เมืองร่วมใจ

บ้านมั่นคงกับความร่วมมือแก้ปัญหาที่อยู่อาศัยทั้งเมือง

CITY COLLECTIVES

BAAN MANKONG AND THE CO-PRODUCTION OF HOUSING AT SCALE

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contents

diagrams // tables

กิตติกรรมประกาศ

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บทสรุปสำหรับผู้บริหาร

กรุงเทพมหานครในศตวรรษที่ 21 เป็นทั้งเมืองแห่ง วัฒนธรรม ความขัดแย้ง และความแตกต่างอย่างสุดขีด ในหลายด้าน ไม่ว่าจะเป็นโครงการขนส่งมวลชนขนาด ใหญ่ที่พาดผ่านชุมชนสำคัญทางประวัติศาสตร์ วิถีชีวิต แบบดั้งเดิมถูกขนาบด้วยการเป็นเมืองพาณิชยกรรมและ อุตสาหกรรมในชั่วพริบตา ส่งผลให้เกิดทั้งความมั่งคั่งและ การอพยพเข้าสู่เมืองหลวง ความยากจนถึงขีดสุดปรากฏ เคียงข้างลิทธิบริโภคนิยมตามสากล ท่ามกลาง สิ่งเหล่า นี้ ชุมชนทั้งหลายได้ขับเคลื่อนและมุ่งสานต่อ เพื่อความ ยุติธรรมและความเท่าเทียมในการพัฒนา ตามสิทธิที่พวก เขาพึงจะได้รับ

ท่ามกลางแรงขับดันและขบวนความเคลื่อนไหวต่างๆ โครงการบ้านมั่นคงได้ถูกพัฒนาขึ้น ด้วยจุดประสงค์เพื่อ พัฒนาคุณภาพชีวิตคนจนเมือง มิใช่ด้วยการปลูกสร้าง และให้คนจนเป็นผู้รอรับ (supply-led approaches) หาก แต่ด้วยระบบการหนุนเสริม ให้ชุมชนเป็นผู้ริเริ่ม การเปลี่ยนแปลงพัฒนา โครงการบ้านมั่นคง ซึ่งก่อตั้ง โดยสถาบันพัฒนาองค์กรชุมชน (องค์การมหาชน) ได้ถูก ออกแบบมาเพื่อสนับสนุนการพัฒนาที่ชุมชนเป็นแกนหลัก ริเริ่ม (community-led development) โดยใช้ประเด็นความ มั่นคงในกรรมสิทธิ์ที่ดินและการพัฒนาที่อยู่อาศัยเป็นโจทย์ ตั้งต้น ทว่าเป้าหมายในระยะยาว คือการเปลี่ยนแปลงเชิง โครงสร้าง และการตระหนักถึงศักยภาพของชาวบ้านราย บุคคลไปจนถึงศักยภาพของชุมชน

โครงการบ้านมั่นคงได้เดินทางมาสู่ก้าวสำคัญของการ เปลี่ยนโฉมหน้าทั้งประเทศ ด้วยแนวทางหนุนเสริมการขับ เคลื่อนชุมชนและการสร้างเครือข่ายองค์กรชุมชน อย่างไร ก็ตาม การเปลี่ยนแปลงพร้อมกันทั้งเมืองกรุงเทพมหานคร หมายถึงจำนวนชุมชนที่เพิ่มขึ้นมหาศาลเกินกว่าทรัพยากร ที่โครงการมีอยู่ ด้วยเหตุนี้ ความสำเร็จและข้อจำกัดของ โครงการในบริบทอันไม่หยุดนิ่งของเมืองจึงได้ถูกนำมา ศึกษา

การศึกษาครั้งนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อมุ่งสร้างความเข้าใจใน ปัจจัยหลักของความสำเร็จของโครงการบ้านมั่นคง พร้อม

ทั้งพัฒนากลยุทธ์การจัดการกับข้อจำกัดต่างๆ ภายใต้ บริบทของกรุงเทพมหานครและปริมณฑล คณะทำงานได้ เริ่มจากการพัฒนาคำจำกัดความของกรุงเทพมหานครใน ฐานะ "เมืองร่วมใจ" ซึ่งเกิดขึ้นจากการมีวิสัยทัศน์ร่วมกัน กลุ่มคนรวมกัน และการกระทำร่วมกัน องค์ประกอบทั้ง สามอย่างนี้ขับเคลื่อนให้เกิดความเป็นเมืองร่วมใจขึ้น และ มีความสำคัญต่อการสร้างพื้นที่สำหรับการเปลี่ยนแปลง ทั้งเมือง โดยไม่เพียงแต่ยึดหยุ่นเพื่อปรับให้เข้ากับ สถานการณ์เท่านั้น ทว่าต้องตอบรับและสามารถชี้นำ ทิศทางการเปลี่ยนแปลงของเมืองได้อีกด้วย

เพื่อนำไปสู่การเปลี่ยนแปลงทั้งเมืองดังกล่าว คณะทำงาน ได้พัฒนาเป็นข้อเสนอแนะเพื่อต่อยอดกลยุทธ์การเดิน หน้าโครงการบ้านมั่นคงในอนาคต โดยเฉพาะอย่างยิ่งใน ประเด็นเกี่ยวกับการเข้าร่วมของผู้ตกค้าง (inclusion) การ วางแผนพร้อมกันทั้งเมือง (city-wide planning) องค์กรการ เงิน (finance) ตลอดจนการสร้างและแลกเปลี่ยนองค์ความ รู้ (knowledge production and exchange) กลยุทธ์เหล่านี้ ถูกพัฒนา โดยมุ่งหวังจะสร้างกรอบการทำงานเพื่อหนุน เสริมให้ขบวนชุมชนบรรลุเป้าหมายที่ตั้งไว้ ขณะเดียวกันก็ ตระหนักถึงความสำคัญของภาคีที่มีต่อชุมชนด้วยเช่นกัน นอกจากนี้ กลยุทธ์ที่นำเสนอล้วนพิจารณาถึงแรงขับเคลื่อน ของเมืองที่หลากหลายในกรุงเทพมหานคร ซึ่งวิเคราะห์ บนพื้นฐานจากความเข้าใจในการเติบโตทางกายภาพของ เมือง และกระบวนการอันนำมาสู่การเติบโตดังกล่าว

จากขั้นตอนการศึกษาข้างต้น คณะทำงานยังได้ตระหนักถึง ความสำคัญของกระบวนการเรียนรู้ อันเป็นจุดประสงค์หลัก ของวิชา และเป็นรากฐานอันสำคัญยิ่งของหลักสูตรปริญญา โทการวางแผนพัฒนาเมืองนี้ คณะทำงานขอขอบพระคุณ สำหรับโอกาสที่ได้รับ และเชื่อมั่นว่าประสบการณ์ดัง กล่าว จะแนะแนวทาง อันเป็นประโยชน์ต่อการทำงานใน ฐานะนักวางแผนพัฒนาต่อไปในอนาคต

Bangkok in the twenty-first century is a city of traditions, contradictions, tensions, and extremes: mega-projects transporting goods and people are constructed over historic communities; traditional livelihoods are juxtaposed with rapid commercialisation and industrialisation, bringing new forms of wealth and migrants to the city; extreme poverty exists side-by-side with global consumerism; and between all of this, slum communities have been, and continue to mobilise to achieve the more equitable forms of development to which they are entitled.

In the context of these pressures and movements, the Baan Mankong programme has been developed with the aim of improving the quality of life of the urban poor, not through supply-led approaches, but rather through systems to support community-led transformations. Set up by the federal government's Community Organisation Development Institute (CODI), Baan Mankong is designed to support community-led development through the entry points of community savings, secure land tenure and improved housing quality, suppplemented by the broader goals of transforming institutional frameworks and awakening individual and community capacities.

Baan Mankong has made considerable strides towards achieving transformation at scale. Through its approach of supporting mobilised communities and network building, the programme has grown at rates that surpass its current resource capabilities. Simultaneously, a larger number of communities need to be reached in Bangkok in order to achieve scale. As such, both the successes and constraints of Baan Mankong in this dynamic and evolving city are revealed.

Through our research, we focused on understanding the key factors of Baan Mankong's success, while also developing strategies that could address its principle constraints in the context of Bangkok.

To provide a conceptual framework to our research, we first developed a definition of transformation: a combination of structures, processes and outcomes derived by a combination of collective visions, collective people, and collective actions, mobilised to produce "city collectives." These city collectives are critical for providing a broad platform for achieving transformation at scale, while remaining fluid enough to adapt, respond and influence urban diversities and drivers of change.

Baan Mankong, by this definition, has already been tremendously transformative. To carry these efforts forward, we focused on developing recommendations for expanding Baan Mankong's room for manoeuver, particularly through strategies associated with inclusion, city-wide planning, finance and knowledge production and exchange. These strategies were developed with a specific focus on providing an integrated framework for supporting communities to achieve their own goals and priorities, while also recognising the responsibilities institutions hold on their behalf. In addition, these strategies took into account the varied urban drivers of change in Bangkok, thereby grounding the analysis in a critical understanding of the spatial growth of the city and the processes that underly it.

Throughout, we also maintained a recognition that this assignment functions as an important learning process, and is essentially a capstone to our MSc Urban Development Planning course. We are both thankful to have had this opportunity, and confident that the experience will positively guide our work as future urban planning practitioners.

1.1 Context

The Bangkok Metropolitan Region (BMR) covers 7,758 km², incorporating the Bangkok Metropolitan Area (BMA) and the five surrounding provinces (Vichiensan, 2008). Bangkok is the capital, economic centre and largest urban area in Thailand, with an approximate population of 11 million (Ibid.). Bangkok plays an important economic role in the whole country, contributing 44% of Thailand's GDP (Ibid.).

Due to fast economic growth within the city, it is quickly urbanising. Strong demand for workers in a range of industries has led to high levels of migration from surrounding provinces and countries. Moreover, due to

several great economic recessions in Thailand, there is big income disparity and high rates of unemployment, which have impacted accessibility to secure land tenure, and ability to rent or purchase a house. A slum is defined as an informal settlement and includes both slum rentals and squatter settlements (UDP, 2011).

Diagram 1.2 shows a dramatic increase in the number of slums in Bangkok. Moreover, there were 445 communities under threat of eviction in 2009, with a significant percentage living in slums due to lack of affordabile housing at market prices (UN-Habitat 11, 2009: 4). Slum communities are often built along canals, under expressways, alongside railways and are characterised by inadequate living conditions, or without secure tenure, often facing the threat of eviction.

Diagram 1.1 - Provincial map of the Bangkok Metropolitan Region
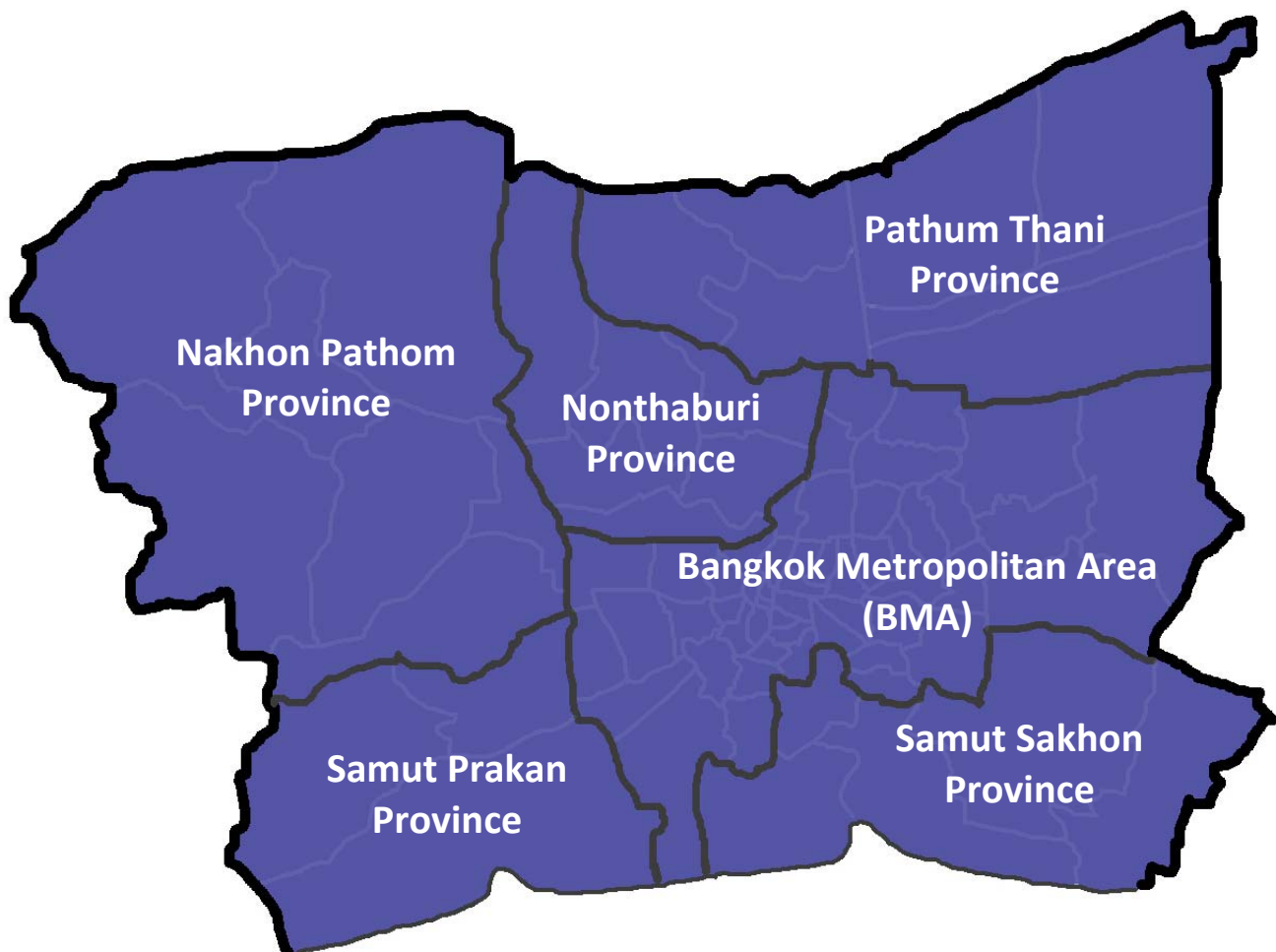
Diagram 1.2 - Slums in Bangkok

Year	Number of Slums
1968	50
1985	943
2002	1,208

Source: Viratkapan and Perera, 2006

Housing has historically been considered an issue of central rather than local government in Thailand, with in and off-situ upgrading traditionally promoted rather than relocation. In 1992, the Urban Community Development Organisation (UCDO) was created to address the housing problems of the urban poor. However, to extend the scale of their work UCDO began to encourage community-community networks. In the same year, the Community Organization Development Institute (CODI) was established to take over from UCDO supported by government funds. In 2002, CODI merged with both UCDO and the Rural Development Fund, meaning more resources were available to extend the services for urban poor on the national scale (Appendix I) (Ibid.). Baan Mankong (Secure Housing) was established by CODI in 2003 to address the housing problems of the urban poor (CODI, 2008). Additionally it helped poor communities build networks and local partnerships as a way of integrating the needs of communities into larger city development, and providing opportunities to transform livelihoods. The programme is funded by the Thai government, and is used for soft infrastructure subsidies, housing and land loans. Generally, funds are given directly to poor communities to help them to improve and upgrade their housing conditions, environment, infrastructure, basic services and secure tenure (CODI, 2008). Moreover, there is a larger goal of moving from a supply-led process to a demand-led process through Baan Mankong. Sheng (2009) shows 80,000 households overall had benefited from in or off-situ housing upgrading and construction after they joined Baan Mankong by mid-2009. Despite addressing such a large number of slums, the rapid increase in slum numbers overall has created new problems of scale.

1.2 Aims & Objectives

The purpose of the project was to give Master's degree candidates field experience to understand the topic of "Co-Production of Housing at Scale: Collaborative People-Centred Partnership for Slum Upgrading in Bangkok, Thailand' (UDP, 2011)." By studying CODI's process of slum upgrading, we aim to understand how urban interventions can transform communities, individuals and livelihoods. "Slum upgrading is about upgrading people's confidence, their competence, their relationships, not just about improving their physical circumstances (UN-HABITAT 11, 2009:iv)."

By critically diagnosing the transformative potential of Baan Mankong, we will develop preliminary collaborative proposals with the aim of improving the living conditions of low income communities.

2.1 Transformation

Growing informality, deepening poverty and expanding spatial inequalities in global cities, have generated increasing calls for transformative change in urban environments. To enact such change, the very structures, processes and outcomes manifested within the urban fabric must be examined and challenged.

Patsy Healey provides a useful framework through which to examine the meaning of transformative change.

> "Power relations are not *outside* us. They are part of us, and they exist *through* us... As human agency, despite the continual constraints on us, we thus have some power, the power to choose, to invent, to think differently... Human agency thus changes abstract systems and structuring forces, but these transformations happen not by individuals in isolation. They are shaped and given meaning by the relational webs within which we live (2006:66)."

Thus, transformation can be determined to have an element of collective human awareness. True change can only be achieved if all parties involved are willing to change themselves as well. Harvey expressed this well when he said; "How can any of us talk about social change, without at the same time being prepared, both mentally and physically to change ourselves? Conversely, how can we change ourselves without changing our world? (2000:235)" Transformation requires a continual process of reflection and reaction in order for the full recognition of collective power and the ability to enact change to be realised (Healey, 2006).

2.1.1 Structure
Harvey expands on this by arguing that change requires recognising power relations and challenging dominant *structures* in order to combat exploitation and unequal distribution manifested within the urban fabric (Harvey, 2008; Sandercock, 1998). As power can be defined as lying within everyone, power relations can therefore be negotiated through both domination and resistance (Foucault in Flyvberg, 1998). People have the ability to reconstruct the social structures that exist around them.

Following this, Healey acknowledges the power of institutional structures, however, disregards the notion of structure as an "external force apart from the social relations of the daily flow of life (2006:56)." She follows Giddens' (1979) notion of structure and agency and asserts that:

> "the powerful forces which structure our lives are actively made by us...As a result, we have choices about what to accept of our structured, social embeddedness, and what to reject. As we make these choices, so we maintain, modify and transform the structuring forces which shape our lives (Healey, 2006:57)."

Thus, transformation not only requires a collective human awareness but also a progressive restructuring of both institutional and individual structures. In this way you can also create new paradigms and set new precedents.

2.1.2 Process
However, the ability to challenge and redevelop structuring forces requires *processes* of critical collaboration. Roger Few emphasises the strength and knowledge of individuals as a means of building social capital. He points to the co-production of knowledge and the sharing of resources and capabilities as an effective tool for actors to build their collective power (2002). Valuing variety, working together and leveraging collective assets across actors and city spaces creates room for maneuvre within existing structures and processes (Ibid.). Habermas describes the value of collaboration and argues that it is through communication and interaction, that people are able to identify priorities and develop strategies for collective action (1979). The current emphasis on rational and scientific knowledge over moral and emotional reasoning creates barriers to building understanding between actors (Ibid.). By creating interdisciplinary platforms of communication, knowledge exchange and debate, new relational capacities across a diversity of actors can be created and built upon to foster synergistic social change (Healey, 2006).

2.1.3 Outcome

While structure and process are fundamental to the sustainability and scale of transformation, the resulting outcome must be critically examined as well. For collaborative processes to create equitable *outcomes*, they must be reinforced both spatially and temporally. Dikec argues that the social production of space is inherently conflictual, producing and reproducing injustice (2001). For transformation to create urban environments which are equitable, inclusive and socially just, the dynamics of social and economic relationships, their physical manifestations, and the processes which allow or inhibit political response must be examined and challenged (Dikec, 2001). The equitable distribution of both material and social resources, as well as accessible and effective participation in deliberation and decision-making within urban activities must be present and demand-led (Harvey, 2006; Young, 1990).

Therefore, through the synthesis of these elements, *transformation* can be defined as *an iterative and progressive shift in human awareness manifested in reconstructions of dominant institutional and individual narratives. Through processes of co-production that are interdisciplinary and reinforced over space and time, city collectives are realised.*

Diagram 2.1 - City Collectives
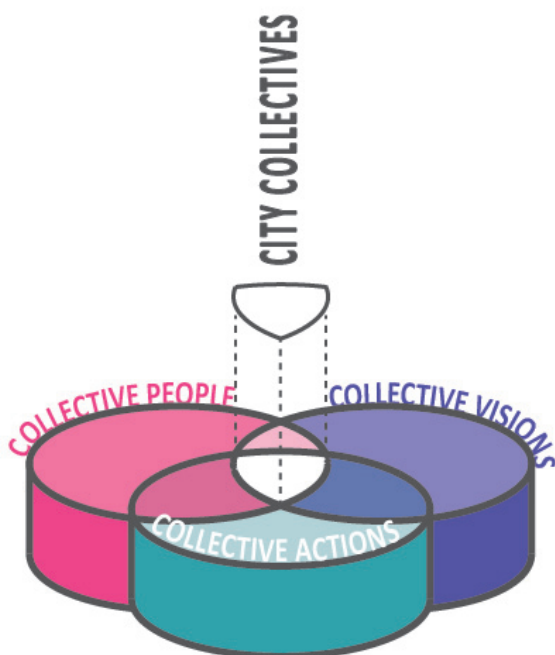
2.2 City Collectives

Transformative change in structure, process and outcome culminates in the realisation of *city collectives*.

City Collectives are the convergence of collective people, collective actions and collective visions. They inhabit and intersect multiple spaces, times and relational webs. The pluralisation of the term highlights the diversity and complexity of cities and the dynamics within them. The use of 'collective' should not be taken to imply a simplification of the conflictual and heterogeneous natures of cities. 'City Collectives' strives to embody a balance between conflict and consensus. It recognises that conflict can be a driver of transformation (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985), yet points to the intersection of inclusion, actions and decision-making as a means of bringing urban dwellers together to bridge conflicts (Habermas, 1979). It is a utopian notion, however as Friedmann suggests, if we are to fight injustice "we will need the concrete imagery of utopian thinking to propose steps that would bring us a little closer to a more just world (Fainstein, 2005:127)."

2.2.1 Collective People

The development of a socially just, inclusive and sustainable city, must derive from and respond to the collective concerns of its people (Fainstein, 2005). Healey supports this by rejecting "the notion that the social world is constituted of autonomous individuals, each pursing their own preferences in order to obtain material satisfaction (2006:56)." As Habermas asserts, individual identities are social constructions and it is through communicative and collaborative efforts that these social and cultural patterns are created and transformed (Ibid.). However, the notion of collective people does not negate the diversity of communities and individuals within city collectives. Through the intersection with collective visions and collective actions, collective people seeks to recognise differing groups inhabiting the city together and creating multiple city collectives which are not dominated by one point of view (Young, 1990). Furthermore, transformation requires co-production across disciplines and cannot be achieved by one single actor. Collective people entails a collaboration of a multiplicity and diversity of actors.

2.2.2 Collective Visions

While participation and inclusion of a collective people is considered to be "the vessel to exert power'" then "vision is to mobilise the public (Fainstein, 2005:468)." The process of developing collective visions provides a springboard for action and encourages long term commitment. The pluralisation of 'visions' emphasises the value of multiple view points within collectives. The realisation of collective people empowers collective visions to be progressive, socially just and aspirational.

2.2.3 Collective Actions

With the attainment of a collective people and collective visions, little can be achieved without action. As Fainstein puts it; "The aroused consciousness that puts ideas into practice involves leadership and mobilisation of power, not simply reasoning together (2000:458)." The establishment of collective visions and aims does not itself achieve transformation. Social mobilisation and collective actions done by collective people are all intrinsic elements required for the realisation of city collectives.

