grounding transformation
Cambodia Fieldtrip Report

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Our report is based upon cumulative experiences and reflections that occurred before, during and after the field trip to Cambodia. It is an adventure characterised by knowledge, communication, joy and unforgettable memories.

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This report is a final outcome of the research conducted by students of the Building and Urban Design in Development (BUDD) Master course on collaborative, people-centred partnerships for transformative practices in Cambodia. The research was conducted in collaboration with the Development Planning Unit’s (DPU) partners in Cambodia: the Asian Coalition of Housing Rights (ACHR), the Community Development Fund (CDF) and the Community Architects Network (CAN).

As a theoretical framework, our research group proposes an understanding of transformation as a radical process of change in which the excluded are not seen as subjects of change, but rather agents of development of their own reality. Thus, **transformation** is necessarily a grassroots, **people-centred process** that is capable of changing the existing reality by making the invisible visible, the unheard heard and the impossible possible.

This research started in February 2014 in London. The first chapter of the report illustrates the findings of this phase: the group started an initial research about the ongoing transition processes in Cambodia, analysing the context and trying to understand the existing reality. This led us to formulating a set of questions that emerged from this research and were further explored during the fieldwork.

The report then illustrates the theoretical framework that formed the basis for our definition of transformation and was further verified throughout the fieldtrip. From this framework, **two lenses** of analysis were identified: **autonomy and visibility**. These lenses were further used to
explore the six case studies during the fieldwork. Chapter 3 gives an overview of the field work phase: analysing of the existing reality of the six studied cases as well as the strategies formulated for each in relation to our two analytical lenses - autonomy and visibility. These findings were further synthesized into a list of key findings that were further used as entry points for our strategy.

Hence, our proposed strategy for transformation in Cambodia mediates between the theoretical understanding of transformation and the tangible contextual findings, thereby becoming operational in the Cambodian context. The mediation process is facilitated through the analytical exercise that uses the key components of autonomy and visibility to evaluate the definition of transformation in the field. This verification process concludes with key findings that inform the final strategy for transformation.

Finally, the strategy is built upon four components: a vision, lines of actions, scenarios and strategic proposals. The strategic proposals are at the most detailed level of the strategy, and are to be understood as examples on how the lines of actions could be applied in three different scenarios that are significant in Cambodia: eviction, relocation and opaque information.
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Street life
Phnom Penh © José Ahumada
ACRONYMOUSES

ACCA Asian Coalition for Community Action
ACHR Asian Coalition for Housing Rights
BUDD Building and Urban Design in Development
CAN Community Architect Network
CAN-CAM Community Architect Network Cambodia
CDF Community Development Fund
CEDT Community Empowerment and Development Team
CMDP Community Managed Development Partnerships
CNRP Cambodia National Rescue Party
CPP Cambodia People Party
CSNC Community Savings Network Cambodia
CVS Cambodian Volunteers for Society
FT Commune/Sangkat Field Team
GIZ German International Cooperation
HFHC Habitat For Humanity Cambodia
JICA Japan International Cooperation Agency
LMC Capital/Provincial State Land Management Committee
LWG District/Khan/Municipal State Land Working Group
NGO Non Governmental Organisation
UCL University College of London
UN-HABITAT United Nations Human Settlements Programme
UN-TAC United Nation Transitional Authority in Cambodia
UPDF Urban Poor Development Foundation
PPM Phnom Penh Municipality
The Cambodian nation has witnessed decades of tumultuous development and autocratic leadership, leaving in its wake a paradigm of exclusion of the poor in processes of advancement. Today, Cambodia is at the dawn of a period of transition, though the parameters by which it unfolds are not yet defined. To attempt to understand the processes currently at work and to explore challenges and opportunities in relation to them is fundamental to contributing to that period towards a brighter future. This report, along with those of our colleagues from the Building and Urban Design in Development Master course at the Development Planning Unit (UCL), hopes to make one such attempt by exploring, in detail, the concept and operationalisation of transformation in the Khmer nation.

The research results presented in this report are framed entirely by a discourse on the concept of transformation. As proposed in the following chapters, transformation is viewed as a radical process of change in which the excluded become agents of change, rather than subjects of development. Transformation, then, is central to Cambodia’s development, and necessitates by definition a people-centred process.

In February 2014, while still in London, our small, interdisciplinary research team embarked on a first phase of research to acquaint ourselves with the past and ongoing processes of transition taking place in Cambodia. Further exploration into distinct areas of interest allowed us to articulate preliminary conclusions as to the existing reality in relation to our research theme. We further outlined a theoretical framework to guide our analysis and frame our diagnosis of the fieldwork.
The first two chapters contain the aforementioned. The final chapters give an overview of our field research and the conclusions we draw from it. Six case studies were provided by DPU and utilised across research groups to explore the reality on the ground in relation to our understanding of transformation.

The field research underlying this report was conducted in collaboration with the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR), the Community Development Fund (CDF), the Community Architects Network (CAN), and a host of students from various universities in Cambodia. Strategies formulated within those case studies were further synthesised to provide entry points for comprehensive strategies targeting a wider scale of intervention. Several lines of action were identified and elaborated in strategic proposals which the reader will find towards the end of this report. Finally, it is hoped that this report shows our shifting understanding of transformation as the research progressed, and similarly projects a possible operationalisation of the concept through what will come to show as collective agency.
This first chapter begins by outlining the research process as it was undertaken from several weeks before the journey to Cambodia until the final submission of the product the reader holds in his/her hands.

