEOPLE MET ON THE AFTERNOON WALK:
1) Shop owner’s daughter – has had the shop for 1 year – mother started the business – mother right now is visiting her native village. She has 5 family members.
2) Trishaw driver – lives here in the settlement. Works in 5 streets and 93 Market. He rents the trishaw; the owner lives in Thaketta township. Rent of one trishaw is 1000 kyats a day
3) Tailor – new business which has been going for 1 month. She gets the fabric from Mingla market.
4) Shop – started the shop in January this year. Moved here in 2013, before he used to rent in Yuzana area.
5) Shop – started the shop 3 months ago. Have lived here for 3 years. Previously used to rent in Downtown. Someone in the household works in an import-export company.
6) Water seller – services 250 households in this section. Charges 500 kyats for one drum of 40 litres. Has been here since 2010 but before that used to live in Irrawaddy. The electrical supplier (generator owner) is his family member.
7) the water businessman told us about the electrical business – to start it you need 1300,000 kyats capital. The electrical business includes wiring as well. It is 150 kyats for a single light bulb and 250 kyats for television. Electricity is only at fixed few hours.

Once we had returned to Yangon, we went out to RubyMart to buy the materials we needed for our activities the next day.
7.1 Field Notes

On Site: the day of our activity workshop

In the morning, our activities were scheduled from 10 – 12pm, and although initially the turn-out was small, by the time the activities began over 35 community members had joined. We were working with the other group so had devised two activities each which we would alternate. The initial activity was an icebreaker, where a box of sweets was passed around the circle to music and if the music stopped when you were holding the box you had to introduce yourself. People were soon laughing and enjoying the collective activity, which worked well in creating an environment where everyone felt comfortable to join in with the drawing activities and share.

The first activity was one led by the other group which involved community members drawing over a photo of one of their streets and keeping, omitting and changing aspects of it, as to their preference of what they would like their street to be. It was amazing to see, that although this was pitched as a solo activity and each person had their own photograph and tracing paper, it immediately became a communal activity as community members began to discuss with their friends. Then followed our first activity, similar to the one before, but this time with a blank canvas to draw your ideal street. The idea had been that each person in the group drew an aspect of the street and then passed it around in a circle to the next person. It however quickly became a situation in which only one person was drawing. We were initially worried about this, but it seemed that enough dynamic conversation and participation was occurring.

Next was our business cards activity and although we had several issues with organisation and translation with this task (mainly due to a lack of translators and an overly ambitious plan in the small section of time we ended up having allotted for the activity), we still managed to gain information about the working practices within the settlement. Community members drew first what they did and the where they did it. Next was the other group’s values exercise where words such as heritage, culture, education, family etc were elaborated upon and discussed. Throughout all the tasks, we were amazed by the enthusiasm and openness of participants and felt privileged that they had given up their time to share their experiences.

From our activities the main things that came up during first task were: the wish for separate housing with adequate space between them (currently too close and smelly), streetlights, good quality roads, water storage, trees, 2 storey houses, better quality building materials, green landscaping, spaces for small communal gardens, cars and electricity, another school, covered drainage, playground area. Professions within the community that we learnt about from the from second activity were: that of a water seller, rock carrying, tailor/sewing at home (repairing and making), food seller, running a shop from front of house, electricity seller, shipping company manager, agriculture, massage, toy maker, fish seller/distributor, community work at monastery ie, cooking for the monks, teaching at the Sunday school.
After the activities we were able to interview the toy maker in the settlement, Nyi Nyi Aung. He sells toys in the big shops in downtown area; writes down HLA Day and Pomelo on a piece of paper for us. He gets regular orders from 10 shops in total. He has been doing this for 4 years. He started as an amateur and this wasn’t his main business, but he wanted to keep it going as a traditional Myanmar art form. In Burmese the toys are called a-yote. They are made from recycled newspapers that are bought in Downtown Yangon. The oil and water-based paints (made in China) as well as the models needed for the various shapes of animals are also bought from Downtown. The owner himself lives in Yangon on Shwedagon Pagoda Road, but his workshop is in the settlement. He sometimes lives at home on weekends, but on business days he lives in the settlement at his workshop. He says he trains 20 students a month, who train for 2 years at a time. He learnt how to do this in Yangon, and also travelled to Mandalay and Sagain to perfect the craft.

We were also able to briefly speak to a fish seller. He buys fish from Yuzna and has been here for 5 years. Before that he was a fisherman in Irrawaddy.

List of businesses we have spoken to:
1) shop owner 2) billiards parlour owner 3) toy maker 4) tyre recycler 5) transport – trishaw and motorbike taxi 6) water – drinking and non-drinking 7) electricity - solar panel and generator 8) fish seller

Walk around the community:
In the afternoon there was the opportunity for a final visit out into the ward. We went out looking for the tyre business that sells rubber to Hlaing TharYar as we had not been able to talk in detail previously and wished to find out more about how the business operated. We found this business difficult to locate again, and during our search encountered and had small conversations with the owners of other businesses such as; the washing of clothes, an electricity generator, signs outside of shops about taxi businesses (motorbikes), a hair salon, a young girl making iced drinks.