2.3 Indicators of Transformation

The indicators developed aim to solidify the manifestations of transformation. They correspond with the notions of structure, process and outcome and form part of the strategic proposals outlined in the following sections.

2.3.1 Structure Indicators

1. Transparent, accountable and self-evaluative institutions:

   a. Continuous re-evaluation of both institutional and individual processes

2. Inclusion of relevant actors at relevant scales:

   a. Effective participation in decision-making (e.g. Production of land-use plans and policies at multiple scales)

   b. Recognition, acceptance and preservation of local knowledge and skills

   c. Enabling and promoting self-determination of both individuals and communities

Diagram 2.2 - City Collectives Spread Across the City
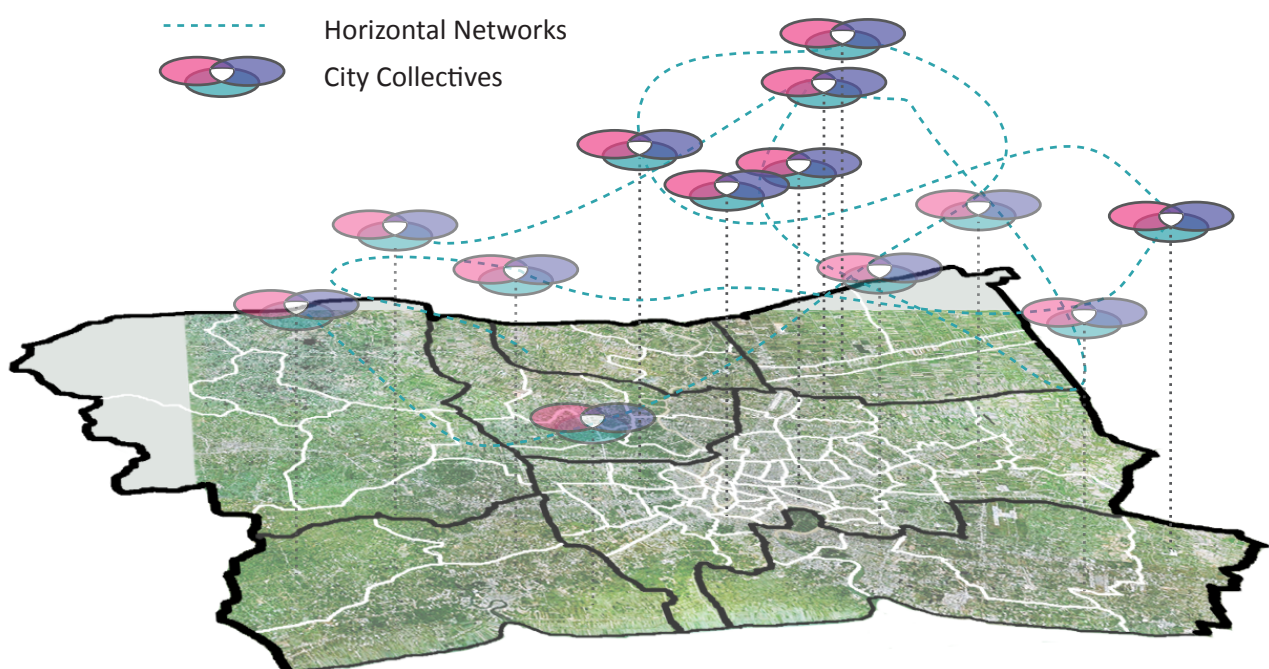
2.3.2 Process Indicators

1. Horizontal and vertical co-production

   a. Institutional decision-making

   b. Participatory processing in determining built environment

   c. Public learning and knowledge production

2. Networks for community mobilization

   a. In order to achieve scale by using networks to strengthen and increase capacity building and public learning across all levels

   b. To strengthen the ability to influence and to resist dominant structures

2.3.3 Outcome Indicators

1. Material distribution

   a. Equitable and sustainable access to land, infrastructure, public spaces, services and resources

2. Non-material distribution

   a. Equitable and sustainable access to livelihoods, education, health care, decision-making, sense of place and community

3. Self-sustainability & the Multiplier Effect

   a. Increased sustainability of communities independent of government structures

   b. Generation of similar structures and processes in other communities, districts & cities

Diagram 2.3 - Indicators of Transformation

Structure Indicators

INCLUSION

TRANSPARENCY

Process Indicators

CO-PRODUCTION

SCALE

Outcome Indicators

DISTRIBUTION

EQUITABLE

SUSTAINABILITY
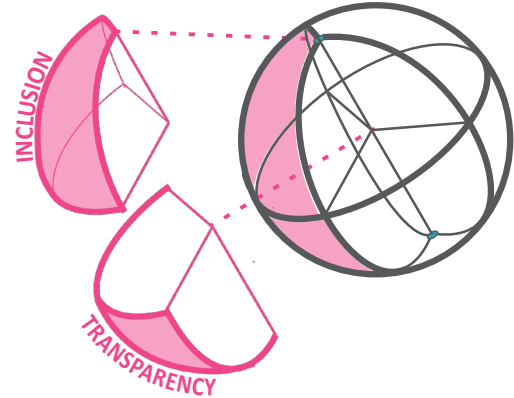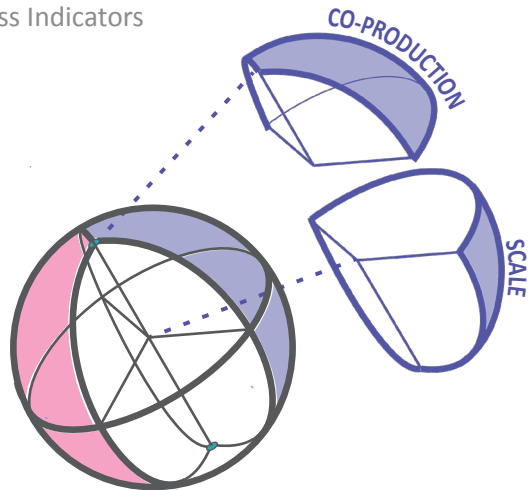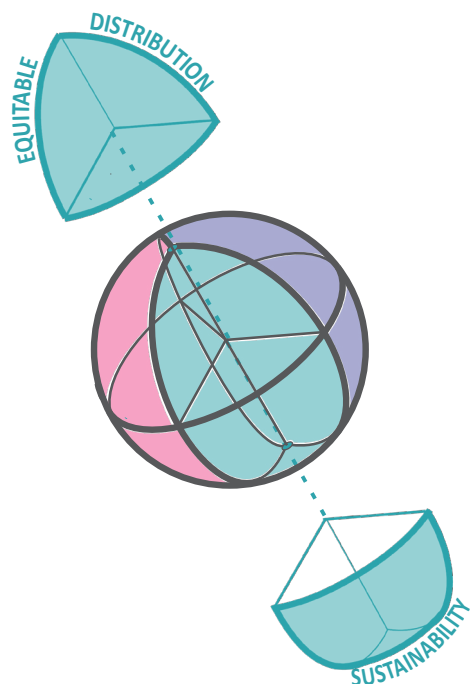
3.1 Methodology

Gathering findings and creating strategies for scaling up was conducted in three stages: pre-field trip analysis, the field trip, and post-field trip analysis (Appendix J).

3.1.1 - Pre-Field Trip
The methods include:
1.   Wide research about the context of Thailand, the current situation of slum dwellers and the processes of CODI and Baan Mankong
2.   Identifying our definition of transformation and criteria to measure it
3.   Actor mapping to understand the relevant actors, how, where, when, at which level they are involved in Baan Mankong, and their relationships

From this we identified the challenges and strengths of Baan Mankong, measured against our transformation definition and criteria. We identified our initial strategies and determined what information we needed to collect during the fieldwork.

3.1.2 - Field Trip
This part discusses methodologies adopted in the process of collecting information and data. The field trip ran from 8th - 23rd May, with 6 days of presentations, panel discussions and site tours from different actors and institutions (including NESDB, NHA, LPN, ACHR), and 4 days being spent on site work. For a more detailed schedule, see Appendix K.

During the four days of site work, our team of 11 researchers was divided to work with communities on six sites. Each site had a variety of communities displaying a spectrum of progress under Baan Mankong, from those who were fully in the programme to those who had not joined it. The number of communities to be visited was managed by the site coordinators on each day. Although we were working within sub-groups with different schedules on different sites, we had similar processes of gathering information from each community, and we shared daily our findings. Diagram 3.1 summarises the tools used for gathering information.

Interviews were facilitated by translators from CODI and local universities. Interviews were conducted with the purpose of understanding the programme's strengths and challenges at ground level, however community members often mentioned additional information not specifically on the brief but useful for gathering wider information. We did not use a questionnaire for community interviews as we decided it was not suitable for all situations and would give us less flexibility in asking questions in unique, unforeseen circumstances. However, we still had interview guidelines and referred frequently to our indicators of transformation to ensure questions were not random.

3.1.3 - Analytical Methodologies
Findings from the study tour and presentations gave us a better sense of the city, including its scale and a sense of the surrounding area (e.g. buildings, transportation, environment and social issues). Our discussions with a range of actors enabled us to test our preliminary strategies and improve them.

Data collection formally was via groups and panel discussions and informally via conversations and walking tours during site visits. Data collected was both quantitative and qualitative with qualitative data being both oral and visual. Qualitative data was used to verify information gained from other sources (including pre-field trip readings), and check their accuracy and relevance.

During the field work, 39 formal interviews were conducted across 43 communities on six sites over four days, alongside numerous informal interviews. Our aim was to use both quantitative and qualitative data as entry points to examine transformation towards the city collective across various levels. We used our indicators to evaluate the key findings across sites, with indicators for structure, process and outcome (Appendix B). The table helped us revise our preliminary strategies and revealed key commonalities across the sites within spatial typologies. We then cross-referenced the strengths and challenges associated with typologies with our indicators to create a final diagnosis and further develop our strategies. Appendix F and G contain summary tables of these analytical methodologies.

3.1.4 Limitations and Challenges

Limitations and challenges to our research were felt through three barriers.

Firstly time constraints, during and post field trip affected our ability to collect and analyse data. The lack of time with each community limited our investigations and ability to gather information. Unforeseen problems affected our plans during site work, with traffic resulting in late arrival at several meetings, and one community leader in Klong Toey not attending due to an emergency at his workplace, which compounded the challenge of lack of time.

Language was a further challenge to our research. For many of us it was the first time we had interviewed communities, and we learned to modify our questions so the translator was able to understand them and convey it to the interviewees. However, some information and subtle nuances were lost due to this relay of information.

Finally, the communities often had plans and expectations for us, which we were unable to meet in our capacity as students. We had to balance the agenda of the community with our own personal goals.

These limitations were crucial in limiting our ability to analyse data; triangulation was hindered by the amount we were able to gather under our constraints. The challenges also limited our ability to create a deep diagnosis which accurately assessed existing problems and room for manoeuvre.

Although there were some limitations, through an extensive process of data collection carried out in our pre-field trip work, study tour, panel interviews and fieldwork we were able to collect a wide range of information. Through analysing our findings we created a diagnosis of the main strengths and challenges from which we created our strategies. The main findings and strategies will be discussed in the following chapters.

Diagram 3.1 - Information Gathering Tools

Process and types of information gathering			
Community Brief (Speech from community leader, saving groups or other actor)	Data Collecting		Group Feedback from Each Site
	Visual (Site Walk Tour)	Oral (Two Types)	
- Community history - Background - Transformation from past to current situation - Challenge faced by community	- Photography *(housing types; physical, social, environmental conditions of the surrounding areas)* - Sketching/drawing *(plan view of house, material used for construction, housing conditions before joined Baan Mankong Program or improved)*	- Q&A session for community committee *(mainly about finance, flexibility etc.)* - Community members' interview *(includes their feeling about community, incomes, story about past and current)*	- Daily feedback from sub-group on each site - Daily reflection and review of our transformation indicators and strategies made for the field trip work - Comments and suggestions of plan for the next day - Written group notes, and stored online

3.2 Spatial Analysis

3.2.1 - Early Globalization / Impact on Bangkok Growth

From early in its history, Bangkok has been influenced by processes of globalisation. The city, which was established on a sand bar in the Chao Phraya Delta in the 18th century, expanded greatly in the late 19th century with the construction of a high-density canal network to promote commercial agricultural production, "a direct effect of the Anglo-Siamese Bowring Treaty of 1855, which opened the kingdom to free trade (Sintusingha, 2010: 141)." Formal land tenure was introduced at that time, which encouraged settlements to move from canals to land, in what Sintusingha regards as the city's "first bout of market-driven sprawl (2010: 141)."

3.2.2 - Contemporary Globalisation and Impacts on Bangkok's Urban Form

More contemporary globalisation, however, has had the most dramatic impact on the urbanisation of Bangkok. During the rapid growth of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) post-1985, Asia received more than 60% of FDI flows to developing countries (Lo and Marcotullio, 2000: 81). In Southeast Asia, economic growth and interdependency emerged, resulting in a regional city system that includes Bangkok and focuses particularly on global manufacturing (Lo and Marcotullio, 2000: 78). Given that Bangkok is a primate city, BMR accounted for more than 75% of Thailand's total manufacturing production in the late 1980s (Douglass, 2000: 2320).

Diagram 3.2 - LandSat Image of the Bangkok Metropolitan Region (Built Environment Shown in Grey)
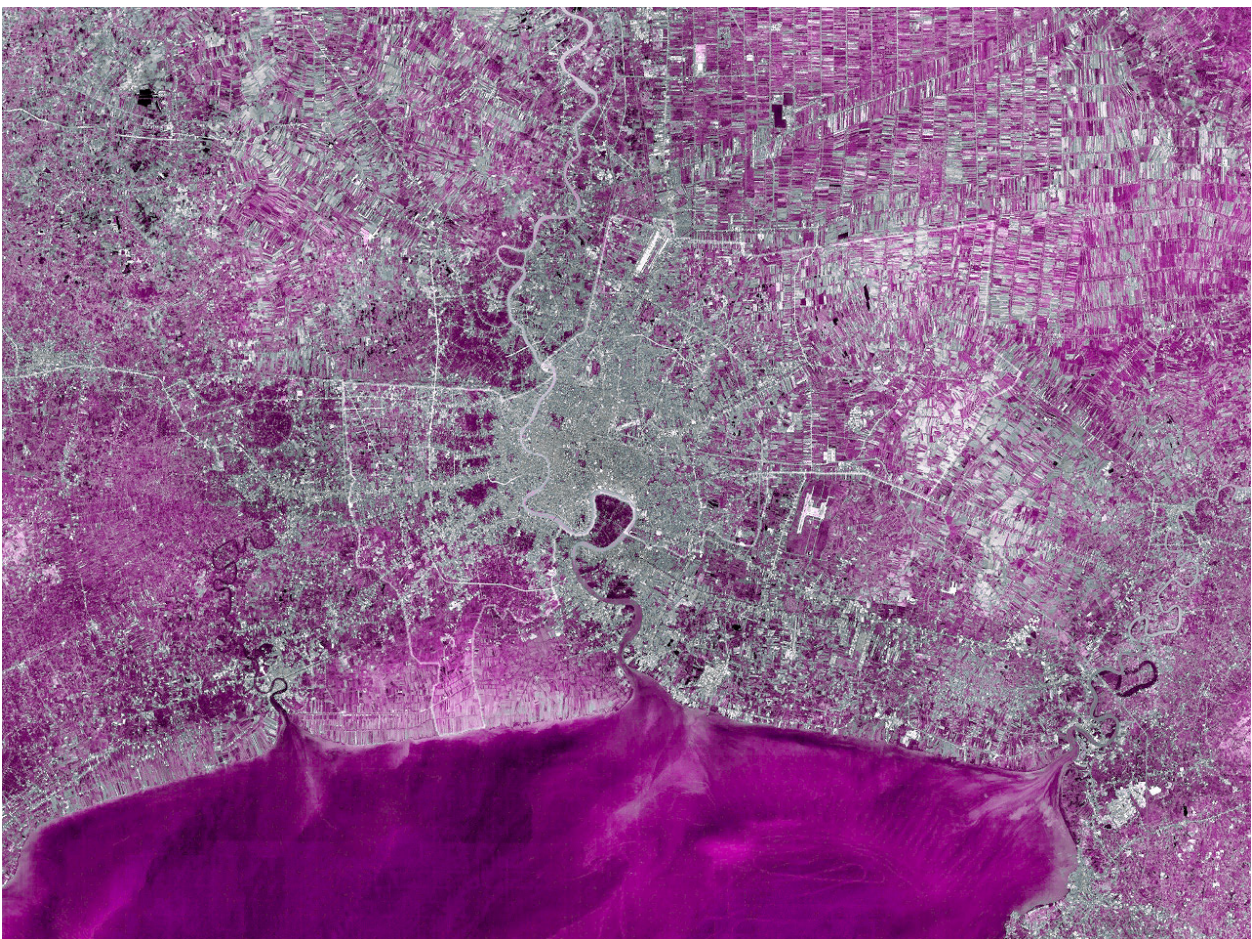
Source: Adapted from Maps of the Net (www.mapsofthenet/bangkok/satellite)

By the early 1990s, Thailand's Board of Investment (BOI) began to introduce additional tax incentives for free-trade zones outside BMR in order to reduce "excessive concentration (Nakagawa, 2004: 256)." The BOI policy was linked to the National Economic and Social Development Board's (NESDB) spatial policy for Bangkok, which sought to promote polycentric development aimed at reducing Bangkok's spatial growth (Sintusingha, 2010: 149). Given that Bangkok itself did not have its first official master plan until 1992, the form of urbanisation has remained inconsistent with official plans, with uncontrolled sprawl continuing within BMR (Sintusingha, 2010: 149).

Transport infrastructure, with its critical role in transporting both goods and people, has become a

prominent feature in sprawled Bangkok. The city has a vast network of raised expressways, though they have had little impact on reducing congestion (Jenks, 2003: 549). Since the mid-1990s, expanded public transit, including a 23-kilometer elevated urban railway (SkyTrain), and a 20-kilometer urban subway line have been introduced, along with plans to construct a 291-kilometer suburban railway network (Vichiensan, 2008: 8). There is also a major port, and two airports, resulting in a city and region criss-crossed by a range of transport infrastructure (Diagram 3.3).

These processes of urbanisation continue to have a profound impact on the spatial growth of BMR. Bangkok has developed an urban growth pattern resembling a 'doughnut', with commercial expansion at the centre,

Diagram 3.3 - Existing BMR Transport Network

Airports

Port

Rail

Sky Train and Subway

Expressways and Major Roads

Diagram 3.4 - Urban Spatial Typologies in BMR

Typology Three
Sites Researched
a) Rangsit, Pathum Thani Province
b) Bang Poo, Samut Prakran Province
c) Phasi Chareon, BMA

Typology Two
Sites Researched
d) Bang Khen, BMA

Typology One
Sites Researched
e) Klong Toey, BMA
f) Rattanakosin Island, BMA
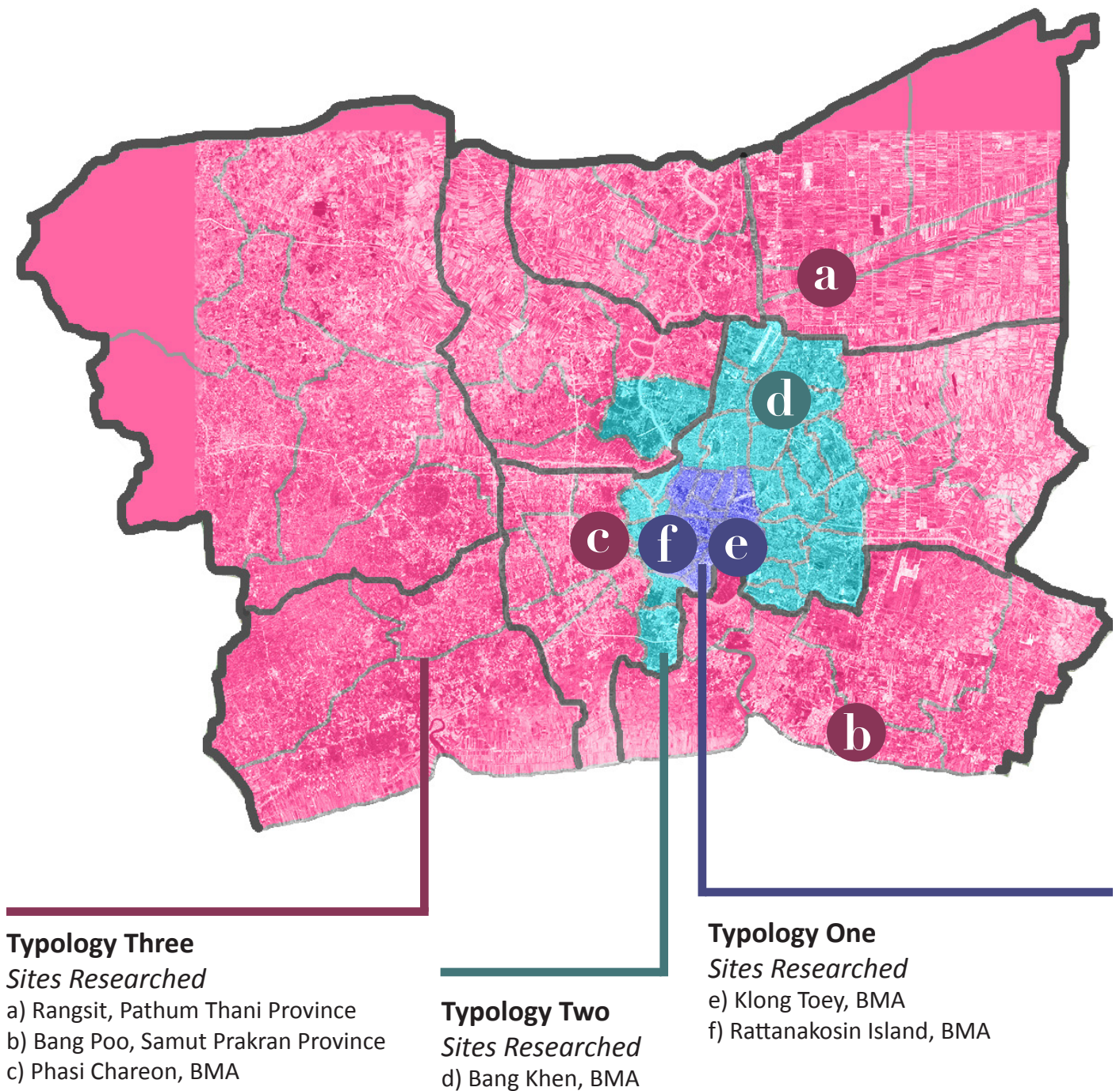
and proliferation of manufacturing at the periphery (Lo and Marcotullio, 2000: 107). This spatial pattern is the result of Bangkok acquiring both command and production functions linked to globalisation. Command functions, including finance and management, have concentrated and become more prominent in the centre of Bangkok, while production functions have resulted in the proliferation of manufacturing in peri-urban BMR (Nakagawa, 2004: 256).

These command and production functions result in differing forms of urban drivers of change, which can be categorised under three typologies: 1) urban districts facing direct commercialisation pressures; 2) urban districts facing indirect effects of commercialisation, primarily through higher-density suburbanisation; and 3) peri-urban districts facing direct industrialisation pressures, as well as the indirect effects of commercialisation through new residential development. While security of tenure for the poor comes under pressure in each of these typologies, the degree of the impact, as well the room for manoeuvre for communities to influence these impacts, differs by typology.