It continues by examining the historical circumstances under which the state of Cambodia today was born and attempts to distill the transitions it has passed through.

Finally, it sets out to describe the pre-field diagnosis along the lines of five chosen dimensions to help contextualise the challenges facing the country today in relation to transformation.
what is transformation?

definition of transformation

key components

autonomy

visibility

site experience

lectures

meetings

activities

site strategies

key findings on autonomy

key findings on visibility

principles

autonomy

visibility

vision for transformation in Cambodia

strategic lines of action

scenarios

sample proposals

execution of the strategy on the field
1.1 ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

This report, and, as such, our research, begins with conducting a cursory analysis of the historical circumstances until the present day and a partial review, where possible, given access to literature and documentation, of some of the conditions surrounding land, housing, finance, infrastructure and identity, having identified these as particularly crucial (see: Appendix, pg. 17-27).

Based on a review of these topics and the exigencies of the context, we constructed an abstract definition of transformation, shared in the following chapter, and articulated thoughts on two key components, autonomy and visibility.

We set out to contextualise this understanding of transformation, given our understanding from the pre-field diagnosis, utilising the formulated questions to evaluate the strategies developed by interdisciplinary field teams during the research trip, grounding it, where possible, in more tangible terms. Several issues emerged across the different cases to provide specific spaces opportune for further specification of strategies. They also called for a reevaluation of our definition of transformation and its associated values.

Gleaned out of this process, and with specific sight on proposing transformational elements, broader strategies for the Cambodian context were conceived in various lines of actions and within specific scenarios that we hope provide a valuable contribution to the progress of the country.
Cambodia becomes a protectorate of France

Peasant uprising in Battambang

Prime Minister Lon Nol overthrows Sihanouk in coup, proclaims Khmer Republic

Khmer Rouge defeats Lon Nol and occupies Phnom Penh. Renamed Kampuchea, Sihanouk reinstated

Vietnamese take Phnom Penh. People's Republic of Kampuchea

Renamed Democratic Kampuchea, Sihanouk resigns

Pro-Vietnamese win elections. The government-in-exile, which includes the Khmer Rouge and Sihanouk, retains its seat at the United Nations

Prince Norodom Sihanouk becomes king

Sihanouk abdicates and becomes prime minister

Phnom Penh 334,000 people

North Vietnamese guerrillas set up bases in Cambodia against South Vietnamese (US supported)

Phnom Penh 457,000 people

Prime Minister Lon Nol overthrows Sihanouk in coup, proclaims Khmer Republic

Khmer Rouge defeats Lon Nol and occupies Phnom Penh. Renamed Kampuchea, Sihanouk reinstated

Phnom Penh 370,000 people

Renamed Democratic Kampuchea, Sihanouk resigns

Phnom Penh 32,000 people

Pro-Vietnamese win elections. The government-in-exile, which includes the Khmer Rouge and Sihanouk, retains its seat at the United Nations

Phnom Penh 370,000 people

Phnom Penh 32,000 people

Sihanouk becomes head of state, UN Transitional Authority

Monarchy reestablished, Hun Sen's party loses.

Hun Sen mounts coup

The Urban Poor Development Fund in Cambodia (UPDF) was established

Land Law passed, providing legal framework for land registration

Sihanouk abdicates, Norodom Sihamoni crowned

Thai stand-off military over border area

Battambang earns “Heritage Protection Area”, 800 buildings

Circular 3 published

Community Development Foundation (CDF) was created
Cambodia’s political landscape has been a defining element in how transformation has unfolded, and as such, can be utilised to reveal much of the transition that has occurred in the urban sphere.

We begin this cursory overview of Cambodia’s past at the turn of the 20th century, when Cambodia was newly integrated into French Indochina, following a brief period of rule as a French protectorate, inaugurated under King Norodom. Under this same King, Phnom Penh had been revived as the capital following centuries of abandonment by the royals. Given its status as the new seat of government and home of the royal palace, the French too, invested in its development and essentially turned a village into a city, directing the construction of hundreds of concrete houses.

From the 1920s, still as a French colony, Phnom Penh experienced rapid modernisation and grew tremendously. The French certainly left their indelible mark, having constructed vast boulevards, reminiscent of their own capital, and churches, hotels, and villas for the well-endowed. Later, in an independent state, Prince Sihanouk infused what had become known as ‘the Pearl of Asia’ with a new form of architecture, namely ‘New Khmer Architecture’, a fusion of modern European architecture such as Bauhaus and traditional Angkor typologies and ornaments. (Turnbull 2007). He also initiated more expansive suburban development to accommodate small but rising upper and middle classes.
Battambang, today the nation’s second-largest city, had been ceded to the French Indochina colony only in 1907, following more than a century of development as a major commercial hub of a Siamese province. (Battambang Municipality 2013). Lying close to the heart of the ancient Angkorean empire, the city’s surroundings are rich with temples and other objects of heritage. Its rich legacy was thought to be well complemented by modern French colonial architecture, and indeed, its legendary artistic community remained intact for decades. The French overlords enforced a grid pattern on the urban layout, including wide roads and two bridges across the river. (ibid.) Further, a railway link to Phnom Penh was introduced in 1936 and the city expanded considerably around the station. Under Sihanouk’s rule, its economic status as the leading rice-producing province was supplemented by foreign investment in textile and garment industries. Its growing size, strong infrastructural capacity, and economic prowess, made Battambang an outstanding example of urban development in rural Cambodia.