Electricity supplier – 1 generator costs 800,000 kyats. He bought the generator second hand from downtown for 300,000 kyats.

Motorbike Taxi – one short distance ride is 500 kyats per person. The family owns the bike, for their own use plus as a business to make more money, in addition to their shop which also sells jiga-jiga. A bike costs anywhere from 200,000 – 600,000 kyats.

We also had a conversation with woman who had solar panel on her roof (she and her husband had acquired it previously and brought it with them when they moved into the township). They have been using the solar panel for the last 2-3 years. They used to live in Irrawaddy division and when they moved here they brought it along. It provides enough voltage for big speakers (220-320 watts)

We eventually found tyre place but owner was away in
In the afternoon we were also invited by the toymaker to visit his workshop, where we saw the toys in various stages of production. They are sold to retailers at a price of 1,000 kyats. That evening we discovered the toys from the settlement on sale in Downtown Yangon at HLA day, situated next to Rangoon Teahouse. We asked the staff at the shop and confirmed that the supplier email was that of Nyi Nyi Aung. At this store the toys were being marketed at 4,000-5,000 kyats (for the smallest sizes).
On the Saturday we worked in our groups to prepare our presentations to the community for Monday 8th. From what we had observed in the community over the previous two and a half days, we created two site level strategies. These were developed and consolidated over the weekend into; Recycling for Community Business and Community Business Networks. Producing boards to present without digital software was a different way of working for us and we paid a lot of attention to ensuring that our ideas were presented clearly and simply enough for translation.
The presentations to the community were held at Pan Thazin housing project. Upon our arrival we received a warm welcome with dance and singing performances from the children of the community. These children were wearing yellow t-shirts with the words “Build secure community housing for all children” printed on the back. Following this we were invited to listen to a representative from the savings group explaining the journey of the community through the housing process. After this, our presentations began. In the audience were savings group members from within Hlaing Tharyar and Dagon Seikkan; with all of the communities that the various groups had been working in represented. Translation was a challenge in the presentation but was dealt with well by all groups.

The day was long and required much concentration, so perhaps and few more refreshment breaks would have been good in order to maintain attention of those not used to sitting through long presentations. The importance of sticking to time was also illustrated, as some groups ran over time and this elaboration took away from the clarity and impact of all the hard work that had gone into the presentations. It was great to see some of the people we had spoken to and worked with in Ward 93 at the front of the audience and we were pleased afterwards when we saw one of the community leaders sat outside of the tent reading the handout we had prepared in Burmese.
These two days were used to prepare our scaled city-wide strategies for upgrading to present to WFW, CAN, AMA and YCDC on the Friday. There would also be community savings groups present in the audience. We were split into groups based on township, so this meant the groups were large, consisting of around 25 people. Group organisation and leadership was key to producing a quality output in such a short space of time. We first reflected upon one another’s site level strategies, discussed these and looked at ways in which they could be effectively scaled up. After the two days, and much hard work, we settled on and produced a presentation for the vision of Livelihoods Orientated Development, with three strategy strands; Housing, Infrastructure and Economies.
7.1 Field Notes

FINAL PRESENTATION PREPARATION, AMA and Panorama Hotel

The final presentations were held at the Summit Parkview Hotel in Yangon. Each group presented their strategies for city-wide upgrading to WFW, CAN, AMA, YCDC and representatives from the community savings groups. The presenters from our Dagon Seikkan strand went first, pitching our ‘Livelihoods Oriented Development’ vision and the Hlaing TharYar team went second, presenting their vision of ‘Connecting People to Create the City’. The short videos our media teams had produced were played before each presentation. The speakers all did a brilliant job and it was great to see all of our hard work realised in this format. After the presentations there was an opportunity for our invited guests to ask questions to each presenting team. Our selected responders answered these questions with agility and professionalism and we were all very proud to have them representing us.