These three typologies were first observed during research of the six sites in Bangkok, with comparison of impacts analysed in a detailed matrix (Appendix C), which was later confirmed through a literature review of spatial growth in Bangkok.

3.2.3 - Typology One: Urban Districts Facing Direct Commercialisation Pressures

Since the mid-1980s, transnational corporation and finance offices have accumulated in the core of BMA (Nakagawa, 2004: 257). In 1990, for example, 20% of all new constructions in Bangkok were located in Klong Toey, a district that sits between the city's port and the central business district, with over 60% of that construction geared toward commercial development (Berner and Korff, 1995: 218). This driver remains a powerful force. In 2009, for example, the Port Authority

Klong Toey Port Proposal
Source: 49Group, 2010

of Thailand announced a 20-billion-baht (£400,000,000) plan to convert 32 hectares of its land in Klong Toey into a business and logistics centre (Mahitthirook, 2009).

The introduction of public transit has further supported this commercialization process, as is shown in Diagram 3.5, which depicts the increased number of high-rise buildings in a section of Klong Toey during and after the construction of elevated and subway transit line stations (opened in 1999 and 2004, respectively) (Vichiensan and Miyamoto, 2010: 3).

Commercial developments in the centre of BMA have resulted in a declining population due to rapid land-use conversions. From 1970 to 1998, the population density in a 2.2km span around Bangkok's city centre reduced from 202 persons/ha to 183 persons/ha (Murakami, et al, 2005: 253). The commercialisation process pushes many people, particularly the middle-class, to become more mobile and live further from work (Berner and Korff, 1995: 209).

For the poor, moving from their place of employment is not a viable option; they already work long hours for a small income, and therefore cannot cope with additional transport and time costs (Berner and Korff, 1995: 210). In districts such as Klong Toey, where the low-income population continues to work at the port, in markets, and

Diagram 3.5 - Property Developments and Public Transit, Klong Toey

Source: Adapted from Vichiensan and Miyamoto, 2010: 7

3.2.4 - Typology Two: Urban Districts Facing Indirect Commercialisation Pressures

With middle-class populations moving out from Typology 1 districts, Typology 2 districts face pressures of higher-density residential growth.

In districts 5-15 kilometres from Bangkok's city centre, there was increasing population density between 1970 and 1990 (Akinobu, et al, 2005: 254), signifying increased residential development in these areas. An analysis of population density averages within a particular circumference of Bangkok's centre, however, ignores that growth rates were likely higher in certain districts where increased transport infrastructure already existed, particularly to the north and east. As Madhaven *et al* noted, transport networks were only significantly expanded to the west of the city centre in the 1990s (2001: 805). The built environment is therefore significantly lower in those districts (Diagram 3.2), resulting in Typology 2 showing greater prevalence to the north and east (Diagram 3.4).

With the major expansion of Bangkok's city centre in the 1980s, certain Typology 2 districts that were already well-connected to Bangkok's city centre, such as Bang Khen, were influenced to a greater extent earlier and now show stable population densities (Burapatana and Ross, 2007: 65). Two other Typology 2 districts on the edge of Bangkok, however, showed rapid population density growth rates of 25% and 14%, respectively, during 1999 and 2005, indicating that the indirect pressures of commercialisation contributes to increasing residential sprawl as the expanding middle-class continues to seek affordable property (Burapatana and Ross, 2007: 65).

Within the expanding zone of this typology, development pressures differ. In areas such as Bang Khen, the primary driver of change largely results from the expansion of public transit, which has the potential to bring further higher-density developments along transit corridors.

in construction, their location is very much tied to their livelihood. Unable to afford rent or purchase property in these areas, they continue to squat in slums on unused public land and undesirable land (including underneath expressways), and reject offers of resettlements (with secure tenure) to peri-urban areas. With ongoing land-value rises, their ability to access security of tenure from landowners is substantially reduced.

Rattanakosin Island, the original settlement of Bangkok, is also directly impacted by commercialisation. As Watson notes, "competitive city" approaches focus not only on attracting global investment and residential elite, but also high-end tourism through "the commodification of culture and heritage (Watson, 2007: 209)." Historic low-income communities living in this area without secure tenure have increasingly come under threat of evictions, particularly after a 2002 Master Plan was approved for the area aimed at increasing tourism (UN-HABITAT, 2007: 317). The commercialisation and tourism pressures are evident in the fact that the population density of Rattanakosin Island dropped 33% between 1995 and 2010 (BMA Data Centre, 2011).

This pressure was revealed during research in Bang Khen, where one community was found to have been evicted in the last year because they were located on land where a future SkyTrain route will pass over (Bang Bua Community Forum 1, May 2011). In communities where the indirect pressures of commercialisation have only more recently been felt, land-value rises associated with suburbanisation are likely putting pressures on slum communities by reducing opportunities to gain secure tenure, though our research did not include any such sites in this typology zone.

3.2.5 - Typology Three: Peri-Urban Districts Facing Direct Industrialisation and Indirect Commercialisation Pressures

The most rapid population growth in BMR has occurred in areas previously under agricultural production, with the five provinces outside of BMA having the highest growth rates in Thailand between 1995 and 2000 (Nakagawa, 2004: 258). T.G. McGee's (1991) description of desakota, a term that "juxtaposes two Bahasa Indonesia words for village and city", also applies to Bangkok, in that FDI has resulted in manufacturing located in populated rural areas to take advantage of the labour force (Sintusingha, 2010: 148), while also bringing expanded transport infrastructure that spurs

the growth of gated communities for the middle-class working in the city centre (Nakagawa, 2004: 258). This finding corroborates the group's research in Rangsit and Bang Poo, where rapid development occurred due to the construction of new expressways.

This transformation is clear in Rangsit, which now functions as a key connection for raw materials between the northern and northeastern provinces and Bangkok (Nathalang, 1999: 2). Land-use changes, particularly from 1987 onwards are clear in (Diagram 3.6), where townhomes, gated subdivisions, slums and wastelands have developed in between the century-old canals that used to promote commercial rice farming.

The impact of peri-urban development under the aforementioned conditions has brought about environmental risks, particularly for slum communities, who due to intensive land speculation are pushed to the most undesirable land (Sintusingha, 2010: 149). These communities are largely built along canals (not only in Rangsit, but many of the peri-urban districts) and on the lowest land (Hara, et al, 2008: 79). With the abandonment or transformation of rice fields, flooding is now a higher risk for these communities (Hara, 2005: 26), a finding that was also corroborated in both Rangsit and Bang Poo field interviews.

Diagram 3.6 - Rangsit Land-Use Changes Between 1952 and 2002
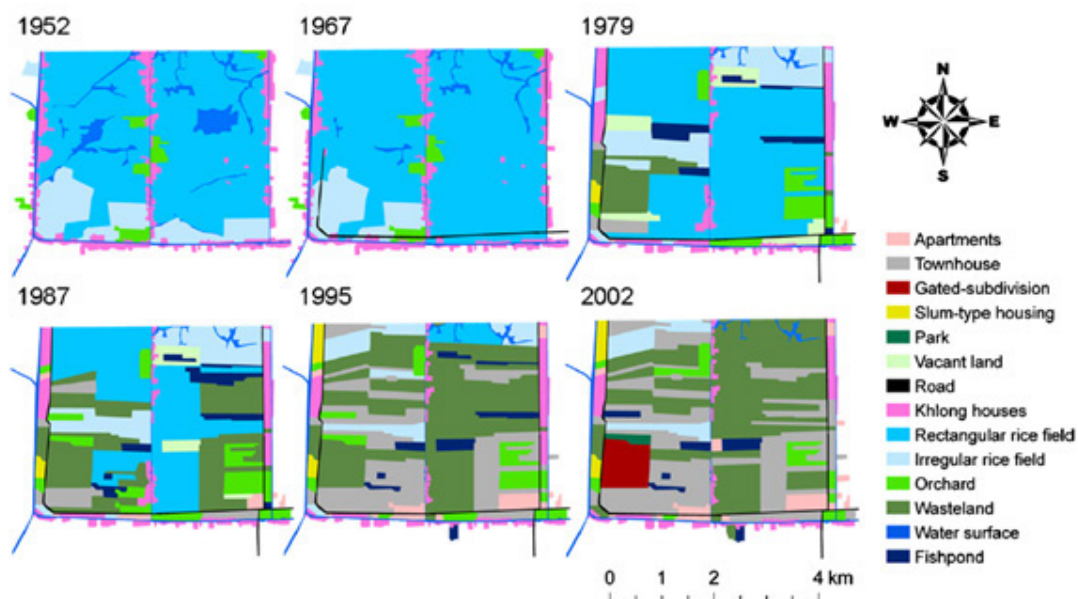
Source: Hara, et. al, 2008

Slum on Flood-prone Land in Rangsit

reverberate across many scales and levels of organisation.

The primary context that each community faces is governed by structural processes, including spatial drivers of transformation and institutional relationships, with key differentiations depending on typology. These processes have impacts across all scales; they are the framework that communities operate within (and in some cases need to resist). Processes have the power to directly trigger community mobilisation, for instance when urbanisation leads to eviction threats.

As indicated by the NHA, Bangkok's population is anticipated to continue growing in the following decades through rural-to-urban migration (NHA Presentation, May 2011). In contrast to rural migration to Bangkok in the 1970s, migrants to BMR from the 1990s onwards have showed a trend of remaining in the region in the long-term (Nakagawa, 2004: 260), all of which indicates peri-urban growth trends and associated drivers of change are likely to continue.

Once a community is mobilised, affordability and inclusion affect accessibility of joining Baan Mankong. The period of land and housing delivery includes negotiation for secure tenure, implementation of infrastructure and design and construction. Throughout the whole chronology every action has repercussions; actors, structure, and interventions can be altered via broader effects as they scale up their impacts.

Against each of these criteria particular strengths and challenges were revealed in our findings, which are grouped according to typology below.

3.3 Stages of Analysis

Findings were analysed against urban typologies found in BMR and grouped into five stages of analysis:

1. Structural Processes
2. Community Mobilisation
3. Accessibility
4. Housing and Land Delivery
5. Broader Effects

While there is a chronological progression to the way a community undertakes Baan Mankong, many processes are interlinked and a linear pattern is not always followed. Temporally an intervention or process can

3.4 Typology-Based Analysis

3.4.1 - Typology One: Urban Districts Facing Direct Commercialisation Pressures
Intense spatial drivers of transformation linked to globalisation produce critical pressures at the structural stage, which influence processes as well.

1: Structural Processes
Rattanakosin Island is experiencing globalisation command function pressures through tourism development, and has been incorporated into plans by NESDB and the Tourism Authority (Bristol, 2007:4). The process of determining planning for this type of development contains no structural platform for

Diagram 3.7 - Stages of Analysis

① Community Mobilisation   ② Accessibility   ③ Housing & Land Delivery
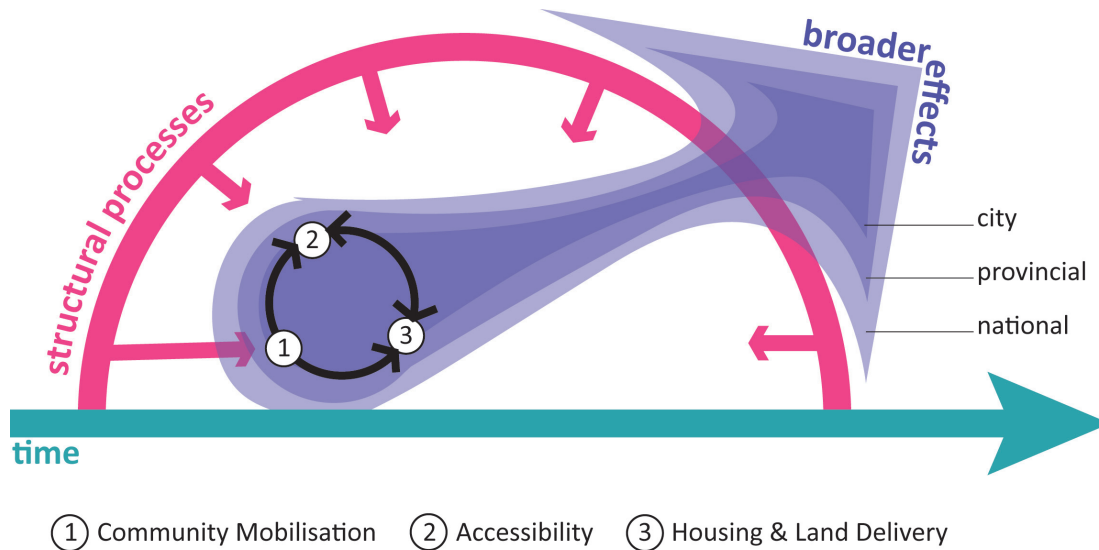
participation by communities, particularly on what constitutes heritage conservation; consequently, there is a gap between community interests and BMA's tourism policy (District Community forum, Rattanakosin, 2011).

Klong Toey is similarly connected to command function pressures through intense commercialisation as a result of the international port.   Plans regarding the development of the area have been created by The Port Authority of Thailand, yet the community consultation is weak in plan development (Klong Toey Stakeholder Meeting 1, 2011).

Rattanakosin's land is owned by the CPB, BMA, the Marine Department, Temples, the University, and other private actors.

Land in Klong Toey is primarily owned by the Port Authority, with a minority held by CPB and private actors. The heightened value of land in both of these sites results in communities squatting on undesirable land, and in having extreme difficulty in accessing secure tenure, even when they have lived on the land for over 50 years. Therefore, resistance becomes a powerful tool against pressures (Klong Toey Community Forum 3, 2011).

2: Community Mobilisation

Mobilisation in this typology is often triggered by structural processes, such as immediate eviction by a landowner. These act as a catalyst and raise questions regarding how communities with longstanding threats of eviction can become mobilised, "Of course people can gather, but there has to be an incident, otherwise it will just stay like this (Klong Toey Community Forum 5, 2011)." Intense pressures mean many communities in Klong Toey are in survival mode and potential for future development is difficult to envision. Communities unable to access secure tenure find Baan Mankong criteria difficult to achieve, such as forming and maintaining savings groups (Klong Toey Community Forum 3, 2011; Klong Toey Community Forum 7, 2011). While NULICO leadership was found to be strong, the network's reach within the district itself was limited (Klong Toey Stakeholder Meeting 1, 2011), due to spatial fragmentation of sites.

NULICO was also found to have a limited presence in Rattanakosin, though this was supplemented by the fact that CPB facilitates a strong network amongst communities, both within the district and within communities in other districts living on CPB-owned land.

Diagram 3.8 - Land Ownership

Klong Toey   Rattanakosin

- Private
- Temple
- CPB
- Governmental Authorities
- Other
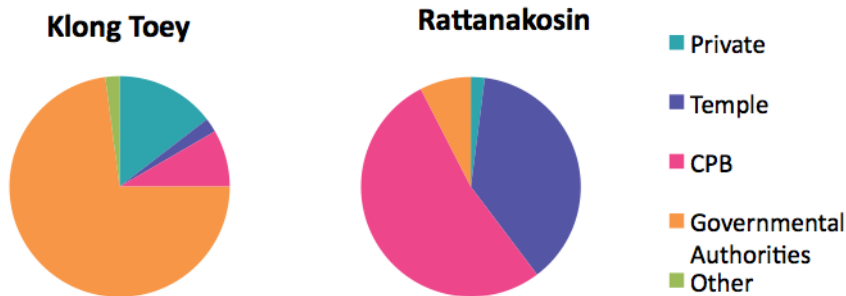
Source: CODI, 2007

This network helps mobilise communities, primarily through knowledge exchange and capacity building, revealing the more positive role of a landowner willing to engage with communities can play, even in this typology.

3: Accessibility
Rattanakosin has considerable diversity of income and land tenure, with middle income shop keepers living alongside low-income communities. However all were able to contribute to the same savings groups and income diversity was not a hindrance (Community forum 2, Rattanakosin, 2011).

Klong Toey communities have strong community histories linked to the port and market, and are relatively closed to newcomers (Klong Toey Community Forum 3, 2011; Klong Toey Community Forum 5, 2011). Long-term migration is not a significant issue in Typology 1, given that most pressures are pushing people out of these districts. Klong Toey does have a continuing short-term migrant population linked to the market, with rental housing provided by a network of 1,009 subdivided shophouses (Klong Toey Market Tour 1, 2011). Housing for this community could be under threat through plans to upgrade the market, which plans to demolish the shophouses in the medium-term (Klong Toey Market Tour 1, 2011).

4: Housing and Land Delivery
This typology displays considerable diversity of landowners, with ease of accessing secure tenure depending on type of landowner. Among public landowners, the most willing is CPB. Other government agencies, particularly the Port and the Temple have been unwilling to engage with communities to find solutions that do not include relocation to peri-urban areas.

Even with these pressures, communities have shown resilience and creativity. In Klong Toey, one community with ambiguous landownership (both the CPB and the Irrigation Department claim the land), started a savings group on their own, and accessed credit through a building supplier to upgrade, with no support from Baan Mankong (Klong Toey Community Forum 6, 2011). In Rattanakosin, one community used funds from Baan Mankong for emergencies (fire) to essentially complete a full upgrade, even without achieving secure tenure (Rattanakosin Community Forum 4, 2011).

5: Broader Effects
The strong structural processes acting across the typology provide the opportunity for the broader effects to influence policy at local and national levels; a vital step towards scaling up. However, there was a consistent gap in knowledge sharing which adversely impacted the relationships between actors.

In Rattanakosin, communities have shown willingness to incorporate their communities alongside historical monuments to create a new tourism route, which is supported by research conducted by Silapakorn University on cultural preservation and what constitutes heritage (Rattanakosin Community Forum 4, 2011). Inclusive tourism offers a means of preserving houses, livelihoods and boosting the local economy.

Within Klong Toey there was limited knowledge sharing between communities in the district, with no dedicated place for knowledge sharing and the monthly stakeholder meetings held by the district office appearing to be tokenistic.

Diversity of Land Tenure in Rattanakosin

Communities that were able to negotiate for secure tenure showed confidence in their ability to stay on the land in the long-term (Klong Toey Community Forum 1, 2011). The challenge is how their ability to navigate this process can be shared with other communities.

3.4.2 - Typology Two: Urban Districts Facing Indirect Commercialisation Pressures

The community observed in this typology (Bang Khen) displayed strong community mobilisation and expanded room for manoeuvre which can be exploited. The limitation in this research is that only one site in this typology was researched.

1: Structural Processes

Indirect command function pressures affect this typology, with the key structural process in Bang Khen being the canal running along three municipal districts. This triggered the first community mobilisation in 1999 when they were threatened with eviction on the grounds of pollution. Today the main development pressure is the planned SkyTrain expansion, whose design did not involve community consultation and resulted in the eviction of 45 households.

Relationships between communities and Local Authorities (LA) is dependent on capacities of these authorities, with variance in the degree of cooperation. Relationships, however, have generally improved as a result of the Bang Khen network.

2: Community Mobilisation

Civil society was found to be highly mobilised, with regular meetings (up to 10 per month), regarding issues of finance, construction and preservation of the canal. Community members displayed collective concern in balancing community-wide challenges with individual needs. For instance, a canal-side community required a bridge, yet the LA was unresponsive. The communities instead mobilised together and each contributed money for its construction, despite only a minority needing it.

Community mobilisation is triggered by a variety of measures beyond specific catalyst events, with social relationships acting as incentives or pressures to mobilise. The longevity and strength of the canal communities led one leader to expand the network to non-canal communities across the district. While this is a testament to the belief communities have in their leaders, its success is dependent on individual leader capacity.

At the district level there is a strong CDF, originally conceived in Bang Khen as a means of preserving financial self-sufficiency during CODI's financial insecurity. This is a reflection of the maturity of community organisation and financial management, and within communities there was belief in the transparency and clarity of the CDF process.

Intra-community relations acted as strong pressures to join Baan Mankong. Out of the eight communities

Diagram 3.9 - Proposed Tourism Route Incorporating Communities
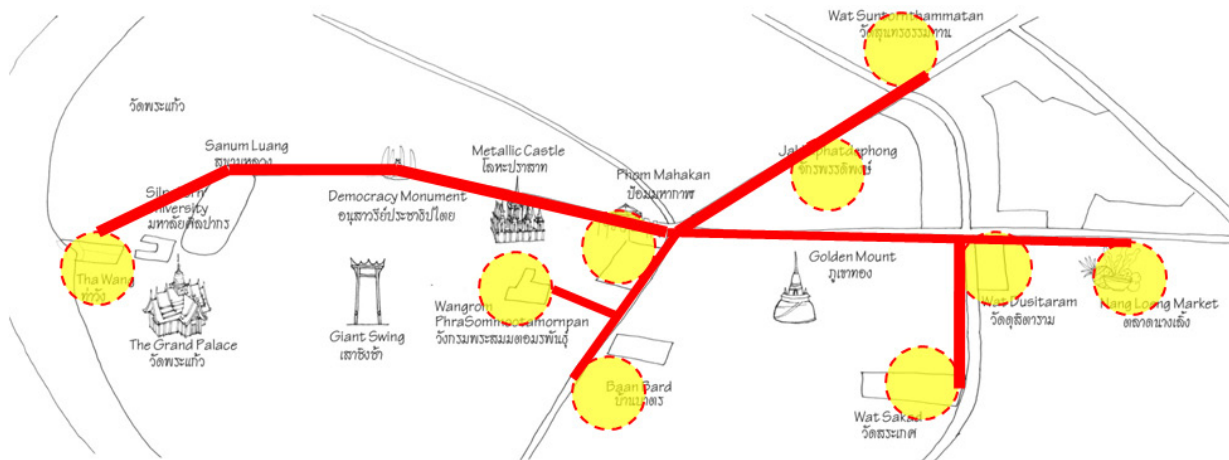
Source: Rattanakosin Group, Lecture, 2011

visited, three took individual households to court when they were unwilling to join the programme, raising issues regarding individual and collective choice.

3: Accessibility

The primary barrier to accessibility is financial, with some households reporting it took 7-10 years to save the initial amount needed to participate in Baan Mankong (Bang Khen Individual interview 7, 2011). Many community members take equal sized loans due to buying materials in bulk and building from similar housing templates, which does not take into account individual circumstances.

Within communities however, there was a strong emphasis on equal distribution, and many had dedicated welfare funds incorporated into the savings groups to support the disadvantaged community members.

4: Housing and Land Delivery

There is a lack of architect support in modifying design templates to fit individual household needs and environment, and this is left to communities to do (Bang Khen Individual interview 7, 2011). However, communities often displayed enough capacity and knowledge to tailor designs to their individual needs, determine plot sizes, and experiment with low-cost building methods (Bang Khen Informal Interview 3,

2011). Additionally a strong community builders network is used which lowers construction costs.

5: Broader Effects

The high mobilisation, strong leadership, sense of community welfare, and move towards financial self-sustainability via the CDF have all set good precedents within the one site studied in this typology. The longevity of the programme has built confidence in community autonomy, with many now actively seeking ways to become self-sustainable. Existing communities have created strong networks to transfer knowledge, for example in management, data and infrastructure. The successes of communities and strong networks is inspiring further communities within the district to join.

The issue related to broader effects is how Bang Khen can build on these strengths and spread the good practice beyond the district level, showcasing the potential of Baan Mankong, so others may learn from their experiences and capacities.

3.4.3 - Typology Three: Peri-Urban Districts Facing Direct Industrialisation and Indirect Commercialisation Pressures

This typology comprises peri-urban areas with rapid urbanisation led by industrialisation and residential

growth. The group's research focused specifically on the communities of Bang Poo, Phasi Chareon and Rangsit. As mentioned in the spatial analysis, the area is attracting both middle-class and rural migrants, resulting in increasing economic, social and spatial fragmentation.