As the reader undoubtedly knows, the thriving Cambodian state was thrown into violent tumult soon after. Battambang province proved to be a fertile staging ground for the burgeoning Khmer Rouge, as a 1967 peasant uprising gave way to Pol Pot’s armed rebellion.
After a devastating civil war, Pol Pot and his army marched silently into the capital in 1975, after having “tortured the capital almost continuously”, “inflicting random death and mutilation” on millions of civilians and reducing the city to rubble (Barron and Anthony 1977). The urban setting was declared corrupted and its inhabitants were ordered to leave for the countryside and begin life at the infamous “Year Zero”. Under the ensuing rule of terror, millions fell victim to execution, torture, starvation and disease. Phnom Penh’s streets and buildings lay vacant for several years, apart from the few buildings used as administrative or detention centres. (Mydans 1998)

Finally, an invasion from neighbouring Vietnam ‘liberated’ the capital, though the tyrannical Khmer Rouge retained its seat at the United Nations for years, having announced its abandonment of communist ideology and now favouring political, social, and economic freedoms. Former residents of the capital, and indeed thousands of others, returned to Phnom Penh after its fall to Vietnamese forces and many homes were occupied on a first-come, first-serve basis (ibid.); most tenure records and hereditary land-ownership systems having been wiped away by the Khmer Rouge. The cradle of Pol Pot’s regime, Battambang province, would not find its peace until 1997, when remaining forces were defeated and the city began to reconstruct its waning legacy. (Lindt 2011)

As a period of reconstruction began in Phnom Penh, induced primarily by foreign investment and aid, thousands of Cambodians filled the existing housing, and when all space was occupied, the government gave permission for development of informal housing on inner-city public land.
Relocation sites in Phnom Penh

2012 Last eviction in Borei Keila
Phnom Penh
New land management policies were gradually adopted, but the implemented systems grew paralysed as thousands applied for land ownership, following the complete nationalisation of land during the Khmer Rouge.

Cambodia’s current land registration system was introduced in the late 1990s, followed by regulatory and legal frameworks to develop land management capacities, hoping to eventually register all land in the cadastral system to improve tenure security and developing a functioning land market. The previously uncontested power of Prime Minister Hun Sen effected a period of political stability, attracting foreign investment, primarily Chinese and Korean, and tourists. (Ngoun 2013) The aggressive development and investment in land, coupled with high corruption levels of greedy officials, is now colliding with the interests of the urban poor in all urban centres. The massive pressure of commercialisation and increasing demands of infrastructure are driving widespread evictions of inner-city slums and are similarly putting architectural heritage at risk.

As the contest over urban space becomes increasingly intense, several dimensions – land, housing, infrastructure, identity, and finance – present themselves and are described here to illustrate our initial understanding before embarking on research in Cambodia (see: Appendix, pg. 17-27).
One of the most problematic is the question of **land administration**. For instance, the Land Law passed in 1992 does not guarantee security of tenure, even when land titles are owned. (National Legislative Bodies 1992). That this offers a potentially tragic outcome for many urban poor is further worsened by the processes in which **evictions** take place. Though necessitated by international law, concrete reasons for displacement are often not provided and though Cambodian law prohibits it, evictions are often conducted by violent and abusive, as sometimes reported, private armed forces. Once displaced, little to no monetary compensation (See: section on Circular 3) is provided and resettlement sites lack basic physical and social services such as waste management, electricity, sanitation and flood drainage. Many of the sites are located at distances from urban centres that make reaching places of employment expensive.

**Housing**, when provided or self-constructed, is usually in poor condition - sometimes families are found to live in rudimentary tents, exposed to the naked ground and very prone to flooding. Housing can be found developed by the informal private sector and sometimes NGOs engaged in social housing.

Finally, the lack of an effective national strategic **transport policy** has produced great congestion problems in Phnom Penh and results in poor public transport and physical infrastructure. Similarly, large regional and national infrastructure projects increase the threat of eviction in urban areas.

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**References:**


The urban-rural migration has also resulted in conflicts of identity. As a largely agrarian society - 85% of Cambodians live in rural areas - urban spaces are often viewed as temporary, but attempts to merge forces of modernity and tradition remain contested. Similarly problematic is the treatment of architectural legacy, given the country’s tumultuous and not completely reflected past.

In poor urban communities, systems of loans, primarily driven by UPDF (Urban Poor Development Fund), and savings groups, often initiated by CDF (Community Development Fund) or supplemented by UN-HABITAT or other organisations, are sometimes in place, though success varies vastly.

Finally, forces of globalisation, particularly global flows of capital maintain their impact with privileged portions of the populations, often living in isolated pockets and at the level of infrastructure investment, real estate development and particularly the manufacturing sector, and conflicts are due to emerge much stronger if left unchecked.