Then it was time for the Q&A panel. On the panel, facilitated by Giovana, were; Camilo and Catalina as UCL representatives, Michael Lee from Hana Bank, U Win Myint with 38 years’ experience in the Ministry of Construction, Witee Wisuthumporn from CAN and Saw Sandar Oo from YCDC. After the panel the floor was opened up for questions. After a few BUDD students had asked their questions, one of the memorable moments of the trip took place. Two women from the community savings groups stood up and asked questions directly to YCDC. We later found out via translation that these were about land, but we obviously missed the subtleties of the exchange because of the language barrier. Creating platforms for community voices to be heard is the very reason we do the work that we do, so seeing just this small opportunity for interaction created made us all feel as if something positive (that we were able to tangible witness) had been achieved through the relationship and actor network building of the workshop.
Yuzana Housing project was built over five years between 1995 and 2000 and comprises more than 13,800 apartments. The Yuzana Housing project is being developed by the Department of Urban and Housing Development (DUHD). The units are currently being produced for the purposes of selling them, and prices are currently projected to be K20 million for the first floor apartments, and K15 million for the second floor apartments. Monthly rental costs are K200,000 for the first floor, rising to K70,000 for the fourth floor. U Win Myint, a resident who owns a Yazuna Garden City apartment, noted that “people are more interested in renting than buying a property for K20 million”. The government is currently trying to meet Yangon’s housing requirement through the development of low-cost affordable renting housing, however Daw Kin Ni Lar who also lives at Yuzana Garden City notes that the need to be sold under a longer term installment: “Staff on basic salaries have difficulties raising the funds to buy apartments as they can’t afford to pay 30 percent of the apartment price upfront,” she said. “Not only is the initial payment high, the instalments must be paid over eight years, which makes the monthly payment very expensive.” a conclusion that could be drawn is that this presents a huge barrier to entry for community members looking for housing in the formal sector.

“Yangon, transformation in a time of transition
City wide strategies for upgrading Forum
11 May 2017, Summit Parkview Hotel, Yangon.
7.2 Case Studies

Delhi Model for Settlement Based Industry

The SEWA model for settlement based industry endeavours to organize workers to achieve their goals of full employment and self-reliance through the strategy of struggle and development. The model's commitments are: To strengthen women through establishing a common identity as informal workers, to keep worker's rights, needs, visions at the center, to empower women as leaders of their own programs and to uphold non-violence methods of demonstration. Practically, the strategy is carried out through the joint action of union and cooperatives.


The model recognises the need for the extinguishing for a binary perspective on informal production in the context of wider city agendas by noting the informal sector's contribution to India's growth: Over 90% of workers in India are in the informal economy and nearly 25% of India's urban employment is dominated by 4 informal trades: Domestic workers, home-based workers, street vendors and waste pickers.
Soomsook Boonyabancha, Secretary General of the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights, published a paper on the topic of savings and loans in the context of Asia. The paper describes the role of community-managed savings and loan schemes in poverty reduction, and how these are best supported by external agencies. Boonyabancha argues that community managed savings and loan programmes have emerged as a useful tool to unite disparate groups that exist within the urban poor. The programmes build on the community's own resources, and is operated and controlled by the people of the community themselves. Boonyabancha notes that finance alone may not be the answer, however also argues that the lack of capital investment compounds many of the urban issues faced by the poor and disparate. She goes on to indicate that if savings groups are linked to capital lenders, they can offer a more localized route to expanding financial resources to give the urban poor the financial liquidity required by development. The paper describes how and why savings and loans are integral to a transformation process that is operationalised to benefit the poorest members of low-income communities. The paper provides a case study on the Urban Community Development Office in Thailand in illustrating this argument. Furthermore the paper goes into detail to explain how the activities of savings and loans groups can channel resources to the urban poor, and catalyse a powerful form of development intervention.


ACHR/DPU. (2013), CAMBODIA, FRANCESCO. Available at: https://achryoungprofessionals.wordpress.com/cambodia-francesco/
Capitalizing on the location of the monastery, the monks were taken into account in order to investigate the dynamics between the monastery and the squatter settlement. Field work concerning the monastery included: interview with the Prior Monk, Mapping exercise with Novice (Young) Monks and a learning of their daily activities.

Interview with Prior Monk:
The interview with the Prior Monk took place in the hall of the monastery that was used as a community meeting center. He shared that the monastery was one of the earliest in the area, started in 1995 and was monastery not formally built until recently. It stood as a timber structure and due to a generous donation from a wealthy family was changed to a formal structure in 2011. He elaborated that the role of the monastery was only to provide Buddhist education to young learners and host small festivals. The monastery had 50 permanent learning pupils and about 300 monks who came to learn on weekends. In retrospect, the monastery has more authority than the government on certain matters.

Which leads to the conclusion that perhaps the settlement has been protected from evictions because of the presence of the monastery. It is evident that the monastery holds a connection in terms of religion and purpose to the settlement as during the interview, a significant amount of settlement dwellers attended to pay their respects to the prior monk. The novice (young) monks also held strong connections to the settlement as they either had family or friends in the settlement or belonged to the squatter settlement. Some of their mothers volunteered in the monastery to clean or to cook in the monastery kitchen. This was an equal transaction as in return of their services they got food to eat and their children were taken care of.

In terms of income that is generated by the monastery, it had an income 600,000 Kyat a month out of which 200,000 was used for electricity supply and the remaining money was distributed amongst other monks (70,000 Kyat per monk and 5000 Kyat per novice monk). At the end of the year, they collected a sum to take the young monks on trips outside Yangon, to the South of Yangon.
Mapping with Novice (Young) Monks

The mapping exercise with the young monks took place after the interview. The observations of the mapping were that the young monks were eager to participate in activities such as playing football and were in need of a football pitch.