1: Structural Processes
Two main challenges are evident in terms of structural process. The first is that urbanisation, as the key driver of transformation, is causing development pressure related to intense land speculation and development.

For example, Bang Poo's strategic location to the new international airport and the Eastern Seaboard through Sukhumvit Road results in industrial and logistics-related development (CODI Site Presentation, 2011). Under this context, there are conflicting demands for public and private land, with industrial development, infrastructure, and residential development (including slums) all competing in this rapidly changing context. The six upgraded communities in Bang Poo researched, for example, all faced immediate threat of eviction.

In Phasi Chareon, with the expansion of infrastructure along Phet Kasem Road, the semi-urban area is transforming from agriculture to industry. The transition has led to land value rises, with evictions becoming more frequent in the short-term. In Phasi Chareon, 77.55% of land is privately-owned (CODI Slum Survey, 2007), which is distinct from many of the other districts in BMA, such as Klong Toey and Bang Khen, though similar to other peri-urban districts in BMR. Similar to Bang Poo, all four Baan Mankong programmes visited during the research process found that they had faced land eviction because of infrastructure or economic development. Introduction of transport infrastructure in the district, in particular, has been found to lead to higher land prices.

Rangsit is also a rapidly developing peri-urban district, located along the Bangkok-Ayutthaya transport artery, with development expanding along a newly expanded train line (CODI Site Presentation, 2011). The research group observed that mega-projects implemented by the Highway Authority and other authorities produce results in opposition to the work of Baan Mankong, particularly by increasing eviction pressures on slum communities.

Klong Lad Pha-shi Community

Unorganised Community Near Klong Lad Pha-shi

Wat Chan Ket 3 Community

For those living in slums along the canals, they are under eviction because of a canal landscape scheme proposed by the Irrigation Department.

Along with the increasing fragmentation in these area, different housing provision schemes in these area appear to reinforce this trend. For example, in Phasi Chareon, the Klong Lad Pha-shi Community has been a successful Baan Mankong project with highly organised people, while the nearby community is still struggling because they are too poor to join the program. These two communities have very limited communication between each other. Another nearby community, Wat Chan Ket 3, is technically an NHA-supported community, though no significant infrastructure improvement has taken place, with the community now unable to join Baan Mankong. Due to increasing fragmentation, there is also a concern on how to balance the need for a sense of community and security, whilst fostering connectivity with surrounding neighbourhoods. For instance, in the Klong Lad Pha-shi community, CCTV has been installed throughout the site, and only one entrance exists to the community (encouraged by CODI community architects), reducing a sense of cohesion with surrounding neighbourhoods.

The second challenge is in terms of institutional synergies and capacity. One of the most important issues identified across the three sites is that Baan Mankong is not incorporated into the city-wide planning, and at the same time, the local authority is not strong enough to influence the comprehensive plan. In Phasi Chareon, the communities also had a relatively weak relationship with the local authority, resulting in little direct support to some communities (such as Sirin and Friend community, which had already upgraded through Baan Mankong). Moreover, it is common that the local authority has limited capacity, in terms of both power and resources, to negotiate with private landowners. In Rangsit, the CDF has limited resources and therefore the communities are reliant on Baan Mankong, while in Bang Poo, some communities are not aware of CODI's responsibilities.

Despite these challenges, a number of positive elements were also identified during the research. Most importantly, communities in this area are well-organised. In Bang Poo and Rangsit, the communities have also benefitted from a strong relationship with the municipal government, which provides opportunities for the communities to influence planning and decision-making. Though the tenuous relationship with the local authority was noted in Phasi Chareon, the successes of Baan Mankong is beginning to build a strong relationship, such as in Klong Lad Pha-shi Community, where the community has started to receive financial support from the local authority despite their previous resistance.

CODI is also playing an important role in this typology zone by providing important land information, including location and price, to help the communities negotiate with private landowners in order to get access to land, an important type of knowledge sharing in this rapidly developing peri-urban context. In cases where different communities have to be relocated to the same location, meetings are organised by CODI to help these communities become familiar with each other. As one of the community member of Sirin and Friend said, "Everything is just like a dream and I cannot imagine it without the help of CODI (community member, 2011)."

2: Community Mobilisation
Similar to slum communities in the other two urban typologies in Bangkok, land eviction often plays a role as a strong catalyst for community mobilisation, with most of the upgraded communities visited across the three research districts having faced eviction. Rangsit, however, shows that catalyst events are not necessary when relationships with an engaged municipality is possible, as the local authorities have helped to mobilise 66 communities through providing information on starting savings groups and the potential to join Baan Mankong (Rangsit, District community forum, 16 May 2011).

3: Accessibility
Unique to this typology, however, is the continuing influx of rural-to-urban migrants who are moving to the district, which raises questions of how to build community cohesion amongst new communities, particularly if the development of new slums is to be avoided. This issue was apparent in Rangsit, where

interviews revealed that migrants often move to either rental housing or squat in informal housing (Rangsit, District community forum, 16 May 2011), and in Phasi Chareon where communities indicated that people must live in the district for five years before they are eligible to join Baan Mankong. (Phasi Chareon, group interview 4, 17 May 2011) The issue has not seemed to gain traction in local planning, with the Rangsit Municipality indicating they do not think this is a major issue (Rangsit, District community forum, 16 May 2011).

4: Housing and Land Delivery
Land accessibility is associated with land speculation caused by rapid urbanisation. These land pressures impact on housing, because low-income communities often can only access land that faces environmental risks (as indicated in the spatial analysis). In terms of design, greater flexibility could be important to allow for future family expansion. Incremental housing construction was found to help inclusion, such as in Sirin and Friend community, by spreading financial outlays over a longer period.

5: Broader Effects
The main challenge in achieving broader effects centres on the need to strengthen relationships between different actors.

Horizontal links between communities themselves could be strengthened across all communities. Both Bang Poo and Rangsit have maintained a strong relationship between communities and local authority, though further progress is needed in Phasi Chareon. Even where community-municipal relationships are strong, greater influence is needed in the planning process in order to identify more suitable land for slums (that does not carry such environmental risks), to improve accessing secure tenure in advance of infrastructure developments, and in planning for new (migrant) communities.

Positive elements identified were that the successes of communities are able to be shared through different networks, increasing the potential for broader effects. For example, knowledge (learning) centres were established in Rangsit and Phasi Charoen for public learning. A youth network was also established in Phasi

Chareon, which carried out housing surveys in the communities. Lastly, the strong network also provides an opportunity for communities to obtain a better livelihood, through for example, business activities organised by communities cooperatives, which is strong in Phasi Chareon and Rangsit.

3.5 Conclusions

This method of analysis was critical for uncovering the key issues effecting communities ability to access and benefit from the Baan Mankong process, particularly with relation to the context of the urban typology that they must operate within. As indicated in Diagrams 3.10 and 3.11, there are differing degrees of challenges and strengths that can be found across communities in these three typologies, as well as some areas of commonality.

Communities in both the first and third typology face critical issues in terms of structural processes, largely because both of these typologies contain significant development pressures stemming from globalisation. The specific types of pressures, however, produce different types of strengths and opportunities. Communities in Typology 1 are very constrained in their ability to access secure tenure, given that most land is already developed, and that there are strong pressures to evict communities without secure tenure in order to capitalise on land-value rises. Communities in Typology 3, while also operating in a context of intense land speculation and increasing fragmentation, also have expanded room for manoeuvre by influencing municipal planning processes (potentially because two of the three are located outside of BMA). Given that these districts are not fully urbanised, these participative platforms are important and could potentially be built on. CODI is also playing a supportive role related to this through the sharing of land information.

Communities in the first and third typology also displayed critical strengths and challenges related to

realising broader effects. Community networks were found to be critical, with recognition that already strong networks could be further improved through horizontal and vertical expansion, so that they can share knowledge to increase scale, while also having more influence on pressures affecting them.

In the second typology, expanded room for manoeuvre was also evident, largely because development pressures were reduced, allowing for civil society to play a more active role, including in producing broader effects. Critical concerns were centred more on process-oriented issues related to accessibility and housing design and delivery, particularly related to costs and inclusion.

Diagram 3.10 - Observed Challenges by Typology and Stages of Analysis

- structural process
- community mobilisation
- accessibility
- land and housing
- broader effect
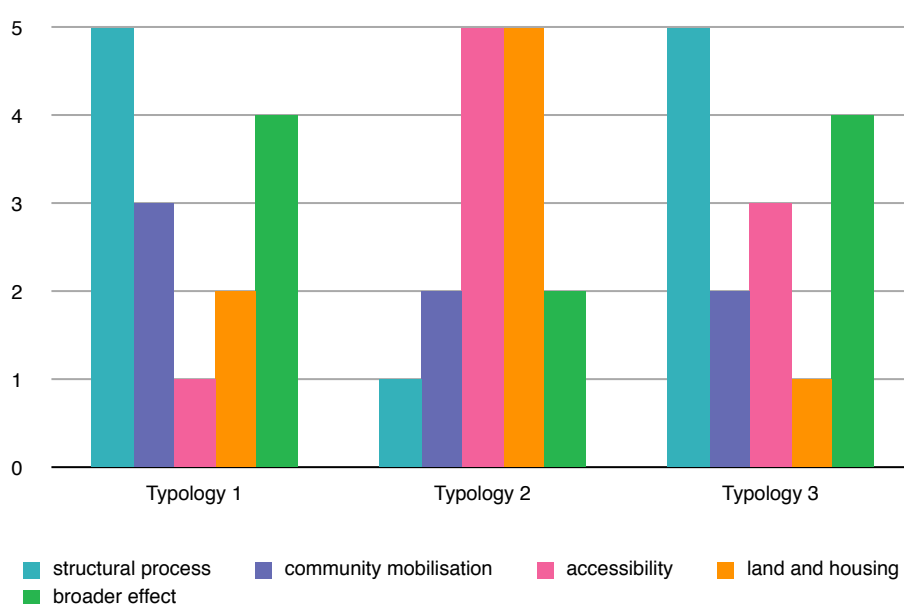
Diagram 3.11 - Observed Strengths by Typology and Stages of Analysis

- structural process
- community mobilisation
- accessibility
- land and housing
- broader effect
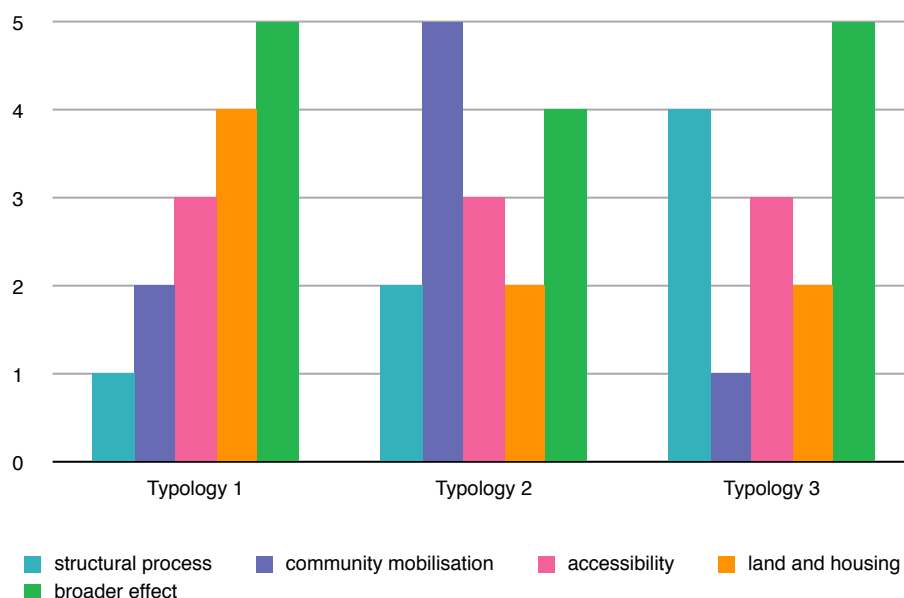
4.1 Moving from Findings to Strategies

Moving from findings to strategies required an iterative three-step process: (i) prioritizing the challenges noted in relation to our indicators of transformation (see Section 2.3), (ii) identifying common themes and points of intervention underlying these challenges, and (iii) identifying existing strengths to advance a response to the diagnosis.

In prioritising challenges, the research team acknowledged that Baan Mankong has already transformed social, political and economic processes in Thailand. Interventions proposed, therefore, are not wholesale alterations to Baan Mankong, but targeted strategies to improve the scale, inclusiveness and effectiveness of the program. As a result, challenges related to structural processes, community mobilisation and accessibility became key.

Further isolating these challenges to their core components provided the thematic focuses for four strategies. Each strategy was then tailored into sub-strategies designed to expand room for manoeuvre in relation to the spatial typologies observed in the field.

The findings showed, overall, that room for manoeuvre is both expanded and constrained in different typologies. How to address these varied opportunities and challenges requires a balanced strategy that incorporates recommendations at different scales in an integrated, yet flexible, fashion.

The strategies and sub-strategies developed advanced include:

- **Inclusion**: Inclusion is critical to address issues of accessibility that were identified particularly under Typology 2, but increasingly relevant as more communities across all typologies participate in Baan Mankong). Inclusion is also pertitent when considering how new communities, particularly migrants, can access Baan Mankong.

- **City-wide Planning**: Increased community influence over plan- and decision-making affecting localities is also a critical component of transformation, whether related to mega-projects and ongoing commercialisation in Typology 1, transport infrastructure producing pressures in Typology 2, or land speculation producing insecure tenure in Typology 3.

- **Finance:** Increased resources, both for CODI and communities, are critical to increase the scale, flexibility and sustainability of Baan Mankong by reducing bottlenecks in funding.

- **Knowledge Production**: The need for increased knowledge production and sharing was evident across all typologies, particularly to mobilize learning for program expansion and improvement throughout Bangkok.

Diagram 4.1 - Moving from Findings to Strategies

Stages of Analysis	Strategies	Sub-strategies
Structural Processes	INCLUSION	Shared Ownership
Community Mobilisation		Rental Schemes
Accessibility	CITY-WIDE PLANNING	Public Education / Migrant Support
Land & Housing	FINANCE	Participation in Planning
Broader Effects	KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION & EXCHANGE	Alternative Plans
		Community-Led Land Banking
		Securing Funding for CODI
		Expanding the CDF Model
		Knowledge Centres
		Data Collection Partnerships

4.2 Strategy One: Inclusion

4.2.1 - Background

Baan Mankong is, ultimately, oriented toward inclusion. Through community organisation, collective savings and housing interventions, Baan Mankong is successfully including and prioritising the knowledge, capacities, interests and visions of diverse slumdwellers in development discourses at various scales. Communities have built homes, negotiated for secure land tenure, supported welfare initiatives, and, to varying degrees, strengthened links with local authorities, non-profit institutions, community networks, federal ministries and international organisations.

Nonetheless, socio-economic realities and drivers of change pose continuing challenges for financial and social inclusion. *Financial exclusions* are linked, in part, to CODI's finite resources, explored in Section 4.4. Financial exclusion is also the result of household programme costs. Under Baan Mankong, families typically spend 1,200 Baht (approximately £25) per month toward housing loan repayments and an additional 100 Baht (approximately £2) per month toward community savings requirements (Bang Bua, Community Forum 1, May 2011). Furthermore, housing construction and furnishing costs often exceed the loans provided. Though substantially lower than in the private or low-income markets [1], these costs can be prohibitively expensive for households with irregular and low incomes (National Statistics Office, 2008). Though longevity of community organization appears to be linked to degree of community support for the financially insecure, these pressures are present in each of the sites investigated.

Social exclusion is connected to in-migration, "presently... the most important component of housing demand (Chanond, 2011: 16)." This pressure is increasingly present in the peri-urban areas ('vicinity' areas in Diagrams 4.2 and 4.3), where hundreds of thousands of migrants have settled in the last 15-25 years largely for factory-based employment (Nakagawa, 2004). Nathalang argues that a lack of "people's solidarity" beyond the "level of the small community" has contributed to poor integration of migrant settlers (1999: 8). Even in communities, such as Bang Khen, where development and migration pressures are not particularly prominent,

Diagram 4.2 - Zones of Migration Analysis
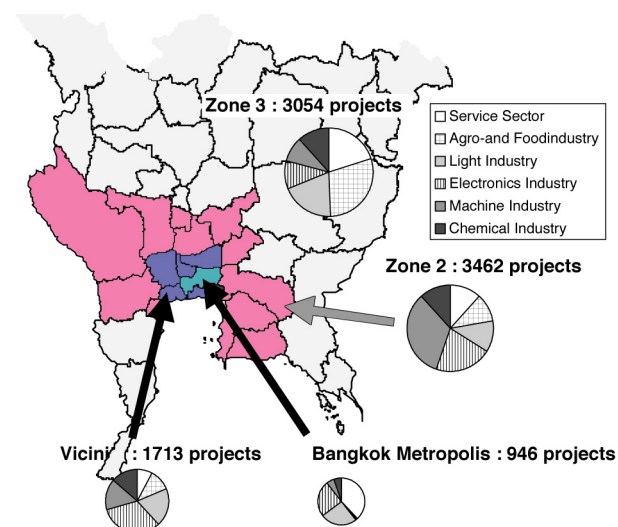
Source: Nakagawa, 2004

several community leaders echoed the statement of one, who said, "If our community has 70 families, it stays at 70 families (Ou Tid A Nu Son, Individual Interview 5, May 2011)." For many, Baan Mankong has unified people who, just a few years ago, lived in proximity but had no significant social relations. Communities are hesitant to open membership to perceived outsiders or "latecomers."

4.2.2 - Objective and Sub-Strategies

The strategy aims to improve inclusion of vulnerable peoples in Baan Mankong, particularly with respect to affordability and community formation. Three sub-strategies are advanced: shared ownership, rental options, and awareness campaigns alongside migrant support programmes.

Shared Ownership

Shared ownership schemes may assist in addressing issues of financial exclusion by providing an intermediary tenure between rental and ownership. Used, for example, in the United Kingdom since 1980, shared ownership allows prospective homebuyers to purchase a percentage of a house while paying nominal rent on the remainder. As a result, financial burdens are substantially reduced (Wallace, 2010; Whitehead and Yates, 2009). These schemes would be appropriate across all spatial typologies, particularly for those with mature financial and management capacity.

1. Low-income housing is also provided by the Thai government's National Housing Authority. Under its Baan Eur Arthorn program, low-income families can purchase homes for approximately 390,000 Baht (approximately £8,000) after a government subsidy of 80,000 Baht, more than twice the typical cost under Baan Mankong (Chanond, 2011).

Diagram 4.3 - Migration Patterns

(1) Bangkok Metropolis **(2) Vicinity** **(3) Zone 2**
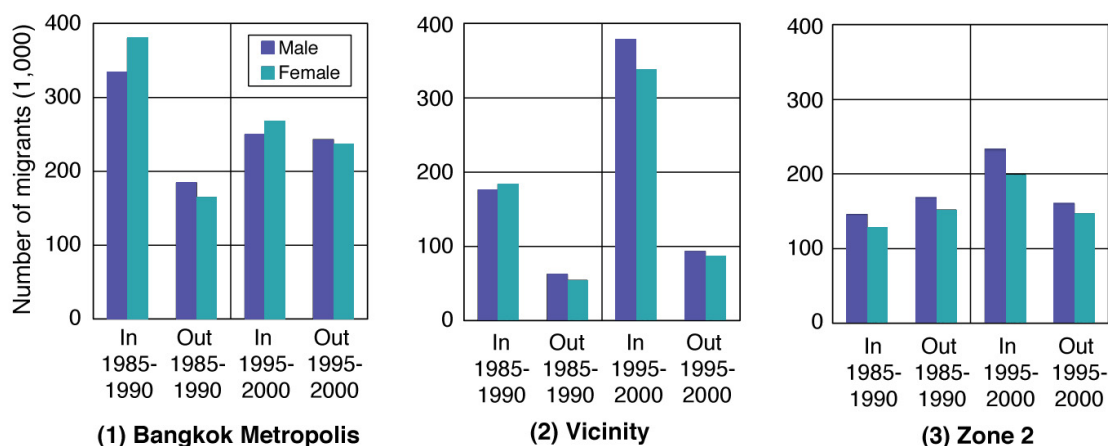
Source: Nakagawa, 2004

A Baan Mankong loan is typically made for 150,000 Baht. Households are approved for loans once they have saved 10% of that amount. Under a shared ownership scheme, households would still be required to save 10% of their prospective loan principal, but the loan would be based on the percentage of a home they have the capacity to purchase. If, for example, a family were to purchase 25% of a home, their loan would be reduced to 37,500 Baht and their initial savings requirement to 3,750 Baht. Households experiencing financial difficulty would, therefore, be able to enter the upgrading process more quickly and at a level more commensurate with their financial capacity.

The percentage of a home not funded and purchased by the household would likely be funded and owned by communities, which often have welfare funds to support the disadvantaged. Where established, City Development Funds could also make loans to communities for these projects. While welfare funds typically operate as donors, shared ownership would allow for communities to own part of an asset on which they could earn collective rental income.

Shared ownership would not replace grant-based welfare housing, but rather flexibly mobilise the financial resources of those who have the capacity to contribute but not to purchase an entire home. Over time, should income security improve, a household could increase its ownership stake incrementally up to 100%.

Rental Schemes [2]
Governments around the world have tended to prioritise home ownership programs; rental options can also provide for low-income housing needs, security of tenure (dependent on lease arrangements), sources of community income, and a platform for social integration of migrants (Kumar, 2001; Angel and Pornchokchai, 1989). Indeed, nearly 20% of low-income communities in Bangkok live in some form of rental housing (CODI, 2007), yet rental represents a very small percentage of the Baan Mankong sites studied. Without supplanting a focus on secure land tenure and home ownership, this sub-strategy aims to strengthen rental options in Baan Mankong. This proposal would be most appropriate in communities with strong in-migration (largely the peri-urban) and those in which rental properties already exist.

In principle, communities would pool resources through savings groups or City Development Funds to construct a small number of rental properties on upgraded sites. The number of rental units constructed in any community would be determined through three mechanisms: first, CODI would establish a cap (on percentage or absolute terms) to curtail the use of Baan Mankong for private profit; second, local institutions, communities and migrants would work to bridge housing need and community capacity in terms of land and finance; and third, communities would negotiate terms with landlords. Rental income would be funneled directly into community coffers.

2. While there is clearly a financial element to rental scheme, it is unlikely to widely address financial exclusions. Renters, often, are not the poorest of the poor. In Bang Khen, for example, one renter who lived on private property adjacent to a Baan Mankong community paid 2,000 Baht per month to rent, while her neighbors paid approximately 1,200 Baht per month to pay down their housing loan (Bang Bua, Community Forum 1, May 2011).

INCLUSION

Sub-Strategy 1 - Shared Ownership
Description
• Introduce an intermediate tenure between rental and full ownership
Actors
• CODI, Communities
Location
• Communities experiencing affordability concerns
Timeframe
• Medium Term

Sub-Strategy 2 - Rental Schemes
Description
• Expand rental options in Baan Mankong
Actors
• CODI, Local Authorities, Non-Profits and Communities
Location
• Communities with strong in-migration and/or with existing rental properties
Timeframe
• Medium Term

Rental provisions could aid in growing community consensus around Baan Mankong; those community members who resist participating to preserve private rental income may be persuaded through assurances that community assets would not be lost. Additionally, in the longer-term, rental properties could provide a platform through which "outsiders" could integrate into existing communities. Communities could establish systems whereby renters who have lived in a community for a certain number of years, have contributed appropriately to savings groups, and have established social ties, could purchase a home from the community.