Circular 3 is the document that outlines the process of dealing with “temporary settlements” located on “state land” in Phnom Penh. The relevance of the document is not only in the seven procedural points it establishes, but also in the underlying governmental responsibilities concerning the existence of slum settlements. We consider two elements as relevant in this context.

**Institutional Recognition:** Slums are explicitly (and institutionally) recognised as “temporary settlements” (see p.1). As seen in the field, this “temporary” categorisation tells little about the duration that people can actually live under these conditions. “Temporary”, then, is not conceptualised in the sense of duration, but rather as something that is temporary due its relation with the explicitly permanent settlements. However, that notion of permanent settlement informs point 6 on: “Basic public infrastructures and services to support livelihood” (refer to point “e” below).

**Governmental responsibilities:** The document examines the range of governmental responsibilities, specifically applicable to “owners of temporary settlements on state land”, excluding those who “rent from owners” (see p.3). Responsibilities can be summarized:

- **a)** Setting up an institutional instance, the “District/Khan/Municipal State Land Working Group” (LWG) in charge of implementing all the points detailed below. The LWG works perennially with a non-institutional instance, the “Commun/Sangkat Field Team” (FT) and the Capital/Provincial State Land Management Committee (LMC). FT constitutes of local community’s representative and civil society organizations.

- **b)** Coordinating a cadastre of “temporary settlements”

- **c)** Coordinating and deciding on an Action Plan, which includes three types of solutions: relocation, upgrading or “other types of solution policies based on actual situation” (see p. 3)

- **d)** Coordinating and deciding on policy solutions, which include three types of possible benefits: usufruct right, ownership right, rented right (with a symbolic token) (see p.4)

- **e)** Ensuring the existence (excluding development) of basic public infrastructures and services to support livelihood (mentioned in point 7), such as “roads, water supply, sewage, and other needed basic services including education and healthcare services and also consider employment opportunities” (p.4)

As becomes clear from this summary, the circular’s most relevant element is setting up an institutional actor (LWG), with whom other actors working on the field can coordinate when developing “solutions”. But the LWG does not have executive powers and is neither responsible for building anything “physical”, nor for assigning responsibilities in order for others to build “solutions” such as upgrading. It therefore, necessarily requires other actors, such as NGOs and civil society organisations.
Relocation sites
Phnom Penh
The diagram on the right shows a set of actors that were encountered during the field work and research. These actors are related to different scales, here represented by the concentric circles. The outer circle represent the international scale and moving towards the center there are: national scale, city scale, neighborhood scale, community scale. Some of the actors are connected (with a black line) because they work in partnership. The actors that are working just with the beneficiaries with no other partnerships are represented with no connections on the diagram. In addition, the diagram groups the actors working on similar areas, such as housing, food and agriculture, etc. It is important to consider the fact that most of these actors work with the municipality in terms of having permits or similar documentations, yet not considered as partnerships. Therefore, they are not connected with other actors in this diagram. The following diagram represents the actors involved specifically in UPDF and their expansion later in CDFs on the provincial levels. Due to the complexity and importance of these actors, they are presented separately.
The Urban Poor Development Fund in Cambodia was established in 1998 to provide support to community-based savings groups (Phonphakdee et al., 2009). It provides loans and grants for land acquisition, upgrading, house building, income generation and food production, but also gives community savings groups the chance to improve their knowledge, their confidence and their capacity; most critically, it supports them to develop better relations with government agencies (Ibid). The fund was established between the municipality of Phnom Penh, the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR) (mainly through the ACCA program) and the Community savings network of Phnom Penh. In March 2011 the Community Development Foundation [CDF] was created as a non-governmental organization. This was a result of the scaling up in the agenda from what UPDF was doing in Phnom Penh into the provincial levels for the whole of Cambodia. Therefore, CDF expanded the scenario of actors. CDF has the following programs: community saving-credit program, community upgrading program, community information program, capacity building program, land-housing security program. The diagram shows the actors involved with UPDF and later with CDF. The actors inside the blue circles are part of the administrative/decisional sections. The actors outside the circles are partners of different kind. These partners are connected with the UPDF or CDF circle according to when they started collaborating. The dollar logo shows the financial support.
This chapter elaborates our theoretical framework which was defined during the pre-field phase and guided us throughout the on-field phase.

The theoretical framework created the basis for our understanding of transformation along with the main principles for a transformative process (visibility and autonomy).

These principles were tested during the on-site phase and further articulated as guidelines that we believe can trigger transformative processes at all scales of intervention.
Before going into the field, our team began by identifying a definition of transformation to act as a preliminary theoretical framework (see: Appendix, pg. 22-23). As a starting point, we identified transformation as a radical form of change. What distinguishes transformation from change is its ability to cause a fundamental adjustment; a disruption that is capable of changing prevailing logics, orders and hierarchies. Therefore, transformation must be viewed as an act of politics due to its ability to disrupt the existing paradigm and go beyond what is known as common sense.

Drawing on Jacques Ranciere, “Political activity is always a mode of expression that undoes the perceptible divisions of the police order by implementing a basically heterogeneous assumption, that of a part of those who have no part, an assumption that, at the end of the day, itself demonstrates the sheer contingency of the other, the equality of any other speaking being.” (Ranciere, 1998). For Ranciere, politics takes place when the excluded position themselves as equal, not by the power of the police but rather by their own will and power. Nothing, according to Ranciere, is in itself political, but it is rather a particular event that takes place when that “part of no part” rises up, speaks and becomes visible (Ranciere, 1998).