Public Awareness Campaign / Migrant Support Networks
Critical prerequisites to these sub-strategies are the willingness of communities to incorporate outsiders and the support that migrants are given upon arrival. The final inclusion sub-strategy, therefore, has two components: a public awareness campaign to encourage community openness and stronger cross-institutional migrant support networks. These proposals would be most appropriate for spatial typologies experiencing high in-migration (particularly the peri-urban) and those that demonstrate strong resistance to outsiders.

First, in principle, the Ministries of Social Development and the Interior, CODI, local authorities and NULICO would implement an awareness campaign to inform low-income communities of migrant housing needs and to enhance shared identity with migrants. A sense of unity within and among Baan Mankong communities is already strong. However, social cohesion is increasingly linked to actions undertaken—savings, land negotiations, home construction, and social enterprise—with these action-oriented understandings of community inherently

excluding those who arrive once Baan Mankong is underway. Helping to build "a sense of trust, hope and reciprocity" (Jenson in Phillips, 2008: 3) among migrants and communities based on broader shared experiences can "serve to embed migrants locally and to consolidate their urban settlement" (Korinek, et. al., 2005: 794).

Second, in some cases, local authorities track migration and use these data to connect recent migrants to one another (Khun Sompop Prompochenboon, CODI, May 2011). These practices should be expanded and replicated to ensure migrants have access to "a network of diffuse social ties founded on shared village identity and rural roots" (Korinek, et. al., 2005: 791). Furthermore, NULICO should become more engaged in migrant transitions. Hosting community events or festivals—or bringing migrants to the knowledge centres proposed in Section 4.5—can help integrate migrants into the local social fabric. Inclusions related to social networks can, thereby, lay foundations for equitable material distributions (Phillips, 2008).

4.2.3 - Impact on Transformation
The strategy promotes the inclusion of migrants and vulnerable peoples by providing alternative housing schemes and improving perceptions of outsiders. Inclusion is closely linked to equitable distribution. By including migrants in local networks and including their needs and desires in local programming (non-material distribution), inclusion can be a foundation for more secure living conditions (material distribution). An inclusion strategy, furthermore, promotes co-production among local authorities, institutions and communities in understanding housing needs and Baan Mankong's

INCLUSION

Sub-Strategy 3 - Awareness / Support

Description
- Implement a community awareness campaign to encourage openness
- Promote local-level data collection and migrant support networks

Actors
- Ministry of Social Development, Ministry of Interior, CODI, Local Authorities, NULICO and Communities

Location
- Communities with strong in-migration and/or with existing rental properties

Timeframe
- Short-Term

capacity to assist. Finally, drawing new members into Baan Mankong, harnessing their savings potential, and earning collective rental income can contribute to the long-term self-sustainability of these efforts.

4.2.4 - Further Considerations

While this strategy promotes inclusion as a basis for transformation, it acknowledges that, in certain instances, a degree of exclusion may be warranted. In areas ridden by violence and crime, exclusion supports the community's security strategy. Baan Mankong, furthermore, relies on trust built over several years. Where money has been stolen from community savings, strict "entrance privileges" support sustainability. Community boundaries, however, must be responsive to security improvements over time.

Additionally, while this strategy addresses migration, implementation must differentiate between types of migrants and their preferences. Temporary or seasonal migrants may not meet Baan Mankong's demands of sustained community membership and participation. Furthermore, segments of the migrant population may prefer not to integrate, but rather, build their own "socio-cultural cushion" along pre-migration networks (Korinek, et. al., 2005: 791; Marconi, 2005).

4.3 Strategy Two: City-Wide Planning

4.3.1 - Background

Bangkok has experienced rapid urbanisation, which has been relatively uncontrolled and the lack of a coherent growth strategy is apparent in the fragmented nature of the city today (Sintusingha, 2010). Comprehensive Plans (CPs) have been prepared for each province since the 1960s, however these are often prepared in isolation from the realities of current land uses and do not provide a strategy for future growth (Usavagovitwong, 2011). This lack of effective city planning in the face of development pressures and competition for land has resulted in a planning system unable to provide for the housing needs of low income communities. This strategy seeks to respond to the forces of change in the city by influencing planning processes in order to avoid catalytic events which result in the eviction of communities.

Interviews made clear that interaction between Local Authorities (LAs) and communities as part of Baan Mankong has focused on site-specific issues such as compliance with building regulations, housing registration and infrastructure and service delivery. There was less community involvement in broader city-wide planning, which is influenced by drivers of change within BMR. The aim of this strategy is to increase communities influence over city-wide spatial planning activities, in relation to both plan making and development delivery, in order to continue transformation through participatory planning approaches.

The transition to a decentralised planning system with expanded roles for LAs is ongoing, and most local governance systems do not yet have mechanisms allowing for substantial participation of communities in decision-making (Boonyabancha, 2008). To some extent the paradigm shift to demand-driven approaches in housing delivery is a result of the inability of central and local government to plan for the housing needs of low-income communities. The work of CODI has increased LA involvement in slum upgrading to meet these needs and has begun to shift the relationship between communities and LAs towards more participatory planning approaches

(Boonyabancha, 2011). The involvement of LAs in Baan Mankong projects has built the capacities of civil servants in relation to working with communities and listening to their needs (Siriporn, 13 May 2011). This has improved the communication and negotiation skills of staff which have subsequently then been applied to other areas of LA work (Siriporn, 13 May 2011).

4.3.2 - Objective and Sub-Strategies

The objective of this strategy is to increase community participation in holistic city-wide planning processes in order to ensure low-income communities have substantive influence over plans and decision-making. Three sub-strategies are proposed: influencing planning decision making, alternative community plans and land banking

Influencing Planning Decision-Making
The approach to influencing planning decision-making seeks to engage with both the administrative planning duties undertaken by civil servants responsible for planning and implementation, and elected politicians in order to transform planning decision-making.

There are three formal public participation activities that LAs are legally required to undertake in preparing CPs. The first is the selection of delegations from non-governmental organisations to sit on the City Planning Board and the Comprehensive City Plan Consultant Board, which oversee the preparation of CPs (Chaowara, 2010). Once a draft plan is published, a public meeting is held followed by a 90-day consultation period where petitions on the plan are collected. Specific Plans which cover smaller areas than CPs (Sintusingha, 2010) do not have any formal public participation requirements. This is also the case for government driven megaprojects with the implementation of these projects often characterised by secrecy and a lack of participation in decision-making (Molle et al, 2008).

Given CODI's experience working with communities across BMR, they are well placed to be delegates on the City Planning Board to represent communities. CODI could also facilitate NULICO's participation in this Board initially, with NULICO ultimately becoming a

CITY-WIDE PLANNING
Sub-Strategy 1 - Influencing Planning

Description
- Enhance community participation in holistic city-wide planning processes

Actors
- CODI, NULICO, CDC and Communities

Location
- City-wide

Timeframe
- Short, Medium and Long Term

delegation represented on the board. CODI could also provide valuable information on existing land uses, slum location, land ownership and vacant land which, at present, is not always reflected in CPs. It is important that communities themselves are aware of city-wide planning proposals and not simply represented by others. It is proposed that NULICO takes a greater role in not only disseminating information on plans and projects to community members, but also to facilitate the preparation of petitions from communities. The activities and information shared between knowledge centres (Section 4.5) could be used to disseminate this information in some cases. As proposed in the monitoring section (Section 5.1.2) the CDC could act as an information hub on city plans, alternative community plans and infrastructure projects.

CPs cover large areas resulting in plans which do not provide enough detail to control development and enforcement of plans is also weak (Sintusingha, 2010). As a result, assessments and decisions on development within BMR often occur outside formal planning procedures, with private businesses able to leverage political influence to implement development (Sintusingha, 2010). Our field visits demonstrated that many communities had strong relationships with local municipal mayors (Bang Poo Major, 18th May 2011). However the ability for communities and municipalities to influence planning decisions at higher levels of local

CITY-WIDE PLANNING

Sub-Strategy 2 - Alternative Plans

Description
• Communities create alternative plans to challenge government plans and projects

Actors
• CODI, Universities, Communities and Wider Stakeholders

Location
• City-wide

Timeframe
• Short and Medium Term

Sub-Strategy 3 - Land Banking

Description
• Create a land bank for future low-income communities

Actors
• CODI, Local Authorities, NULICO and Communities

Location
• City-wide

Timeframe
• Long Term

and central government was limited. The relationships which have been created with municipalities are an important link between the institutional-level and community-level. This strategy seeks to take advantage of this new space for negotiation to increase the opportunities for communities to participate in city-wide planning decisions.

The implementation of this strategy is important across all three typologies, as all face different types of urban growth pressures. CPs are prepared every 10 years, therefore, when the plan is being reviewed involvement will be crucial. Specific Plans are prepared on a more ad hoc basis and decisions on the implementation

of development and infrastructure projects occur continuously. Maintaining a relationship with LAs to keep communities aware and given the opportunity to participate in decisions on local plans and projects is important.

Alternative Community Plans
Specific Plans and masterplans for sites are often prepared by powerful stakeholders for private sector growth in isolation from the communities they may impact. These formally prepared and politically adopted plans carry significant legal and institutional weight and are difficult for local communities to challenge. This strategy suggests communities take a proactive response by creating their own alternative plans. These plans would seek to balance the needs of the community with the LAs objectives in order to open a dialogue for further negotiation. By framing the arguments around the issues within the LAs plans and presenting an alternative option, support from other communities, NGOs and LA officials and politicians could be created.

A successful example of alternative plan-making, which this strategy would seek to replicate, was the approach taken in Rattanakosin's Pom Mahakan community, which faced eviction following the approval of a tourism masterplan. CODI facilitated the development of alternative proposals by the community through the involvement of university planning and architecture students and the community was able to successfully provide an alternative to eviction (UN-HABITAT, 2007). Though this approach has the potential to be executed across all typologies, it could be particularly relevant for communities in Typology 1, where communities have the least room for maneuvre. It is intended that CODI facilitate this process by providing support through the use of "community-planner/architects" and linking community knowledge centres with universities to create plans. Communities should prepare plans in a manner which is inclusive, but which focuses on building a willing coalition with other communities and stakeholders. While the difficulties in this approach are acknowledged it is important that communities avoid emulating the non-participatory plan preparation mechanisms employed by LAs.

Land Banking
The development pressures in BMR that result in competition for land are not expected to decrease in the foreseeable future (Khamman, 2011; Chanond, 2011). The continuing increase in land prices creates accessibility issues for low-income communities seeking to join Baan Mankong, and forces communities to peri-urban areas (Klong Toey stakeholder meeting, 15th May).

This strategy addresses this issue by proposing the creation of a land bank, facilitated by CODI, which communities unable to access secure tenure, as well as newly organised communities (primarily composed of peri-urban migrants) could access. CODI could work with NULICO and communities to evaluate available land and facilitate negotiations with public land owners such as Treasury, CPB and NHA for acquisition. Sharing knowledge between communities and LAs to map available land and also to review the location of future growth and infrastructure investment in BMR would be crucial to the identification of suitable land to bank for the future. While CODI seems best able to operate such a bank at a city-wide scale, an alternative option could focus on an expanded CDF and NULICO network to operate land banks, not only to provide affordable sites for communities but also as a way of creating modest revenue through land price rises for the benefit of the wider communities they represent (Gilber, 2009). This strategy is most appropriate in Typology 3, and given BMR's e continued growth, benefits would be greatest the sooner such a system is implemented.

4.3.3 - Further Considerations
The limited capacity of planning staff and attitudes to participatory processes will take time to change, and altering institutional cultures will be difficult. The existing opportunities for community involvement in plan preparation is limited to after the draft plan is prepared and real opportunities for full participation in plan-making from the beginning of the process is unlikely in the short-term. Land banking has not been successful in many developing countries; however, there are some examples of success where the land banks are not too large and where land is readily released for low-income communities (Keivani et al, 2008).

4.3.4 - Impact on Transformation
This strategy seeks to create a more collaborative and participatory planning approach and will have greatest impact on the transformation indicators relating to structure and process. Greater participation may continue and accelerate the process of altering the top-down planning practices, though it is acknowledged that the significant political power dynamics and biases towards private development interests will be difficult to change.

The focus of this strategy is to influence city-wide spatial planning in order to ultimately transform distribution of land and resources in the Bangkok region. In relation to outcome indicators there is limited ability to transform the final decision making on resource allocations in the short term.

Rebalancing the responsibilities between LAs and communities towards LAs being more responsive to community needs as part of this strategy may be in conflict with communities becoming more self-sustainable outside of government structures.

4.4 Strategy Three: Finance

4.4.1 - Background
Since inception, CODI has supported Baan Mankong through a USD $80 million federal grant placed into a revolving fund (McLeod, 2009: 3). With this funding Baan Mankong has been able to support 858 projects across Thailand (CODI, 2011). However, the programmes' success has led to increased demand by communities at a rate outgrowing the capacity of the revolving fund, impeding growth and scale. Insufficient funding to keep up with the volume of loans issued by CODI led to the draining of the fund in 2008 (CODI, 2011). Without continued investment CODI faces a risk of repeating this serious funding crisis. Addressing this problem is crucial to the future of the programme and its ability to reach scale.

Following the funding crisis in 2008, CODI has been addressing the problem in several ways. Through NULICO, CODI successfully lobbied the federal government for additional funding. This one-time success has provided some relief for CODI while they have continued to explore additional sources of funding through negotiations with private banks and engaging in a pilot project with the GHB (GHB, 2011). In addition, the strengthened community networks that have emerged through Baan Mankong have proven to be an avenue for sustainable funding through the creation of City Development Funds (CDFs), established in more mature community organisations, including Rangsit and Bang Khen (Community Leaders- Rangsit & Bang Khen, 2011).

Despite several successes, funding shortages remain a severe constraint. While alternatives such as CDFs have potential to supply sustainable funding, they can only operate in the most organized communities. Additionally, in the early stages of the CDFs' development, mechanisms such as interest reinvestments and monthly contributions are inadequate, maintaining a heavy dependency on external funding. For communities wishing to participate in Baan Mankong the reliance is still on CODI to provide funding, perpetuating the need to seek alternative sources of funding to reach the scale of demand for the programme.

4.4.2 - Objective
The aim of these strategies is to expand sources of capital so as to increase the scale of Baan Mankong, secure the sustainability of the programme and supplement the programme's demand-driven model. This is addressed on two scales: the national and the municipal. While there are also financial constraints on the local level, these problems are more strongly linked to issues of inclusion and are addressed in Section 4.2.

4.4.3 - National Level Strategies
Lobby the Federal Government for Increased Funding for CODI and CDF Programmes
The government remains the most viable option for expanding sources of funding. As CODI was created to expand upon existing government responsibilities to provide affordable housing, the government has an underlying accountability in ensuring its success. Additionally, they have already set a precedent for expanding their contribution to CODI after the successful lobbying campaign by NULICO and have been the greatest source of financing to date (CODI, 2011). CODI and NULICO should continue to lobby the federal government for additional contributions. Lobbying platforms would be strengthened through the knowledge strategies in Section 4.5 and monitoring in Section 5.1. Data collected should be linked to NESDB indicators on socio-economic development to create a campaign on

FINANCE

Sub-Strategy 1 - Lobbying

Description
- Lobby the federal government for increased funding for CODI and CDF programmes

Actors
- CODI, Government, NULICO, Universities and Communities

Location
- City-wide data collection; national negotiations

Timeframe
- Short Term Data Collection; Long-Term Advocacy

Sub-Strategy 3 - External Investors

Description
- Attract external investment through expanded financial product offerings

Actors
- CODI, Government, External Investors, Private Banks

Location
- National and International

Timeframe
- Short, Medium and Long Term

the links between Baan Mankong and the overall goal of Thailand's economic development. The end goal is to form a generalised knowledge, creating a dialogue within the federal government that promotes CODI as a programme worth investing in.

Attract External Investment in CODI through Expanded Financial Products

As CODI and NULICO lobby for federal funding they should continue to explore private sources of capital. A growing sector of investors seeks opportunities to make social investments, as seen in the successes of global venture funds such as the Acumen Fund, aimed at pairing philanthropic investors with market opportunities (Acumen, 2011). Social investment has also expanded in Brazil through the development of the SRI Market (Socially Responsible Investors), in which fixed-income funds offer a portion of investor gains towards a community fund (IFC, 2009:iv) CODI should build upon these precedents to capture a share of this market by:

1. *Issuing CODI Bonds.* A challenge in attracting private funding has been educating investors on the complexity of Baan Mankong's loan structures (GHB presentation, 2011). By investing directly in CODI, investors can bypass these complexities. CODI bonds would be marketed as an ethical investment with social returns. By purchasing a government debt, the perceived risks of investing in low-income communities can be mitigated. Despite Thailand's history of political instability, the country's credit rating has been recently upgraded by all major credit rating agencies to between a BBB+ and an A- with a stable outlook (PDMO, 2011), potentially enhancing investor interest.

2. *Seek Investment through the Securitization of the CODI Portfolio.* Securitizing CODI's loan portfolio could increase the flexibility of CODI's funding. CODI would sell external investors CODI loan packages. In turn, CODI uses their own capital as security on the investor's holdings and investor funding as the capital to extend Baan Mankong's loan programme. This minimizes the perceived risk of investing in low-income communities as CODI takes on the risks of individual defaults. This requires seeking direct investment into CODI by reaching out to philanthropic investors and social venture funds.

3. *Explore Loan Options from Private Banks.* CODI should continue to explore opportunities for direct investment from financial institutions in varying loan types. A loan structure often seen in developing countries with a perceived repayment risk is a 50-50 standard term loan. In this loan structure the bank loans a sum of money matched by CODI's financial resources under the condition that the community loans repay the banks entire debt before CODI receives money back making this a more attractive loan option.

4.4.4 - Municipal Level Strategies

Short-Term Strategy: CODI and NULICO Support the Expansion of the CDF Model

While CDFs do not have to stand alone financially without CODI's support, the CDF model has been heralded as a way to reach self-sustainability for Baan Mankong and community development programmes (Somsook, 2011). Communities pool savings for district wide initiatives including housing and welfare funds. CDFs allow for flexible and less bureaucratic finance than funding channeled through CODI (Community Leader-Rangsit, 2011). As CDFs require organized communities and mature financial management, CODI and NULICO would be key actors. Knowledge centres discussed in Section 4.5 can be sites of information transfer for communities prepared to mobilise to create CDFs.

FINANCE
Sub-Strategy 3 - Expansion of CDF Model

Description
- Support additional districts to adopt the CDF model

Actors
- International Organisations, CODI, NULICO, Local Authorities and Communities

Location
- Nation-wide

Timeframe
- Short and Medium Term

FINANCE

Sub-Strategy 4 - CDF Sustainability

Description
- Work toward the financial self-sustainability of CDFs through external funding, national links, expanded membership and new rate structures

Actors
- International Organisations, Government, CODI, Private Investors, Local Authorities and Communities

Location
- Nation-wide

Timeframe
- Long Term

Long-Term Strategy: Expand the Sustainability of CDFs
Long-term sustainability of CDFs requires the expansion of financial programmes to match the growth of community funding demands. This includes seeking external funding from government and additional investors and through strengthening the CDFs internal saving capacities.

1.   Explore options for external funding to be channeled directly into CDFs.   CDFs should begin to explore options for external funding to be directed straight into the CDFs. As seen in Bang Khen, this necessitates investigating direct links between federal funding institutions, non-profit organizations and private investors (Community Leader- Bang Khen, 2011).

2.   Link funds together on a national level to increase capital flexibility. CDFs should link on a national level to increase capital flexibility and expand investment options. A percentage of the savings from each CDF would be placed in a national level savings fund, replicating the funding structure from the local level. Pooling funds across a larger scale allows for greater financial resources for investment to grow the fund and increase sustainability (Community Leader- Rangsit, 2011).

3.   Broaden criteria on communities that can contribute to CDFs. CDFs expand eligibility to include select communities that are not involved in Baan Mankong. By allowing a wider range of communities to contribute (and take loans from) the CDF, the CDF can grow at a larger rate increasing capital available for projects. This strategy can be achieved with the support of local authorities and community networks (ibid).

4.   Unlock capital for projects by introducing flexibility in interest rates. In avoiding the bureaucracy of Baan Mankong, CDFs have the ability to be more flexible in loan programmes (ibid). Through a flexible interest rate programme that creates repayment schemes based on individual ability to repay and charging varying interest rates based on different loan types capital will be available for additional programmes. This model links into the strategy of CDF networks.

4.4.5 - Further Considerations
One of the largest limitations to the finance strategies involves the relationship between the federal government and low-income communities. While the government has been supportive of CODI, greater awareness that CODI uses government money to support-low income communities may generate backlash from the general public (McLeod, 2011).

Perceptions of the poor are also a limitation in the ability to seek external funding. External financers are unwilling to become involved in the CODI programme as low-income communities are seen as high-risk for default, while the large number of small loans complicates transactions and increases operational costs (GHB presentation, 2011). Additionally, as the programme is run by a government agency, issues of confidence in the stability of the Thai government act as a major deterrent (McLeod, 2011).

While the CDF model can overcome these negative public issues by demonstrating the sustainability of communities they also have a number of limitations. The CDF model is only possible in well-organized communities. While CODI has been successful in helping communities organise, few are at the level of confidence to begin the CDF model.

4.4.6 - Impact on Transformation

Expanding sources of financial capital is a key to a demand-led model. Under current circumstances the scale of Baan Mankong is restrained by the amount of capital available. Throughout the finance strategies the objective is to create a system in which finance is available, on national and municipal scales, for communities as they are ready to join the programme. Reaching this objective is part of the broader framework of self-sustainability. Through exploring new financial structures and promoting the CDF model, Baan Mankong will shift to a model of sustainable growth through its revolving fund and mobilised community investment. Processes of the programme will be more inclusive as financial opportunities allow more individuals to connect to the process. Finally, the self-sustainability of low-income communities through increased capital will be a major contributor in shifting the power relations between poor communities and other actors allowing for more equitable material and institutional distributions.

4.5 Strategy Four: Knowledge Production & Exchange

4.5.1 - Background

After observing multiple communities in Bangkok, it became apparent how well-established community networks are. Their existence over various scales, and over-lapping nature makes them an essential element in providing momentum to both community mobilisation and the scaling-up of Baan Mankong. NULICO, the CPB's Kor Por Chor Sor network, the canal networks and many more, all make up a web of Bangkok communities that can be used for communication, knowledge, resources, political pressure and, at times, resistance. Despite their tremendous success, the networks could play a more significant role as knowledge-sharing and capacity-building platforms for communities across BMR in order to increase the scale and deepen the impacts of Baan Mankong. Such networks are also in-line with NESDBs third sustainability strategy that calls for the creation of a knowledge-based society (NSDS, 2008: 20).

Berner and Korff highlight the importance of local groups establishing communication structures to overcome spatial fragmentation that "narrows the possibility of [the creation] of broadly based social organisations" (Berner and Koff, 1995: 212). Urban social organisations created should be based around a locality, with a particular purpose of responding to, and attempting to influence, pressures resulting from globalisation (Berner and Korff, 1995: 213). A locality is spatially bound, but above this, it is a "social category" that functions according to Giddens' concept of 'locale' as a physical space "which helps to concentrate interactions" (in Berner and Korff, 1995: 213). While a neighbourhood is one basis for the creation of a locale, so are social networks such as kinship, friendship and issue-based that go beyond spatial boundaries (Berner and Korff, 1995: 213). In Bangkok, such locality-based networks are critical for responding to the different drivers of urban change that are impacting the poor.

For networks related to housing and tenure, most significant knowledge exchange takes place between community members, leaders and CODI. Some community members and leaders have also participated in exchange visits (UN-Habitat, 2009). As part of NULICO, many community members also participate in regular events and meetings. Knowledge exchange is, however, often highly dependent on good relations within communities and between community leaders and local authorities; communities with good relations between actors, such as in Bang Khen and Rangsit, allow for effective knowledge transfer. Although knowledge and skills exchanges take place across some platforms, there is potential to expand these more broadly, particularly within districts where Baan Mankong is not strong, and between districts throughout BMR.

Some communities, such as Pom Mahakan, have made exemplary efforts to document their history and living situations as an attempt to secure tenure based on long-term occupancy (Community leader Pi Kob, Pom Mahakan, 2011). Unfortunately, their methods of documentation, such as photographs and memorabilia may not be seen as adequate by some. Establishing a data collection mechanism would allow for communities as well as local authorities and higher bodies to have official records of these communities.

Data collection and monitoring are also critical areas where existing systems could be expanded. While there are both informal and more systematic monitoring systems operating, the broader measuring of Baan Mankong's socio-economic seems limited. Baan Mankong is much more significant than the physical upgrading of settlements and these wider impacts must be explored and recognised to continue and expand institutional and resource support for the programme.

4.5.2 - Objective and Sub-Strategies
Based on the existing strengths and potential of community networks for both knowledge sharing and partnerships for data collection, this strategy aims to broaden sources of knowledge through the expansion of community interactions and activities leading to greater empowerment of individuals and communities.

Within the broader strategy of knowledge production and exchange are two sub-strategies; knowledge centres and partnerships for data collection.

Knowledge Centres
The aim of this sub-strategy is to strengthen knowledge exchange through the integration of existing knowledge centres into networks between districts and the establishment of new knowledge centres across BMR. The power of knowledge centres can be seen in "their dual commitment to social reform and the provision of locally available services (Estes, 1997: 3)." These knowledge centres and their integration are expected to help narrow the gap observed between knowledge creation and sharing.

There are currently knowledge centres in some communities including Rangsit, where there is a progressive approach to knowledge production and exchange, encouraging participation of the wider community (Community leaders and Local Authorities, May 2011, Rangsit City). In addition, Phasi Chareon has established an issue-specific knowledge centre (Phasi Chareon, community forum, May 2011) focused on educating community members about the welfare system and their entitlements. Many communities however, do not have access to platforms for broader discussion and community consultation.

The aim of these centres would be to promote an effective form of community development that includes: 1) the organisation of previously unorganised people into effective groups and coalitions; and 2) strengthening both traditional network systems, as well as developing new social networks (Estes, 1997: 2). These centres, in alignment with the community centre movement worldwide, should function both to advance people centred development, as well as act as resistance networks by "advocating for more fundamental reforms" and "advancing social, political and economic rights (Estes, 1997: 4)." For this dual commitment to occur, knowledge centres must operate at various scales in order to promote public learning both horizontally, between communities, and vertically between communities and institutions.

Knowledge centres should be established across all districts, and linked through specific types of knowledge-sharing and capacity-building events, as well as through more informal channels that are decided by communities themselves. The centres should remain flexible enough to incorporate different development approaches specific to the urban typology they operate within, while also utilising lessons learned and knowledge from other communities in Bangkok. In Klong Toey, for instance, a knowledge centre could focus on working with partners to create an alternative development plan and mobilise communities around this plan. In Rangsit, where many communities are involved in Baan Mankong, it could focus on influencing the district development plan and sharing new low-cost construction techniques. These different learning structures require the broad participation of Bangkok communities to make full use of already established networks such as NULICO, Kor Por Chor Sor and canal networks to feed knowledge between communities.

As well resourced hubs, community centres could be used for community consultations for local development, information dissemination from studies and data collection, as a place for interaction between communities and authorities or as a venue for informal community events. In addition to this, it is important to consider the positive impact technology and digital media can have on the momentum and reach of this

particular strategy. The focus is not only on physical, but also virtual connections and exchanges.

Partnerships for Data Collection
The aim of this strategy is to establish means to promote monitoring socio-economic impacts of Baan Mankong. While Baan Mankong has an extensive but informal community-led monitoring system, widespread data sharing from a more systematic impact monitoring system is limited. There are particularly important types of information that should be shared, including that of Baan Mankong's transformative impacts, with politicians and other policy stakeholders, as well as upgrading and development approaches between communities themselves.   For example, impact research was completed by university students in Rattanakosin, but was not shared with a variety of stakeholders that would benefit from such an exercise. The sub-strategy also forms the basis for the monitoring and evaluation framework detailed in the following section.

If wider impact data analysis could be produced, CODI could increase their power of negotiation for funding and support based on the Baan Mankong's contribution to the NESDB's indicators for a 'Green and Happiness Society'. Thus far, any monitoring of such information has been undertaken as a function of individual communities' motivations to track wider socio-economic changes (Khun Sompop Prompochenboon, CODI, 2011).

A more systematic analysis of such data, particularly at the provincial and national scale, could ensure that community needs are met by policy-makers, and that communities and their progress are documented. Based on current institutional capacities and involvement, data collection is expected to be undertaken by a number of actors including communities themselves, NULICO, CODI and the CPB, with data collection methodologies coordinated between CODI and local universities.

4.5.3 - Further Considerations
Implementation of these strategies relies on a number of conditions. Funding is an obvious constraint to this strategy, however funding from CDFs, CODI and Local Authorities for community projects could be explored.

KNOWLEDGE

Sub-Strategy 1 - Knowledge Centres

Description
- Establish network of knowledge centres to facilitate effective knowledge transfer

Actors
- CODI, CPB, Local Authorities, Kor Por Chor Sor, Universities, Various Community Networks, NULICO and Communities

Location
- City-wide

Timeframe
- Medium-to-Long Term

Sub-Strategy 2 - Data Collection

Description
- Establish partnerships for data collection on wider socio-economic impacts of Baan Mankong

Actors
- CODI, CPB, Local Authorities, Kor Por Chor Sor, Universities, Various Community Networks and Communities

Location
- City-wide

Timeframe
- Medium-to-Long Term

Given that many relationships between communities and their local authorities are tenuous, it will be essential for communities, organisations and institutions to maintain relations that encourage correct information to be collected and passed on at each level of evaluation.

4.5.4 - Impact on Transformation

The knowledge production and exchange strategies positively contribute to transformation by utilising overlapping networks as information exchange systems, through an expanded knowledge centre network. Related to inclusion, both strategies are intended to make the best use of local knowledge as possible through participation. Based on this broad inclusion base, processes of public learning and co-production of knowledge between communities, practitioners and local authorities are reinforced. Over time, the strategies will also contribute to Baan Mankong's sustainability through capacity building programmes and data that can be used for lobbying. Lastly, these strategies are providing the basis for a broader monitoring and evaluation system of Baan Mankong while at the same time consulting community needs and interests.

4.6 Strategy Conclusions

Taken together, the four strategies increase the scale and deepen the impacts of Baan Mankong by expanding the room for manoeuvre. With the recognition that Baan Maankong is already an incredibly innovative and successful programme, these strategies seek to build on these strengths, while also addressing key gaps that were evident in the findings. Throughout all the strategies, the three urban typologies in BMR were taken into account in order to ensure that recommendations made respond to the different drivers of urban change that communities face.

The strategies are also deeply integrated, which is reflected in Appendix L, showing how each strategy and sub-strategy interacts and strengthens one another. As an example, while the inclusion strategy incorporates a focus on improving mobilisation and cohesion of migrant communities in Typology 3 (to increase accessibility to Baan Mankong), the city-wide spatial planning also recommends land banking, particularly for communities in Typology 3, which could particularly benefit newly mobilised migrants communities that need access to secure land.

This expanded room for manoeuvre is a commonality across all the strategies. Whether through increasing the financial resources of CODI and of communities (through CDFs), or through expanding knowledge centres so that communities' capacity to mobilise, enhance processes associated with upgrading, and influence localised drivers of urban change is realised, the result is in the increased broader effects of Baan Mankong across all urban typologies. In this integrated and context-specific fashion, Baan Mankong could move closer to expanding transformation across all communities in the city.

Monitoring & Evaluation

According to our transformation definition, both the development interventions which CODI has promoted and which we have proposed, aim to change conditions through continual processes across space and time. Therefore, tracking and measuring this change is the underlying reason for monitoring and evaluation. What we are proposing in this section is not only a monitoring framework specific to our strategies, but a framework for monitoring and evaluating Baan Mankong, as a strategy in itself. This section will explore how the data is collected and disseminated in monitoring processes via the existing mechanisms and partnerships, and also propose strategies to strengthen the process.

Similar to four proposed strategies, the monitoring and evaluation process is based on a participatory concept as the basis of transformative change. It emphasizes creating the framework in which institutions becoming more inclusive in appraisal, by strengthening the existing mechanisms and partnerships for collecting, collating and disseminating information from community level to national and international level. Diagram 5.1 shows primary actors that could be involved in the participatory monitoring and evaluation (PM&E) process, divided into civil society (i.e. saving groups or cooperatives, NULICO, and other people networks such as canal network); public organisations (i.e. public landowners, local authorities, provincial and/or national government, CODI); City Development Committee (CDC); academia and NGO partners (i.e. universities and ACHR).

5.1 Data Collection

5.1.1 - Community Level

The first level of monitoring can be articulated within the existing system of measuring the construction progress of individual communities. For example, communities in Bang Khen district have had inspectors sent between communities to double check the progress (Individual Interview 7, Bang Khen, May 2011). In Rangsit, evaluation is carried out at the community level and above, particularly when related to the release of money in a phased system. NULICO or other communities in the same city/district could cross-check construction progress (CODI, 2010). This is one of the systems that CODI uses to promote the horizontal linkage between

peer groups within the city "...from which to learn and from which to draw support...into a process of making structural changes – by learning, by forging new relationships, by actually working together on concrete actions," as mentioned by Boonyabancha (2005: 35).

As the communities often feel more comfortable giving feedback and information to their peers, the existing systems of cross-checking in relation to construction could be expanded to other areas. NULICO or people centred networks in the city, including the monitored community, would collectively identify a framework for deciding and prioritising what kind of information is to be gathered. The examples of data gathering for monitoring (Diagram 5.2) in this community level could be:

- Community finance

- Household income / assets

- Quality of life perceptions

- Community awareness of Baan Mankong and other opportunities for development / involvement

- Demographics (e.g. migrants, renters, elderly, disabled)

- Who is and who isn't participating in Baan Mankong, including percentage of the local population who is involved

- Livelihood constraints (i.e. drug use, crime, violence, health)

This community database could be collated and managed by city NULICO before passing forward to the City Development Committee (CDC) to further analyses in city level.

5.1.2 - City/District Level

The CDC is an inter-institutional mechanism in which stakeholders (i.e. local governments, public landowners, CODI, universities and NGOs) are engaged to collectively develop and implement housing plans. Conceptually, the CDC is the forum where poor communities share decision making power with government authorities to allocate resources at a city-wide scale (Boonyabancha, ibid.), changing the power structure from vertical to horizontal. The CDC provides an opportunity for poor people to see problems of land tenure, infrastructure, housing and services in relation to the larger system

Diagram 5.1 - Primary Actors in the Participatory Monitoring & Evaluation Process
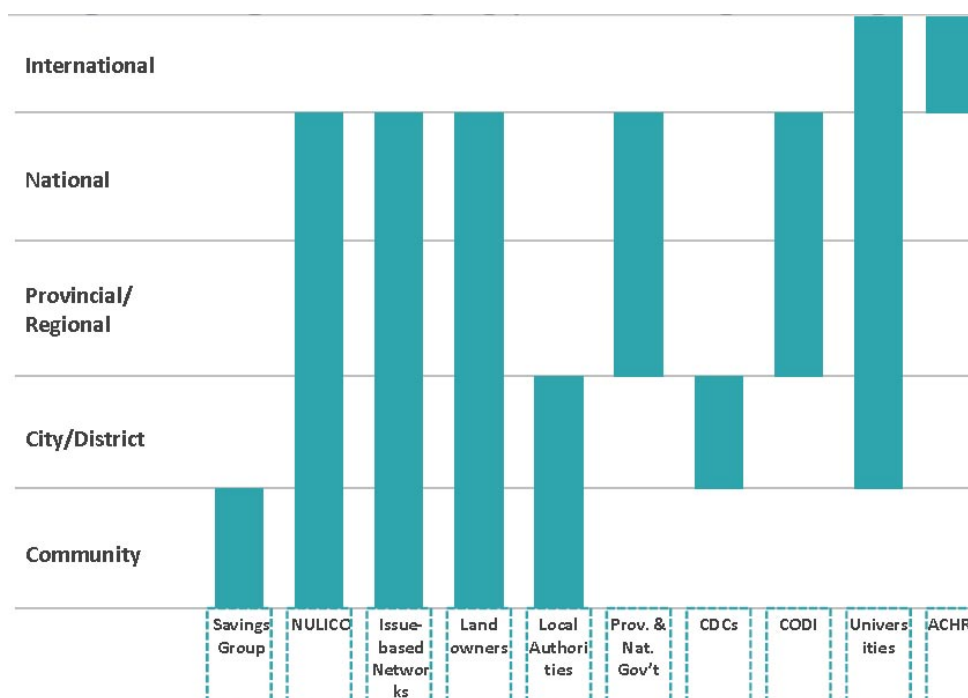
Diagram 5.2 - Data Collection at the Community Level
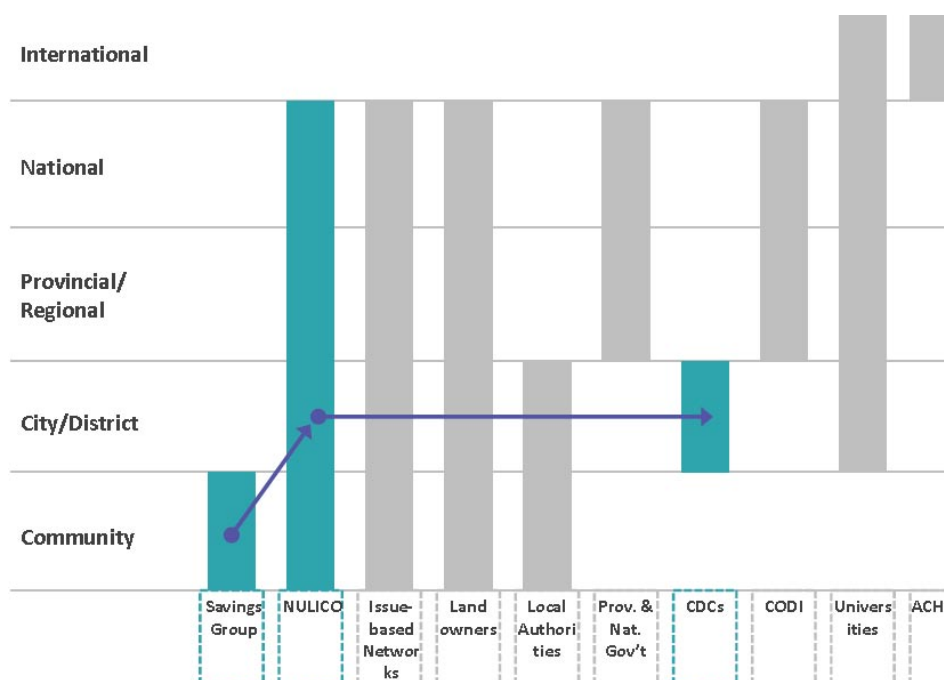
of city-wide planning. This openness should also exist in reverse, by which planning authorities are open to community concerns and knowledge as well. According to this, it would be required that data, plans and policies from CDC public members, such as landowners and local authorities, be circulated around CDC, and be particularily accessible to communities.

In this sense, the CDC can be seen as 'the first hub of information' at city level, where community data, city policy, and also plans and policies from provincial/ regional government authorities should be circulated (see Diagram 5.3). Then, local universities involved in CDC could systematize the information, develop the methodology and also provide technical support in data analyses. In addition, universities accompanied by CODI could play a role as facilitator of PM&E which engages all actors in the CDC (see Diagram 5.5).

Examples of information gathering in the CDCs from diverse stakeholders in city level, are as follows:
• Information that NULICO has collected with communities at the district level

• Land availability/use/ownership/tenure

• CDF status and finances

• District census data, including migration patterns

• District plans

• Alternative community plans

• City development plans

5.1.3 Provincial, Regional and National Levels
Subsequently, the city level information in the CDC should be passed to CODI as another information hub from provincial/regional level to national level. This would be combined with information from civil society to scale up from city level to provincial/regional and national level (see Diagram 5.4). With the information and experience of mobilised communities in different scales, CODI could facilitate PM&E with all stakeholders in the development process. The data collected would be stored at CODI with support from academic partners and ACHR in terms of systematizing and analysing data at the national and international level (see Diagram 5.5).

Diagram 5.3 - Data Collection at the City Level
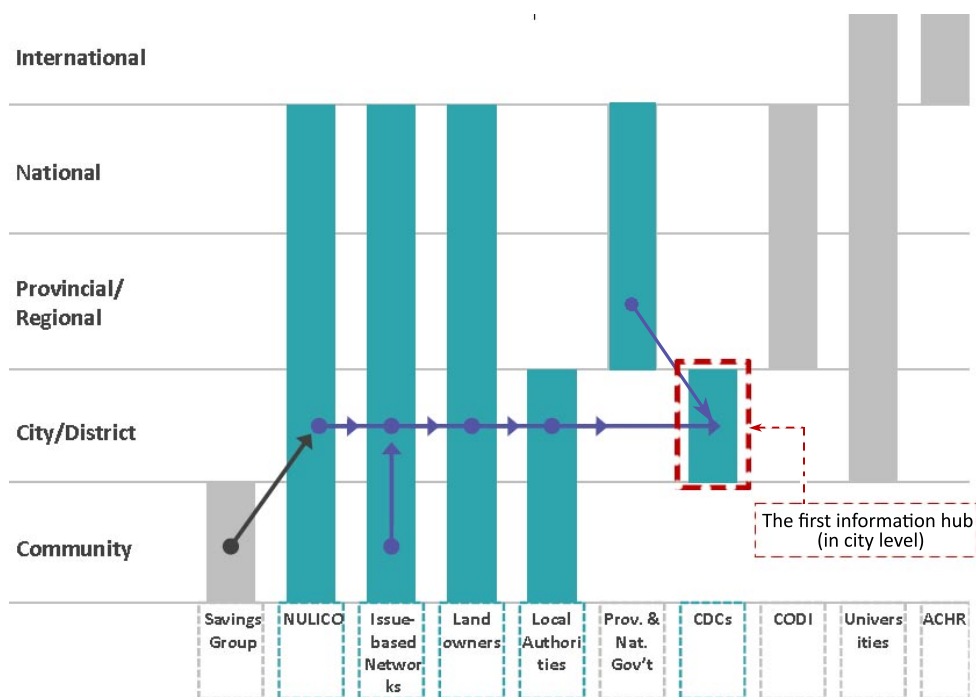
Diagram 5.4 - Data Collection at the Provincial/Regional and National Levels

The second information hub
(in provincial/regional/national level)
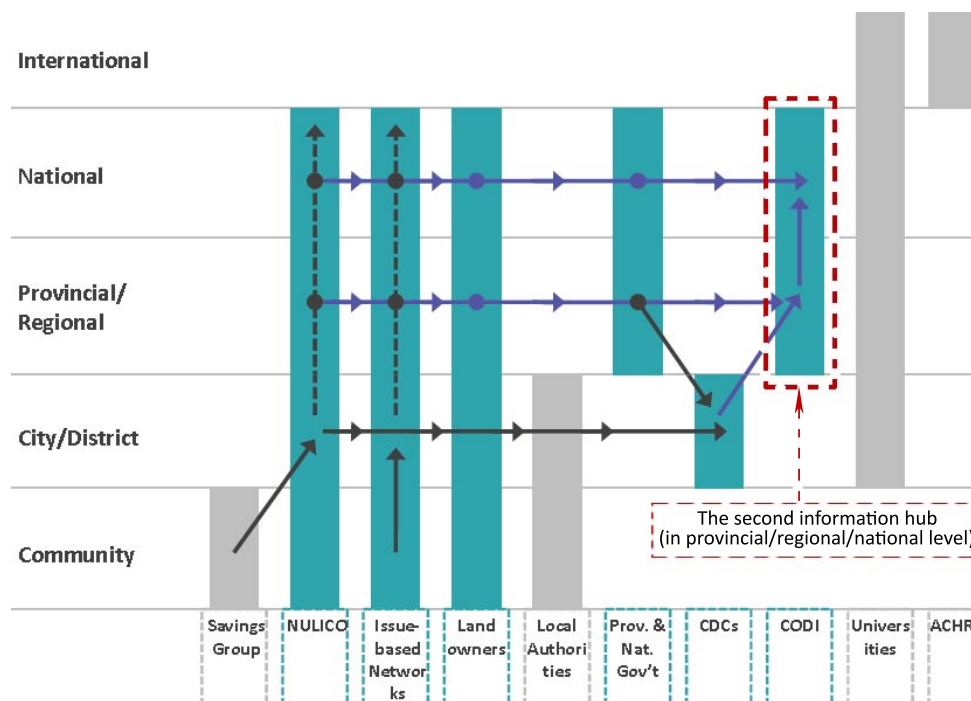
Diagram 5.5 - Monitoring Process

<< Monitoring in
provincial/
regional/
national level

<< Monitoring in
in city level
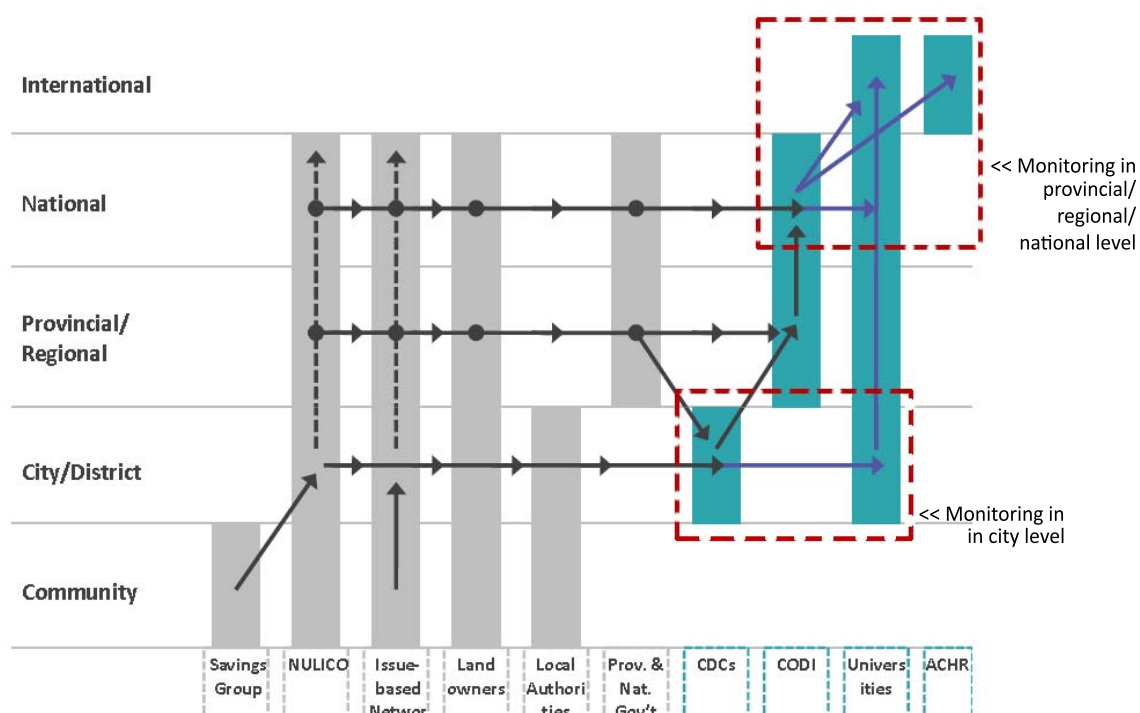
5.2 Dissemination of the Outcome

Similar to the monitoring process, CODI and the CDC would be the information hub that disseminates information to different actors. Regarding CODI as the distributor in national and provincial/regional level, the analysed data would be delivered from universites or ACHR to CODI which would then facilitate communities and partners to draw collective conclusions on wider outcomes and impacts. Later, CODI would disseminate these outcomes and impacts of Baan Mankong to governmental agencies (i.e. Ministry of Social Development, Ministry of finance, NESDB) and national NULICO in order to support the policy making at the national level. Moreover, the data analysed from the national and international level could be used by CODI and NULICO to improve organisational development and longer term impacts.