Applying this understanding to the notion of transformation, it can be understood as a political act and becomes possible when the poor position themselves as equal and act to change existing realities. Transformative practices are thus not achieved by including the less powerful into development interventions, but rather by positioning the people in the centre of the solution, as agents of development. In this sense, transformative processes should not create a subject for development practices, but rather rise from the people’s own will.
As a result, these individual acts, while re-positioning the excluded as equals in the city, disrupt the common sense, the existing logic, and propose a new order that transcends the existing social hierarchy.

For Ranciere, politics is what takes place when this order of visibility and invisibility, the predominant order, is contested and when the unheard is brought to speech. This visibility is what Ranciere calls the “partition of the sensible”. “A partition of the sensible refers to the manner in which a relation between a shared common and the distribution of exclusive parts is determined in sensory experience. This latter form of distribution of parts and shares, itself presupposes a distribution of what is visible and what not, of what can be heard and what cannot.” (Ranciere 2010:36).

Finally, we see this transformative process not necessarily as something achieved through a revolutionary act of deconstruction. We rather see it as series of acts that are capable of intruding dominant, presumed realities, offering a positive alternative through action. Such acts, if political, should necessarily be collective rather than individual. It “consists above all in the framing of a we, a subject of collective demonstration whose emergence is the element that disrupts the distribution of social parts.” (Ranciere, 2010:141-2). Therefore, existing social networks are assets that should be built upon to start a transformative process. “The power of those collective support systems that poor people create and utilize to resolve their needs is actually another kind of wealth – a social wealth.” (Boonyabancha et al., 2012). This social wealth has the potential for transformative change that can eventually disrupt the existing social order.
Exclusionary reality
Space for equality
Stuck
Get ready
Go
Institutions
Planners
People
Time
2.2 DEFINING TRANSFORMATION

“Political activity is always a mode of expression that undoes the perceptible divisions of the police order by implementing a basically heterogeneous assumption, that of a part of those who have no part, an assumption that, at the end of the day, itself demonstrates the sheer contingency of the other, the equality of any other speaking being.” (Ranciere, 1998)

In the light of this understanding, transformation can be seen as a process of radical change that is driven by the power of those who “have no part” to transform their own reality, positioning themselves as equal. Within this process, those who were considered as excluded become visible, not by the “power of the police”, but rather by their own initiative through collectively exercising power. This process is only possible when it is grounded in the grassroots, putting in its centre the “excluded” as agents of development, rather than subjects of it.

Diagram showing the process of transformation
From this position, transformation is understood as a process. The process of shifting from a paradigm that excludes a group of people, to one that is inclusive. But this inclusion, if it has been the result of a transformative process, will necessarily have a disruptive nature. It will disrupt the exclusionary reality “to make space”, rather than occupying a vacant space. Therefore, the elements of actions, objects, practices, and so on, needed for a transformative process, emerge from outside the exclusionary reality. Specifically from those who have no part inside the dominant state of affairs. When taking these elements into consideration, key concepts become fundamental:

**[autonomy]**
It is the concept that gathers together all the socio-spatial elements (practices, discourses, objects, symbols, etc.) that reflect the power of action and decision making of those who are excluded. Thus, the elements that can claim a space in a context of exclusion. These socio-spatial elements can have individual or collective dimensions.

**[visibility]**
It is the concept that highlights how the socio-spatial elements of autonomy as previously mentioned, become visible in order to be transformative. They must disrupt the dominant “visual field”. By “visual field” we do not refer only to the field of material objects, but to the set of elements presumed as “normal”. It is directly related with the notion of common sense. Therefore, a transformative process makes the socio-spatial elements of autonomy visible, disrupting the existing logic and orders.
The on-field work constitutes a central point for two parallel analytical tools. Bringing down previous abstract knowledge on transformation, and bringing up new entry points towards developing a specific, yet global, strategy for transformation.

Therefore, specific actions or activities are required (see Appendix: pg. 34-51), as well as alliances with other actors (students, lecturers, professionals). Thus, the on field work is also a moment to test our capacities and competences as practitioners.

The on field work, is at the end, a crucial moment in the context of this report. The coherence of our definition of transformation would fall flat apart without it, since the idea of contributing in bringing the practices, values, etc. of those who are excluded to the front, necessarily requires to search for those elements that emerge in the socio-spatial context.

This chapter starts by analysing the six case studies that were conducted in three different cities; Phnom Penh, Battambang and Serey Sophon, through the two analytical lenses that form the key components of our definition of transformation. Thus, this analysis is also used as a tool to verify and reformulate our hypothesis of what constitutes a transformative process. Finally, the chapter ends with a synthesis of the key findings that emerged from this exercise.
Phnom Penh, the capital of Cambodia, and with a population of 1.5 million its largest by far. It sits on the banks of three rivers, including the mighty Mekong, making the city particularly flood-prone. As home of the royal palace and seat of the government since 1866, the city occupies a unique role in the country, experiencing rapid growth, urbanisation and modernisation. This same role sets it as the centre of Cambodia’s economy, attracting private, often foreign, investment, particularly in large-scale infrastructure and property development projects, forcing immense pressure on land.