As CDCs become the distributor at city level, once the analysed data is returned from local universities all

stakeholders should participate by making reflective conclusions in terms of development practice, before circulating these outcomes to partners at city level. In addition, the lessons and innovations learned from other Baan Mankong projects should be communicated broadly through community networks, to influence future strategies. And lastly, this should reflect back to individual communities in order to improve the next interventions (see Diagram 5.6).

5.3 Strategies to Strengthen the Process

According to the process of data collection and dissemination, suggestions for strengthening the process based on existing system and partnerships would be as follows:

1.   Since NULICO plays a crucial role as data collector, there is a need to improve the capacity of NULICO in terms of collecting , provisional analyses, and managing information from community level to national level.

Diagram 5.6 - Outcome Dissemination
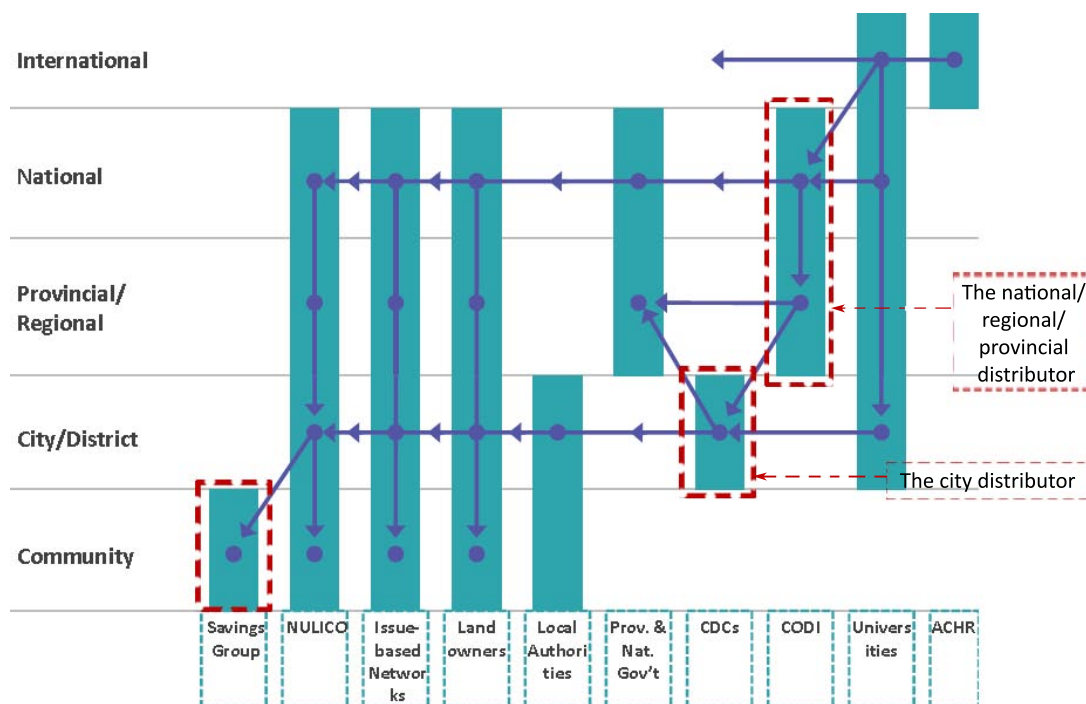
This process of data gathering could be enhanced by evaluating progress before releasing money, from the CDC or CODI, to implement the next phase. Improving data collecton and management capacity could be achieved by enhancing knowledge centres and exercises for knowledge management, and/or exchanging techniques within the NULICO coordinating team from City level to National level. It should be noted that this strategy mainly focuses on the dynamics of informal data collection and management, which is undertaken by people centred networks with the expectation that efforts will result in increased community mobilisation.

2. Furthermore, sharing information between stakeholders at the city level needs strengthened relationships and inter-institutional frameworks between communities, local authorities, landowners and other governmental agencies. This is required in order to create the trust needed to build collective visions within the monitoring process, including policy and information exchange, and sharing of other resources (i.e. budget, professionals, time) which are essential support within

the monitoring process of the CDC.

3. Since all data would be collected and shared in the CDC as the city information hub, monitoring intervention where communities monitor their own impacts (in economic, social, spatial aspect of city as a whole) should occur with stakeholders. These processes should take place not only within the CDC, but also within individual communities, which would evaluate impacts on the city as a whole with the help of CODI and/or local universities.

4. Lastly, universities could be essential partners for facilitating participatory monitoring , and for developing a methodology and analysis of broader impacts of Baan Mankong. Improved linkages between CODI, CDCs and universities are crucial, particularly to develop the role of universities in the Baan Mankong process. For instance, universities could learn and exchange experiences with CODI and NULICO on how to facilitate the learning process and use data analyses methodology as a tool to empower and mobilise people centred networks.

Diagram 5.7 - Strategies to Strengthen the Monitoring and Dissemination Process
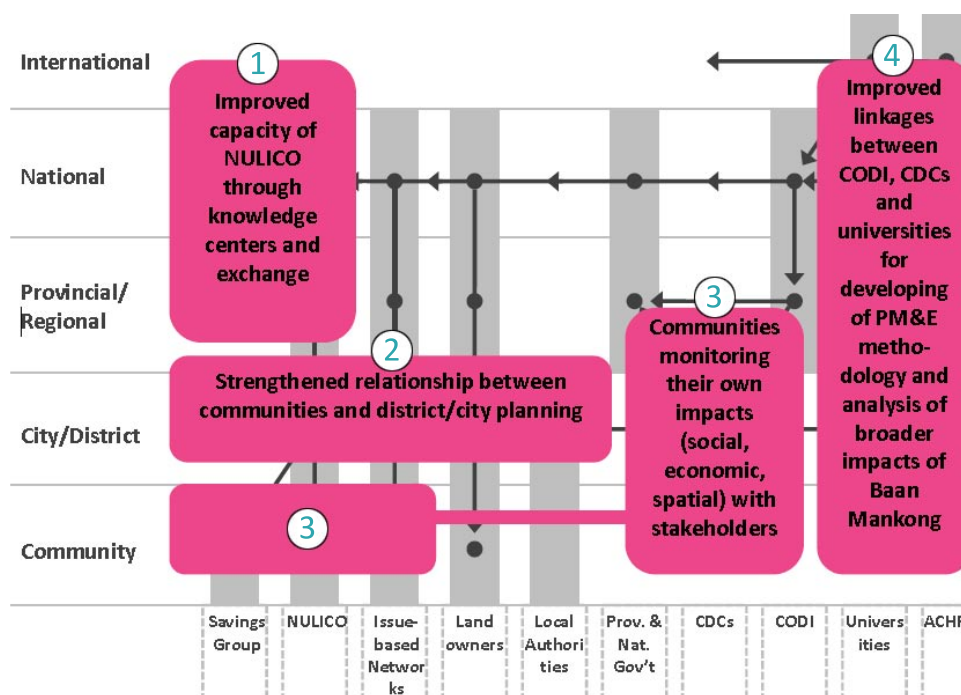
5.4 Indicators for Proposed Strategies

The monitoring and evaluation framework proposed provides flexibility for selecting indicators and space for negotiation within communities and partners. In addition to the monitoring proposals outlined above which can be used to monitor the four strategies proposed in this report, specific indicators have been suggested in Diagram 5.8 below.

Diagram 5.8 - Indicators to Monitor Proposed Strategies

Strategies	Sub-strategies	Indicators (Number(s) showing related-sub strategy)
Inclusion	(1) Shared Ownership (2) Rental Schemes (3) Public Awareness Campaigns	*Financial indicators:* -Community burden/cost-sharing (1, 2) -Individual family savings (1) -Renters' payment records (2) *Social indicators:* -Participants' Socio-economic Background (1, 2) -Longer-term Renter-to-Owner Conversion (2) -Perceptions of community integration (Qualitative) (2, 3) -Percent of migrant housing need filled by Baan Mankong (2, 3)
Finance	(1) Lobby for increased government Funding (2) Attract external investment through expanded financial products (3) Support more districts in working towards adopting the CDF model (4) Expand the financial sustainability of the CDFs	-An increase in government funding due to successful lobbying campaign (1/4) -Successfully attracting investment from external sources (1/4) -Amount of financing for BM and community projects is sufficient to meet community demands (1/2/4) -Shift in the perception of the risk of loaning to low-income communities through BM (1/2/4) -Number of municipalities with functioning CDFs (3) -Number of communities that are a member of CDFs (3/4) -Creation of a national network of CDFs (4)
City-wide Planning	(1) Influencing Planning Decision Making (2) Alternative community plans (3) Community-led land banking	- Delegates representing low income communities on Comprehensive City Plan Responsible Boards (1) - Establishment of land banks (3) - In the future – the release of land from land banks for occupation by low income communities (3) - Amendments to Comprehensive or Specific Plans as a result of representations from communities or preparation of alternative plans (1, 2) -Knowledge centres providing information on local authority plans or proposed development projects (1)
Knowledge	(1) Knowledge Centres (2) Partnerships for data collection	-Number of knowledge centres established (1) -Number of exchange visits/events (1) -Usage numbers of individual centres (1) -Incorporation of community-designed indicators (2) -Vertical and Horizontal data/information sharing (1, 2)

■ Data Collected at the Community Level   ■ Data Collected at the City (or Higher) Level

conclusions / reflections

6.1 Summary

Bangkok, the Asian primate city, is the site of enormous upheaval: urbanization, migration and globalisation continue to shape and re-shape the urban fabric, placing pressures on the equitable development of the city. Against this structural backdrop, Baan Mankong has emerged to challenge systems producing a multitude of deprivations in informal settlements, threatening these communities with eviction, and labeling low-income groups as "helpless" in the face rapid urban change.

With the indefatigable partnership of low-income communities, Baan Mankong has successfully stimulated co-production through collective savings, tenure negotiation and housing upgrades. These efforts have had transformative impacts far beyond the mechanics of programme implementation. Baan Mankong is redefining relations between individuals and communities, and between communities and institutions. These progressive shifts in human awareness are proving catalytic for communities' capacities in other aspects of their lives, be they social, economic or political.

While the programme has been remarkably successful in its short eight years of operation, several barriers hinder Baan Mankong's ability to continue to scale up to reach the hundreds of thousands of Thai slum dwellers who continue to live in insecure conditions. In areas facing strong commercialisation pressures, opportunities for achieving tenure security are threatened as landowners often seek to capitalise on land-value rises, including in areas where the poor have lived (without official tenure) for generations. In areas of residential densification, new infrastructure threatens communities living in planned transport corridors while spurring further development. In peri-urban areas, significant in-migration without considered and equitable planning threatens to create a new generation of slums. At the institutional level, the growing demand for participation in Baan Mankong has also created financial pressures on the continuity of local and national efforts.

In response, this report has advanced four strategic recommendations under the banner of City Collectives—uniting the potentials of collective people, collective actions and collective visions. The notion of City Collectives does not presume consensus or acquiescence in decision-making. Quite the contrary, City Collectives acknowledges—indeed prizes—the inherent heterogeneity of people and interests within cities as a means for transformative change. The strategies have sought to build on Baan Mankong strengths while enhancing its transformative potentials through: greater inclusion with rental and shared ownership schemes; expanded participation in city-wide planning processes; enhanced programme sustainability through financial innovations; and improved knowledge sharing and dissemination. Underlying these strategies is a model for monitoring and evaluating Baan Mankong through cross-sector, multi-level partnerships for data collection and analysis.

6.2 Further Considerations

While the research team is confident in these proposals—and believes they build on Baan Mankong's demand-led approach to development and social need—three broader concerns persist.

Motivators for Community Mobilization
To participate in Baan Mankong communities must become organized themselves and then approach Baan Mankong for support. In some ways, mobilisation serves as a litmus test for a community's readiness to implement Baan Mankong. Yet, in communities throughout Bangkok—among those visited, particularly those in Klong Toey—community mobilisation is not incited until threats, such as those of eviction, become palpable. For the security of informal settlements and for the sustainability of livelihoods, communities must be mobilised sooner under the prospect of long-term transformative change. The benefits of community savings, housing upgrades and their follow-on effects must be articulated and understood without reference to immediate and aggravated oppressions.

Local Institutional Capacity
Baan Mankong is, ultimately, focused on building the capacities of low-income communities. In contexts where local institutions have, at best, been historically absent, and at worst, actively antagonistic to slum dwellers, this approach is appropriate. Yet, for programmes to most effectively harness the resources available for transformation, local institutions must also be transformed. Despite its own finite resources, Baan Mankong must vigorously explore pathways to support these institutional improvements. Indeed communities where Baan Mankong has been most effectively transformative—including some in Bang Poo, Rangsit and Bang Khen—are those where local government institutions have become active partners in Baan Mankong. There, local institutions have also become more aware, responsive and pro-active with respect to the needs of low-income communities beyond the immediacy of housing provision.

Democratic Responsibility-Sharing
Closely related to these questions of efficacy is a critical normative preoccupation: in a democratic society, whose responsibility is it to provide for housing, water, sanitation, electricity, infrastructure and capital for the urban constituent? While Baan Mankong is remarkable for the agency it helps to uncover in low-income peoples, it does not sufficiently challenge the democratic failings of government institutions in a normative sense. Co-production entails an equitable sharing of burdens and benefits (Young, 1990). While communities in Bangkok undeniably have capacity to participate even more than they already do, normatively, we must question whether they are already tasked with too much. It cannot be enough for low-income communities to improve livelihoods despite institutional shortcoming; those shortcomings are among the principle hindrances to transformation and democratic responsibility-sharing.

6.3 Learning Reflections

On a personal note, the research team is grateful for the opportunity to have worked on this assignment. Though we have made recommendations, and in some cases been critical of Baan Mankong, these findings are advanced with the utmost respect for what Baan Mankong, communities and CODI staff have achieved. Indeed, this four-month research process has been the capstone of our Master's degree course and has provided invaluable insights into our future work as development practitioners.

In particular, we are impacted by learning related to:

Reciprocal Relationships Through Co-Production
Baan Mankong demonstrates that co-production is not, in the least, a hypothetical fantasy of academics. Rather, communities, progressive international, national and local institutions, and non-profit organisations can collectively and collaboratively produce inspiring transformations in the lives of the urban poor.

The Power of Mobilised Communities
Furthermore, low-income communities defy their stereotypical characterisations. Though it certainly would come as no surprise to low-income peoples themselves, these communities show immense desire, capacity, and success in mobilising resources for progressive and sustained transformations in their lives.

The Power of Leadership
Ultimately, we have seen that change is accomplished through persistent leadership. Whether through Khun Somsook's decades-long vision for Baan Mankong or through community leaders' unfailing commitment to the program and its possibilities, we have been inspired by the determination of ordinary people to construct profound change in the face of the regressive pressures of the modern metropolis.

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B. Strengths Identified on Sites by Transformation Indicators

Transformation Indicators						
	Structure of transformation		Process of transformation		Outcome	
	Inclusive	Transparent/ Evaluative	Co-production	Scale through network	Equitable material & Institutional distribution	Self-sustainability & Multiplier effect
MACRO LEVEL	- CODI (i.e. Somsook) genuinely values local perspectives and knowledge; aims to place it on an equal platform with CODI institutional knowledge	- Communities appear to understand CODI decision-making process		- CODI places strong emphasis on establishing and strengthening networks.	- CODI structure of giving communities decision making power encourages equitable distribution	- CODI's emphasis on bottom up development encourages self-sustainability within communities
Site 1 - Bang Khen	- Fairly strong (but ad hoc) links between communities and universities re. knowledge production - Strong social ties across more than 15 communities that form the Bang Khen network - network structure aims to promote knowledge transfer across communities in the network- Welfare funds (in savings groups and in the CDF) are used to support disadvantaged community members	- Communities appear to understand CDF decision-making process	- CDF is allowing for stronger community-based decision-making - Community builders' network is actively involved in home construction - Communities meet regularly (up to 10 meetings per month) to discuss issues related to finance, construction, the canal, etc. - Community members demonstrate collective concern over individual family (e.g. welfare) and community-based (e.g. bridge) challenges	- Strong leadership has played a critical role in increasing networks and introducing new communities to BM program	- Plot sizes are determined by community as a whole, and redistributed equally - Strong community emphasis on equal distribution. - Welfare fund enables special allowances for disadvantaged community members.	- Strong ties between communities and the longevity of the program has built up confidence in community independence and autonomy. Community is actively seeking out ways increase self-sustainability. - Length of program has built confidence and inspired other communities within district to join Baan Mankong and Bang Khen has become a central example of BM potential.

B. Strengths Identified on Sites by Transformation Indicators

	Transformation Indicators					
	Structure of transformation		Process of transformation		Outcome	
	Inclusive	Transparent/ Evaluative	Co-production	Scale through network	Equitable material & Institutional distribution	Self-sustainability & Multiplier effect
Site 2 - Klong Toey	- For communities that have upgraded, innovative ways to remain inclusive to all communities have been found (including taking credit for building suppliers; not taking BM loans and allowing for incremental building).		- Co-production adequate in Baan Mankong projects, including through some innovative adaptation of housing templates	- Communities located on CPB land (minority in Klong Toey) were linked to wider networks in Bangkok.	- Effective at the local level in Baan Mankong projects, but not at a district wide. Wide participation within Baan Mankong design and construction process.	- Upgraded communities that had negotiated more secure tenure seemed more confident in their ability to stay on the land long-term.
Site 3 - Phasi Charoen	- Incremental construction and business activities organized by co-ops help to ease the financial pressure of communities members and help the poorest to join the program		- Incremental construction and business activities organized by co-ops help to ease the financial pressure of communities members and help the poorest to join the program	- knowledge sharing and exchange through different network help to scale up	- able to get access to secure tenure - able to participate on the different level	-the success of BMK program empower the communities to negotiate with local authority - the network improve the communities' capacity to obtain a better livelihood
Site 4 - Rangsit	- Rangsit: 2 types of communities (65 & 22) - Trend towards decentralization	- Had a 2 pronged evaluation procedure	- Knowledge center to share public learning Strong networks Strong relationships with the municipality	- Knowledge centre, good networks, youth training	- Good relationship with local authority and opportunities for political participation	- CDF leading to financial self-sustainability. 66 LA organized communities Communities mobilize without threat of eviction

	Transformation Indicators					
	Structure of transformation		Process of transformation		Outcome	
	Inclusive	Transparent/ Evaluative	Co-production	Scale through network	Equitable material & Institutional distribution	Self-sustainability & Multiplier effect
Site 5 - Bang Poo	- how can they help those who cannot afford?	- People can vote, make dicision together - Relatively high level of transparency (in general)	- Implementing more co-production, save time and money	- More events can be organized		
Site 6 - Rattanakosin Island	- Diversity of income groups and land tenure status does not seem to hinder participation in savings groups. -In the past, the CPB has adopted participatory methods for conservation plans			- There is an existing network between communities within districts that could be used more optimally in the future		**-Tourism project offers a means of preserving houses, livelihoods and boost local economy**. - Integration into existing tourism routes serves as a crucial step to scaling-up. There is the potential to expand the network of communities once the project gain momentum.

C. District Typologies

		Districts					
		Site 1: Bang Khen	Site 2: Klong Toey	Site 3: Phasi Chaleon	Site 4: Rangsit	Site 5: Bang Poo	Site 6: Rattanakosin Island
Setting	Urban						
	Peri–Urban						
District Office / Local Authorities	Helping to mobilize communities						
	Community Involvement in Planning Decisions						
	Allowing for lower building standards						
	Strong Partnership with CODI / Baan Mankong						
	Unable to effect major change						
	Adopt approaches that conflict with community interests						
	Not Present						
Drivers of Change	Land Speculation						
	Gentrification						
	Transport Infrastructure						
	Migration						
	Mobilized Civil Society						
	Catalyst Events (for communities)						
	Tourism						
	Urbanization						
	[Fill in if another needed]						

D. Upgraded Community Typology

Upgraded Communities

	Site 1: Bang Khen		Site 2: Klong Toey							Site 3: Phasi Chaleon					Site 4: Rangsit							Site 5: Bang Poo						Site 6: Rattanakosin Island							
	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Type of Upgrading — On-site																																			
Relocation																																			
Participating in Baan Mankong — House Loans																																			
Infrastructure / Housing Subsidy Only																																			
Property Owner — Crown Property Bureau																																			
BMA																																			
Port Authority																																			
Temple																																			
Treasury																																			
Private																																			
Undetermined																																			
NHA																																			
Local Authority																																			
Railway Land																																			
Irrigation Dept (Canal)																																			
Marine Department																																			
University																																			
Savings Group																																			

D. Upgraded Community Typology

Upgraded Communities

	Site 1: Bang Khen (1–2)	Site 2: Klong Toey (1–7)	Site 3: Phasi Chaleon (1–5)	Site 4: Rangsit (1–7)	Site 5: Bang Poo (1–6)	Site 6: Rattanakosin Island (1–8)
Catalyst Leading to Upgrading — No Immediate Catalyst						
Immediate Eviction						
Fire						
Number of Households	140	98 / 120 / 54 / 24	79 / 15 / 132 / 80	55 / 500		54 / 65 / 138
Rental Properties — Long-time renters purchase						
Renting-only units						
Allowed incremental building						
Community Welfare Fund?						
Provision for Households Difficulty Participating in Baan Mankong — Smaller house sizes						
Phased Construction						
Low-cost construction template						

	Site 2: Klong Toey	Site 3: Phasi Chaleon	Site 4: Rangsit	Site 6: Rattanakosin Island
C1	Sang Sun Phatana	Klong Lad Pha-shi Community	Klong Sawaan	WangromPhraSommootamompan
C2	Rim Klong Wat Sa Parn	Sirin and Friend	Lakhok	Baan Bard
C3	Ruam Jai Pattana	Ra-sri community	Makro	Wat Saket
C4	Lock 1,2,3	Witsampham	Sang San Nakorn Crelor	Wat Dusitaram

Upgraded Communities

Community Names	Site 1: Bang Khen		Site 2: Klong Toey							Site 3: Phasi Chaleon					Site 4: Rangsit							Site 5: Bang Poo						Site 6: Rattanakosin Island							
	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
C5			Koh Klang Pra Ka Nhong							unkown					Rattana Pathum													Jakkaphatdephong							
C6			Rim Klong Pai Sing Tho												Nimit Mai													Wat Sumtonthammatan							
C7			Penang Market Community												Chareon Sin													Phom Mahakan							
C8			none																									Tha Wang							

E. Un-Upgraded Community Typology

Upgraded Communities

	Site 1: Bang Khen		Site 2: Klong Toey							Site 3: Phasi Chaleon					Site 4: Rangsit							Site 5: Bang Poo						Site 6: Rattanakosin Island							
	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Type of Upgrading — On-site																																			
Relocation																																			
Participating in Baan Mankong — House Loans																																			
Infrastructure/Housing Subsidy Only																																			
Property Owner — Crown Property Bureau																																			
BMA																																			
Port Authority																																			
Temple																																			
Treasury																																			
Private																																			
Undetermined																																			
NHA																																			
Local Authority																																			
Railway Land																																			
Irrigation Dept (Canal)																																			
Marine Department																																			
University																																			
Savings Group																																			

F. Challenges of Each Typology by Transformation Indicators

TRANSFORMATION INDICATORS

TYPOLOGIES	STRUCTURE		PROCESS		OUTCOME	
	Inclusive	Transparent/ Evaluative	Co-production	Scale through network	Equitable Material & Institutional Distribution	Self-sustainability & Multiplier Effect
Urban districts facing direct commercialisation pressures	– exclusion from Baan Mankong – No platform/structure to connect conservation/tourism policy with community interests	– lack of structure to support communities' participation	– Lack of CODI help to negotiate with different actors – Lack of knowledge sharing	– weak horizontal network between communities & other actors	– struggle to access secure land because of powerful land owner	– community cohesion / livelihood is questionable after upgrading
Urban districts facing indirect commercialisation pressures	– Inclusion of communities in Bang Khen network depends on the power of local authority – communities force inclusion in Baan Mankong upon those who resist – exclusion from Baan Mankong	– no formal evaluations of Baan Mankong	– design of houses is not tailored to individual family circumstance – Community architect / CODI institutional support wanes after initial approvals	– weak community network – limitations on the number of communities discovering Baan Mankong	– equal size loans are allocated regardless of individual financial circumstances	– Baan Mankong's successes not reaching beyond district
Peri-urban districts facing direct industrialisation and indirect commercialisation pressures	– exclusion from Baan Mankong – different projects reinforced economic, social, physical fragmentation	–Transparency is important to start Baan Mankong	– Not enough co-production – Baan Mankong not incorporated into city-wide planning process	– lack of ties between different actors	– struggle to get access to land/ public service	– communities reliant on Baan Mankong

G . Strengths of each Typology by Transformation Indicators

TRANSFORMATION INDICATORS

TYPOLOGIES	STRUCTURE		PROCESS		OUTCOME	
	Inclusive	Transparent/ Evaluative	Co-production	Scale through network	Equitable Material & Institutional Distribution	Self-sustainability & Multiplier Effect
Urban districts facing direct commercialisation pressures	– Diversity of income groups and land tenure status does not hinder participation in savings groups	N/G	– adequate co-production	– communities located on CPB land were linked to wider networks in BKK – an existing network between communities within districts	– wide participation within design and construction process, effective at the local level	– negotiated for secure land by upgraded communities – Tourism project as a means of preserving houses, livelihoods
Urban districts facing indirect commercialisation pressures	– strong social ties between communities in the district – Welfare funds to support disadvantaged community members	– Communities understand CDF decision– making process	– CDF is allowing for stronger community–based decision–making – Community builders network is actively involved in home construction & regular community meeting	– CODI emphases on networks – Strong leadership is critical in increasing networks and introducing new communities to Baan Mankong	– get access to decision making process – welfare fund for supporting disadvantaged community members	– bottom–up development plan – a good central example of Baan Mankong potential
Peri-urban districts facing direct industrialisation and indirect commercialisation pressures	– incremental construction reduce the financial pressure	– had 2 pronged evaluation procedure – people have rights to vote, make decision together	– important land information provided by CODI for community – learning center for knowledge exchang – Strong relationships with the municipality	– strong networks	– able to get access to secure tenure – able to participate on the different level	– CDF leading to financial sustainability – the success of Baan Mankong program empower the community – obtain a better livelihood through the network

H. Community Reference Table

S1: Bang Khen

Date	Interaction	Participants
	Site Visits	
Monday, 16th May	Community Forum 1(Bang Bua)	Community Leaders, Translators, Research Group Members
	Individual interviews 1 (Rum Chai Patana)	Community leaders, Community Members, Translators, Research Group Members
	Individual Interviews 2 (Chai Klong Bang Bua)	Community Leaders, Translators, Research Group Members
	Individual interviews 3(Rum Chai Patana North)	Community Leaders, Community Members, Translators, Research Group Members
Tuesday, 17th May	Individual Interviews 4(Bang Bangkaen)	Community Leaders, Translators, Research Group Members
	Community Forum 2(Bang Bangkaen)	Community Leaders, Translators, Research Group Members
	Individual Interviews 5(Ou Tid A Nu Son)	Community Leaders, Translators, Research Group Members
	Individual Interviews 6(Klong Lum Pai)	Community Leaders, Community Members, Translators, Research Group Members
	Informal Interviews 1(Klong Lum Pai)	Community Members, Translators, Research Group Members
Wednesday, 18th May	Community Forum 3(Run Mai Pattana)	Community Leaders, Translators, Research Group Members
	Informal Interview 3(Run Mai Pattana)	Community Members, Translators, Research Group Members
	Individual Interview 7(Run Mai Pattana)	Community Leaders, Translators, Research Group Members
Thursday, 18th May	Research Group Presentation 1 (Bang Bua)	Community Leaders, Community Members, Community Architect, Translators, Research Group Members
	District Community Forum	Community Leaders, Government Official, University Officials, Community Architect, Translators, Research Group Members

S2: Klong Toey

Date	Interaction	Participants
Monday, 16th May	Stakeholder meeting 1	Community leader
Tuesday, 17th May	Community Forums 1 (San Sun Phatana)	Community leaders; community members; translators; research group members
	Household Interviews 1 (San Sun Phatana)	Community members; translator
	Community Forum 2 (Rim Klong Wat Sa Parn)	Community leaders; community members; translators; research group members
	Household Interviews 2 (Rim Klong Wat Sa Parn)	Community members; translator
Wednesday, 18th May	Community Forums 3 (Ruam Jai Pattana)	Community leaders; community members; translators; research group members
	Household Interviews 3 (Ruam Jai Pattana)	Community members
	Community Forums 4 (Lock 1,2,3)	Community leaders; community members; translators; research group members
	Household Interviews 4 (Lock 1,2,3)	Community members, translators
	Klong Toey Tour 1	Community leaders; translators, research group members
Thursday, 19th May	Community Forums 5 (Koh Klang Pra Ka Nhong)	Community leaders; community members; translators; research group members
	Household Interviews 5 (Koh Klang Pra Ka Nhong)	Community members, translators
	Klong Toey Canal Tour 1	Community leaders, translators
	Klong Toey Market Tour 1	Community leaders; community members; translators; research group members
	Stakeholder Meeting 2	Government officials; community leaders; translators; research group members

H. Community Reference Table

S3: Phasi Chareon

Date	Interaction	Participants
Monday, 16th May	Site Visits	
	Group Interview 1(Klong Lad Phd-Shi Community)	Community Leaders, Translators, Research Group Members
	Individual Interview 1 (Wat Chan Ket 3 Community)	Community Member, Translators, Research Group Members
	Group Interview 2 (Sirin and Friend Community)	Community Leaders, Youth Network Leader, Translators, Research Group Members
	Group Interview 3 (Ra-sri Community)	Community Leaders, Community Members, Translators, Research Group Members
Tuesday, 17th May	Group Interview 4(Witsampham Community)	Community Leaders, Politicians, Translators, Research Group Members
	Individual Interview 2 (Witsampham Community)	Savings Group Members, Translators, Research Group Members
	Group Interview 5 (Temple)	Community Leaders, Politicians, Head of Monks, Translators, Research Group Members
	Individual Interview 3(Sirpraya Coummunity)	Community Leaders, Translators, Research Group Members
	Group Interview 6 (Wat Chan Ket 1 Community)	Community Leaders, Translators, Research Group Members
Wednesday, 18th May	Group Interview 7 (Municipal Development Department)	Community Leaders, Head of Development Department, Translator, Research Group Members
	Individual Interview 4 (Sirin and Friend Community)	Savings Group Accountant, Translator, Research Group Members
	Group Interview 8 (Ra-sri Community)	Community Leaders, CODI Architects, Community Members, Translators, Research Group Members
Thursday, 19th May	Watch Protest Events	Community Leaders, Community Members, Translators, Research Group Members
	Community Forum	Community Leaders, Translators, Research Group Members

S4: Rangsit

Date	Interaction	Participants
Monday, 16th May	District community forum	Government officials (Mayor), Community Leaders (incl. NULICO
	Site visits : Mit Sampaan Community (Nimit Mai), Informal interviews 1	Community leaders, Community Members, Translators
	Site visits: Rattana Pathum Community, Informal interviews 2	Community leaders, Community Members, Translators
	Site visits: Sang San Nakorn Community, Informal interviews 3	Community leaders, Community Members, Translators
	Site visit & Group Interviews 1: Charoen Sin Community	Community leaders, Community Members, Translators
Tuesday, 17th May	Site visit: Behind Makro Community, Group interviews 2, Informal Interviews 4	Community leaders, Community Members, Translators
	Site visit: Lakhok Railway Community, Informal Interviews 5	Community leaders, Community Members, Translators
	Site visit: Klong Sawaan Community, Group Interview 3	Community leaders, Community Members, Translators, University Professor
Tuesday, 17th May (cont'd)	Group Interviews 4& Informal Interviews 6: Charoen Sin Community	Community leaders, Community Members, Translators
Wednesday, 18th May	Participatory design workshop: Charoen Sin Community. Also Group interviews 4 (targeting different demographics, e.g. Young people, eldery, working men, women)	Community leaders, Community Members, Translators
	District Community Forum 1: CDF Meeting	Community leaders, Community Members, Translators
Thursday, 19th May	Community forum: Presentation to Charoen Sin	Community leaders, Community Members, Translators
	District community forums 2: Presentation to municipality	Community leaders, Community Members, Translators

H. Community Reference Table

S5: Bang Poo

Date	Interaction	Participants
Monday, 16th May	Informal Interviews (Sam haung, Nangnoal, Bangsamran, Srang ton	Community Leaders, Community Members,Translators
Tuesday, 17th May	Bang Poo Community Leaders Meeting	Community Leaders, Translators
	Informal Interviews (12 households) Klong Mai	Translators
	Klong Mai Tai Mapping	Commuity Leaders,Community Members,Translator
Wednesday, 18th May	Stakeholder Meeting - Bang Poo Municipality Mayor	Commuity Leaders, Translators, Government Officials
	Klong Mai Tai Mapping	Commuity Leaders,Community Members,Translator
	Informal Interview Klong ta kok site	Translators
Thursday, 19th May	Final Community Forum Klong Mai Tai Site	Community Leaders, Community Members,Translators
	Participatory Workshop Klong Mai Tai Site	Community Leaders, Community Members,Translators

S6: Rattanakosin Island

Date	Interaction	Participants
Sunday, 15th May	Site Visits	
	Informal interviews 1 (WangromPhraSommootamompan)	Community leaders, Community Members, Translators, Research Group Members
	Community forum 1 (Baan Bard)	Community Leaders, Community Members, Translators, Research Group Members, CPB Officials
	Informal Interviews 2 (Wat Saket)	Community Leaders, Translators, Research Group Members, CPB Officials
	Informal Interviews 3 (Wat Dusitaram)	Community Members, Translators, Research Group Members, CPB Officials
	Community forum 2 (Jakkaphatdephong)	Community Leaders, Community Members, Translators, Research Group Members, CPB Officials
	Community forum 3 (Wat Sumtonthammatan)	Community Leader, Translators, Research Group Members, CPB Officials
Monday, 16th May	Informal Interviews 4 (Wat Sumtonthammatan)	Community Members, Translators, Research Group Members, CPB Officials
	Group Interviews 1 (Jakkaphatdephong)	Community Members, Translators, Research Group Members, CPB Officials
	Informal Interviews 5 (Baan Bard)	Community Members, Translators, Research Group Members, CPB Officials
	Informal Interviews 6 (Wat Saket)	Community Members, Translators, Research Group Members, CPB Officials
Tuesday, 17th May	Site visit	
	Community forum 4(Pom Mahakan)	Community Leaders, Translators, Research Group Members
Wednesday, 18th May	Site visit (Tha Wang)	Community Leaders, Research Group Members, Government Officials
	Informal Interviews (Tha Wang)	Community leaders, community members, research group members
	District community forum (Rattanakosin Island)	Community Leaders, Community Members, Translators, Research Group Members, Government Officials

I. History of Housing Provision in Thailand

Timeline axis: 1950s — 1960s — 1970s — 1980s — 1990s — 2000s — 2010s

Community-driven process

supply-driven process
Site and Service programme
Social Housing Programme
Flats
Slum upgrading Programme

Industrialisation
Rapid urbanisation
Slum Eviction
Relocating people
Slum Clearance Programme

The emergence of CDFs

CODI was established
to provide loans and to organise community
for settlement upgrading

Baan Mankong was launched
aimed to achieve 200 cities without slums in 5 years
with 10 pilot projects as initial stage

UCDO was established
to provide loans and to organise
community for settlement upgrading

NHA was established
which focused on the construction
of social housing

J. Findings Methodology

FINDING METHODOLOGY

Pre-field trip analysis
- Research & Reading
- Defined transformation & criteria
- Actor Mapping
- Identify the problems & opportunities
- Strategies

During field trip analysis
- Testing Transformation indicators & adjust initial strategies
- Presentations from different actors
- Study tour
- Site visits - collate informations

Analytical Methodologies
- Typologies
- Stages of Analysis
- Strengths & Challenges
- Revised strategies

K. Fieldtrip Programme

M.1 Study Tour and presentation from different actors during the 1st week in the fieldtrip

Date	Activities
Monday 9th May	Arrived at Bangkok Suvarnabhuminal International Airport
	Afternoon: Group B MEETING: revise our transformation indicators, preliminary strategies, and plan for next day (Mins notes)
Tuesday 10th May	Morning: Presentation by Somsook Boonyabancha, about context of Bangkok & Thailand, Baan Mankong and urban community (Q&A) - ALL GROUPS
	Afternoon: 1) Presentation by speaker from NESDB, about Thai economy, social development, urbanisation and land issues (Q&A) - ALL GROUPS 2) Presentation from GHB, focused on housing development, financial issues, role of government housing and private sector for low-income houses (Q+A) - ALL GROUPS
	Evening: Group B reflection about what we learned, exchanging and compiling information, summarising information gained from presentations.
Wed. 11th May	Morning: Study Tour, visiting the Grand Palace & Crown Property Bureau
	Afternoon: Visited LPN housing project - ALL GROUPS
	Evening: Group B reflection about what we learned, exchanging and compiling information, summarising information gained from presentations.
Thu. 12th May	Morning: Presentation from the National Housing Authority (NHA) in Thailand by representative (Q&A) - ALL GROUPS
	Afternoon: Bus and walking tour of two NHA projects - ALL GROUPS
	Evening: Group B reflection about what we learned, exchanging and compiling information, summarising information gained from presentations.
Fri. 13th May	Morning: 1) Presentation from Community Architect and project he involved by Chawanad Luansang (Q&A) - ALL GROUPS 2) Panel discussion - community leaders were talking about experience of their community (community history, problems, etc) (Q&A) - ALL GROUPS
	Afternoon: Visit one Baan Mankong project in Ram 39 areas, and first meeting with community (Q&A) - ALL GROUPS
	Evening: Group B reflection about what we learned, exchanging and compiling information, summarising information gained from presentations.
Sat. 14th May	Morning: Six sites introduction by site community coordinators (Q&A) - ALL GROUPS
	Afternoon: continued morning session
	Evening: Evening: Group B reflection about what we learned, summary of informations gained from presentations, plan for next four days site works and updating minute notes of today

M.2 Schedule of site work

We are 11 people in Group B, and have been divided to work with sub-group during the four days site work. Balance equal distribution on each site, there were two researchers on Bang Khen, Klong Toey, Rangsit, Bang Poo and Rattanakosin Island respectively, and only 1 researcher on Pasi Chalern.

Group members on each site between May 15th - 19th

Name of Site	Name of Site
S1 - Bang Khen (Bangkok)	Tanya Murray; Veyom Bahl
S2 - Klong Toey (Bangkok)	Colin Hagans,; Yuming Liu
S3 - Pasi Chalern (Bangkok)	Wendy Huang
S4 - Rangsit (Pathum Thani)	Helen Markides; Amy Scott
S5 - Bang Poo (Samut Prakran)	Anna Sinnott; Kitty Kam
S6 - Rattanakosin Island	Kade Supapom; Alexandra Chorlton

Timetable on site between May 15th - 19th

Date	Acitivity
Sun. 15th May	A.M - P.M site work for S6, visited communities
	Evening: Evening: Site group 6 meeting
Mon. 16th May	A.M - P.M site work for S1, S2, S3, S4, S5 & S6, visited communities
	Evening: 1)site group meeting, summary of information gained 2) Group B: summarised information gained from each site, plan for next day 3) S6 members stayed on community overnight
Tue. 17th May	A.M - P.M site work for S1, S2, S3, S4, S5 & S6, visited communities
	Evening: 1)site group meeting, summary of information gained 2) Group B: summarised information gained from each site, plan for next day 3) S1 members stayed on community overnight
Wed. 18th May	A.M - P.M site work for S1, S2, S3, S4, S5 & S6, visited communities
	Evening: Group B: summarised information gained from each site, plan for next day 2) S5 members overnights on community
Thu. 19th May	A.M - P.M site work for S1, S2, S3, S4 & S5 visited communities
	Evening: 1)site group meeting, summary of information gained 2) Group B: summarised information gained from each site, plan for next day

L. Strategy Comparison Table

	Shared Ownership	Rental Schemes	Perceptions of "community"	Influencing Planning Decision-Making	Alternative Community Plans	Land Banking	New Financing for CODI	Expansion of CDFs	Knowledge Centres	Partnerships for Data Collection
Shared Ownership							Additional CODI financing could provide for loans or grants to accommodate the financial needs of particularly low-income individuals and groups	CDFs are more flexible in their loan critieria allowing for more flexibility in the structure of the loan ie. Allows for options like shared ownership	Information concerning shared-ownership can be shared with communities to help ensure they understand what ownership options they have	Data collection can track income levels to assess affordability/necessity for shared ownership in different communities.
Rental Schemes			A campaign to promote openness in select environments can bolster traction for rental schemes, by encouraging communities to support other low-income peoples affected by broader drivers of (e.g. economic) change.	Broader participation in local plan-making can help community members to understand drivers of change in their communities and the ways in which rental schemes (or other interventions) may complement broader planning efforts.		Land-banking (particularly in peri-urban areas) can begin to account for land and housing needs of growing migrant populations.		CDFs are more flexible in their loan critieria allowing for more flexibility in the structure of the loan ie. Allows for options like rental schemes	Local knowledge centres can help community members to understand drivers of change and the ways in which rental schemes (or other interventions) may address local challenges.	Data collection can track income levels to assess affordability/necessity for rental schemes in different communities.

	Shared Ownership	Rental Schemes	Perceptions of "community"	Influencing Planning Decision-Making	Alternative Community Plans	Land Banking	New Financing for CODI	Expansion of CDFs	Knowledge Centres	Partnerships for Data Collection
Perceptions of "community"	Shared ownership builds on present understandings of community as a caretaker for the less able or less secure.	Rental schemes can help gradually alter perceptions of community (and diminish resistance to openness) by allowing for a gradual integration of "outsiders" with local residence as a facilitator.			Seeks to involve other communities and stakeholders in the preparation of alternative plans.	New sites available which do not have established communities allow for the creation of new community identity	Low income communities are often seen as high risk for loan default. New financing may help break the trend of viewing communities this way.	As communities become self-sustainable and with more money they are seen as a greater force in power relations vs. a drain on society and can put pressure on government to include them in plan making processes	Broad participation in knowledge centres will allow for communities and partners to see the differences in community composition and the ambiguities that the word 'community' often reflect	Stronger partnerships for data collection can provide evidence for why a broader perception of community may be warranted in specific environments.
Influencing Planning Decision-Making	Shared ownership can provide an additional means through which communities are responding to local housing need.	Rental schemes can provide an additional means through which communities are responding to city-level housing demands.	Broader definitions of community can aid in lobbying for planning that includes all groups or individuals not yet well-integrated.					Expansion of CDFs leads communities to be more self-sustainable, gives them a larger political voice which can help them put pressure on government to include them in plan making processes	Can act as forums for community participation in plan-making and community consultation	

L. Strategy Comparison Table

	Shared Ownership	Rental Schemes	Perceptions of "community"	Influencing Planning Decision-Making	Alternative Community Plans	Land Banking	New Financing for CODI	Expansion of CDFs	Knowledge Centres	Partnerships for Data Collection
Alternative Community Plans			Broader definitions of community can aid in developing alternative community plans that include all groups or individuals not yet welintegrated into existing community networks					Expansion of CDFs leads communities to be more self-sustainable, gives them a larger political voice which can help them put pressure on government to include them in plan making processes	Can provide resources and assistance to communities developing alternative plans	
Land Banking							More money being put into the CODI programme opens up opportunities to explore different investment options such as land banking	CDF's allow for larger pools of community savings and more flexibility in the kinds of programmes that the money goes into-land banking can be one of these options		Can contribute to information about communities' demand for land,

	Shared Ownership	Rental Schemes	Perceptions of "community"	Influencing Planning Decision-Making	Alternative Community Plans	Land Banking	New Financing for CODI	Expansion of CDFs	Knowledge Centres	Partnerships for Data Collection
New Financing for CODI			Broader definitions of CODI could broaden the community-based effort to secure additional government funding for CODI (i.e. identifying the needs of individuals not yet reached by Baan Mankong).			Provide funds to establish land bank		Again CDFs can change the perception of communities as a risky investment leading to an increase in those willing to invest in CODI. It may also be viewed as a type of entrepreneurial investment or a catalyst		Could secure additional government funding if dat points towards Baan Mankong's positive contribution to the 'Green and Happiness Society'
Expansion of CDFs	Providing a community asset can help grow local finances; using CDFs for building homes for those less financially secure furthers the equity/welfare potential of the CDFs; (not CDFs, but) shared ownership could potentially allow for more		Broader notions of community may also broaden those who are deemed eligible to contribute to CDFs and/or benefit from their offerings. This can aid in sustaining CDF finances as well as expanding their mandate.			CDFs could create a city wide land bank				Data on the successes of Baan Mankong can lead to greater investment directly in the communities through CDFs
	coordinated and, therefore, lower cost building (communities can build more homes at once instead of waiting for each family to individually gather the needed finances for full ownership and construction).									

L. Strategy Comparison Table

	Shared Ownership	Rental Schemes	Perceptions of "community"	Influencing Planning Decision-Making	Alternative Community Plans	Land Banking	New Financing for CODI	Expansion of CDFs	Knowledge Centres	Partnerships for Data Collection
Knowledge Centres		Knowledge centres can serve as hubs for communities, local authorities, universities and NGOs to understand how rental housing may help to address the housing needs of the elderly, migrants, the particularly poor, or otherwise excluded groups.	More inclusive perceptions of community can enrich the discourse within knowledge centres—identifying potentially neglected concerns over inclusion.	Use knowledge centres for training and to disseminate information on plans and projects to communities.	Forum to provide information on alternative community plan preparation process in other communities	Land survey information		Additional funding opportunity for knowledge centres as community projects		
Partnerships for Data Collection	As shared ownership schemes grow, they can provide an additional indicator for local-level finances and provide a measure for how Baan Mankong may be reaching the poorest of the poor.			CDC used to collect data on city plans and infrastructure projects	CDC used to collect data on alternative plans	CODI, communities and LAs create and share information on land available for land banking			Knowledge centres can act as a space for research dissemination	

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JUNE
2011