Since the retreat of the Khmer Rouge in 1979 from the city they had emptied and used as a centre for torture and murder, it has grown fourfold. According to a government report in early 2013, the number of slum inhabitants was over 100,000, projected to grow by 20,000 a year (Channyda 2012). The informal settlements are under constant threat of eviction due to mounting land pressure.

During the fieldtrip, three cases were studied in Phnom Penh: Russey Keo district, Andong and Tra Pang Chamang, and Borei Keila. The three cases reflect the city-wide tensions and the contested realities of the Cambodian capital. The following pages will illustrate these main findings from the three case studies.
[sharing contested spaces - visibility]
RUSSEY KEO

Russey Keo District consists of 56 communities, mostly located along a river. The communities are known for the production of Prahok, a river product that is produced regularly in a few months in the raining season towards the year-end. Russey Keo has an area of 107,662km² within 11 city communes and a total population of 185,763. The number of communities represented in the CDF-network is through a total of 13 representatives. This network is the basis for long-established prahok-loans in 17 communities.

Most of the population living there work as fishermen, vendors, taxi drivers, and government officials as well as garment manufacturers. Due to its location along the river, most of the communities in the district are faced with flooding problems every year. That is one of the main reasons for the housing typology on high stilts.

Some of the communities in Russey Keo District are not well organised and face a threat of eviction. Currently Psar Touch A&B is the only community that has been evicted some 5 years ago.

[AUTONOMY]

ON SITE

Currently there are many home-based businesses in the communities, especially in Nesath 4,5,6,7 and 8, and many of them are based on fish production. To support these activities, CDF is providing a loan for those who are willing to open small businesses in the community.

There were very few communities who were found having community savings. One community, Tonle Sap 1, was different from the others. Its members have a good relationship, as well as a

Collective use of river bank (visibility)
Phnom Penh © Fish Yu Chen
better physical conditions. Throughout interviews, we found that they have a community bank without specifications on the amount of money they have to save, they just save their spare money in a central spot. By doing so, the community members give each other credit and are able to use this record to apply for other loans from micro-finance organisations other than CDF (Chang, 2014).

STRATEGY
The strategy attempted to target the younger generations through human resources projects by arranging workshops among young people across 56 communities with the purpose of sharing knowledge, project awareness about their contribution for the community towards future improvement, make them work together in the development of the communities by looking at them as the impetus of development. In this case, it is about exploring their capability and building skills in producing community products using river resources.

[VISIBILITY]
SITE
The communities are well known for the ‘Prahok’. This famous Khmer-style fermented fish is thought to be part of the communities’ identity. However, when we visited Russeiy Keo, our perception of it as a district based entirely on Prahok production was proven to be incorrect. Infact, the Prahok production takes place only three months a year, while there are many other activities all year around. The Prahok became more of a “subjectification” tool of Russey Keo.
Even the loan facilities provided by CDF are specifically to help people in the communities to increase the production of Prahok and the generation of income.

**STRATEGY**

The strategy formulated tried to go beyond what is visible (the Prahok identity) and worked on the autonomous acts that were seen as a potential for development and income generation. Thus, the strategy proposed projects that focus on youth development programs and human resource workshops. It also focused on making contact with other stakeholders and expanding the collective platform. Moreover, the strategy proposed a way of facilitating the river through what we called “river sharing”: making use of the way the river is being appropriated in Cambodia, specifically in Russey Keo; building partnerships in creating and diversifying common and public space of the river and riverbank to be shared by the people in the community and from outside; connecting people and places through the river and at the same time benefiting these 56 communities in generating income and improving social life.
[individual action - autonomy]
ANDONG

[SITE]
The Andong village shows how a relocation site can be an opportunity if well located in relation to job opportunities. In this case, the village is located in the Por Sen Chey District of Phnom Penh where the high concentration of factories gives the inhabitants an accessible job opportunity. The village is far from the city, but has enough inhabitants to allow certain urban dynamics to occur at a smaller scale. After having been relocated, the people in Andong started opening small shops or activities to sustain life in the village. Several, if few, individuals have been able to upgrade their houses with no external support. These cases are creating a different level of tension when encountering unwanted external support, but in a way imposed. This happens with the PCL project and those families that want to stay where they are and continue to improve their houses, rather than moving in the free houses provided for them.

Collectivity seems to lack in Andong village. Despite this, small forms of collective actions were found, such as savings groups formed by few families (3 up to 10) to solve shared problems in the village (fixing the road, accessing house loans, etc.). Nevertheless, these actions were not understood as collective per se. Predominant in our discussion, as the element that restricts collectivity, was mistrust. The community leaders chosen by the municipality are, most of the time, not representing the community members’ needs. In addition, there is a level of mistrust in relation to corruption that makes these leaderships even weaker.
STRATEGY
The strategy was proposing a different structure of the communities with the election of new leaders to work than those in charge at the moment. In addition, partnerships with NGOs or universities could work towards the provision of those organisational tools requested by the community leaders.

[VISIBILITY]

SITE
Scattered around in the Andong village, elements injected from the outside were present as manifestations of external support. Houses upgraded or different kinds of facilities were all labelled with the name of the association that made the upgrade. This is a huge presence in the village and creates a tension with the non-upgraded parts of the village. One of the striking elements found was the presence of the Korean church and school in the site, creating a clear tension of identity.

STRATEGY
Among these tools proposed by our strategy were specifically focusing on facilitating the collective dialogue with the municipality, for example, the petition tool. This tool was proposed in order to voice the needs and concerns of the people, offering a parallel, alternative way of the organisational structure and leaders that were found trustworthy.
TRA PANG CHERNG SROK

[AUTONOMY]
SITE
Collectivity is an element that can be found in the way that this community became organised after being evicted. There is a very high level of collective organisation around the savings and a strong community leader facilitates this. The community also has a community committee that helps in organising the issues around savings for the access to land or housing loans. In sum the community has a well-structured and strong foundation that allowed them to achieve the land property and now the housing loan from CDF. Moreover, the community has created a strong example of how to face an eviction process collectively. In terms of strategies for autonomy, it didn’t seem to be a necessity in Tra Pang Cherng Srok community. The strong organisation of this community made possible for them to get organised after the eviction took place. Nevertheless the strategy of opening up the scenario of actors involved to speed up processes where the community is stuck at the moment, can be conceived as a trigger for autonomous acts, rather than being passive in waiting for one actor to provide the required support.

[VISIBILITY]
SITE
It seems that from the government there is not much recognition of the commitment of these families to get organised and find a better living solution. This non-recognition might be one of the causes of the 14-year delay in processes of acquisition of the land and housing loan. The strategy mentioned above, of opening up the scenario of actors, is seen also as an act of visibility in relation to the available support (i.e. making NGOs working on technical support visible).
[informality in the formal city - visibility]
Borei Keila was a challenging case mainly due to the complexities of the groups that are involved with it, as well as with their actions. The main challenges can be broadly categorised as:

a) The high levels of corruption characterising the committee
b) The limited information sharing that the private developers make available to the public
c) The weakness of community organisation, mostly prevalent in the inefficient waste collection management
d) And finally, the threat of evictions, mainly affecting the future of the families living in informal settlements.

[AUTONOMY]

SITE

One of the main characteristics of Borei Keila is individualism, given that the site is not represented by an organising community. Individualism was evident in a number of observations while being on-site, such as, housing upgrading by constructing mezzanines, in order to create more space in their houses, or by using more sustainable materials.

Other activities of selling and renting the properties were also evident. More than 50% of them have been transformed into houses and more surprisingly people have divided them into quarters of units (4m² each).

No sense of collective capacity characterises Borei Keila or the residents of the eight Borei Keila buildings. One of the reasons could be related to the lack of trust in community leaders and their strong relationships with the private developers.
To a very limited extent, some forms of collective capacity could be considered in the informal settlements, however this would only be as a form of resistance to the threat of eviction.

**STRATEGY**
Collective capacity was found to be one of the obstacles for community actions in Borei Keila. Therefore, one of our proposals was to start a trigger project that can bring people together and work as a catalyst for community organisation. Since garbage was found to be one of the most evident problems on site, we proposed starting a waste-collection management project. Moreover, our proposal pointed out the need for framing a regulative system that deals with environmental issues on the site, represented by an equal number of people from Borei Keila buildings and the informal dwellers.

**[VISIBILITY]**

**SITE**
The main visible failure of the Borei Keila project, as a land-sharing project, is the big number of informal settlements in its immediate vicinity and the occupation of the old buildings. What remains questionable is the future of the informal settlements, since the land is owned by private companies that have already started new constructions and demolishing the old buildings.
STRATEGY
In order to address visibility in our strategy our aim was to propose a win-win situation strategy, beneficial both for the dwellers and the private company, which would include the upgrading of Borei Keila as a financial and commercial centre, given its central location and positioning. By making Borei Keila a central point of Phnom Penh, both the private developer and the dwellers of Borei Keila would be benefited firstly due to the upgrading of the area and secondly for separate reasons. On the one hand the private developer would have financial benefits. On the other hand, the living conditions of the dwellers would improve, as waste management would be more efficient, health conditions would improve, slums, although removed, would be replaced by work in the Borei Keila without the need for relocation. In all these cases, the most important thing is representation of both the dwellers and building inhabitants to start working on collective capacity and collective activities in order to achieve the maximum of the benefits.
3.2 SITE PROFILING - BATTAMBANG - SEREI SOPHON

Battambang is the second city in Cambodia, with a population of 250,000, located 120 km from the Thai border and 180 km from the archaeological sites of Siem Reap. Due to the location, along the major touristic route, and the important architectural heritage from the colonial period, the city of Battambang is committed to becoming a capital of culture. In this stage of transition, municipality is developing a city “beautification” agenda, which include the self-proclaimed title of the cleanest city in Cambodia and an upgrading programme of poor settlements, through implementation of Circular 3.

After the 2009 survey, poor settlements in Battambang amounted to 64, with 2200 households and 10,500 people. Urban poor lived in public buildings, along road corridors and canals, on pagoda’s land and railway roads. A second survey, in 2012, showed a consistent increasing trend (90 informal settlements).

All of them are very centrally located, on land that - in the presence of private investors - could have a very high value. The upgrading programme involved four of them with little success from the point of view of the communities that did not receive the land title yet.

Among the actors involved in the transition process, the German Development Cooperation (GIZ), which provides training, is developing a land use plan that should help securing land. The important document is waiting to be signed by a Ministry in Phnom Penh. The pro-poor attitude of the municipality seems to be a great opportunity to be exploited.

Serey Sophon is the capital and the largest city of Bantaey Manchey province, which is located in the northwest of Cambodia. CDF has been working in this province since 2006 and established good relationship with the local government. Since then, several upgrading projects were initiated, as well as a land-sharing project in Poun Lea Meanchey settlement. However, the city is going through major changes at the moment due to its development plans that are part of the national plans for infrastructure development and reconstruction as well as the regional infrastructure plan that reaches Thailand. As a result of those plans, many settlements are facing the threat of eviction. During the meeting with the mayor of Serey Sophon, she expressed the need and urgency of relocating those settlements, specifically the ones on public land. A relocation site has been chosen by the municipality and waiting for approval by the Bantaey Munchey province and the Ministry of Forest to begin the relocation processes.
CHAMKAR SAMROUNG II

Chamkar Samroung II is formed by 79 families and is located along a road in the city centre of Battambang. At present, the community has no land tenure and in order to obtain it, they need to consolidate their position, i.e. re-start saving and start upgrading. The municipality is committed to developing a pro-poor policy, avoiding evictions/relocations and implementing Circular 3 in the poor urban settlements. This attitude stems from the municipality’s vision of Battambang as capital of culture.

[AUTONOMY]

SITE

Great effort has been spent in the attempt to understand what the municipality on one side and the community on the other understood as “upgrading” (infrastructure, housing or beautification?). From the municipality’s point of view, land titles will be granted only after upgrading; from the community point of view, upgrading is not possible without a land certificate. An exception occurred, when a member of the community was found upgrading his house, despite not having a title. Moreover, the very small upgrading project was affecting the space around the house (the less private one) and the more visible-exposed (to the community). He built a cement walkway around the house (with a lateral terrace to rest) and a ramp in front of the door to prevent flooding. He is not a construction worker, but was helped by a friend. He has been saving for one month in order to have the five dollars required to buy materials. His truly proud wife was cleaning and washing the narrow walkway during the interview. A small action, like this, an individual initiative to improve the house and consequently the living condition, was found to be a trigger for change.

Beyond small collective actions, collective practices were also evident in the community. First of
all, the community leader, as a woman and as a grandmother, as the first to arrive there and build the house, has a great catalytic role. Her house functions as a community centre, as a public space, as meeting room, as a playground as a crèche. In the community they call her “mae”, mother. She knows every single detail of each family in the community.

Some small businesses are also present in the community; the most evident is the mango business. The fruits come from rural areas and are treated in the community (washed, cut, dried) and then sold at the market. It works as a cooperative - mostly managed by the women. Despite the fact that it cannot be considered as a collective practice it contributes in building the community. There are a couple of people that provide community “services”. We also spotted some families collecting plastic bottles and recycling them daily and a woman that does the washing for all the community.

STRATEGY
With the purpose of meeting the community needs and the municipality’s dreams, our strategy was built on three stages: the first was “mobilising the community”, in order to strengthen the sense of community, clarify the role of CDF and restart saving. To achieve it, we discussed with the community some alternatives. The second stage focused on several upgrading scenarios, ranging from infrastructure (canal cleaning and covering) to special attention on the economic sustainability of alternatives (individual savings, CDF loans and microcredit) also taken into consideration, according to the project already submitted to the municipality; in this sense, we focused on diminishing the costs borrowing a Chilean practice called “minga”. The last stage was of “scaling up”, with the aim to consider our intervention site as a pilot project for the several settlements in the city.
SITE
The site is centrally located in a position that could easily be reclaimed by the municipality, despite the fact that the municipality showed firm intention not to relocate or evict. The opinion of the municipality is that the relocation can be a never-ending practice through which people are keeping being moved around the city, but their aim is to consolidate the city. The site is part of a consistent list of similar settlements that are already in the census (2009) and part of the municipality effort to implement Circular 3. The successful upgrading project of one of them can constitute the pilot project for others. Not all of them face the same problems; especially the ones that are along the National 5, which is waiting for a Chinese project of enlargement - and people there will be forcibly relocated, because there is a buffer zone on 25 meters. This pro-poor policy should be seen in a more critical light, considering the fact that Battambang seems to be cut off from the major touristic routes and does not seem to have a lot of private investors and therefore a high rate of unemployment.

STRATEGY
Collective actions, such as re-blocking through “minga”, is a strategic way to involve a broader range of actors and therefore facilitate the process of making existing capacities “visible”.

[comment vivre ensemble - autonomy]
The research area comprises three communities, totalling 123 families that live along a road off a National Highway. The already physically deprived conditions of the communities are exaggerated by the incoherence of the community and the likely relocation of at least 60% of the inhabitants, given their current living on public land.

The municipality of Serey Sophon is preparing a site for relocation for 800 families from throughout the city, including those living in Sangkat Kompong Savay, though the willingness and ability to prepare an appropriate site, as well as the appropriateness of the process in which this would be undertaken, are unknown.

[AUTONOMY]

SITE
The predominant occupation of male community inhabitants is construction work, while women often facilitate the household, perhaps even run a small shop out front. The family unit as such is cohesive, but relationships beyond the immediate family were not evidenced as particularly strong. Interviews generally yielded insights into the reluctance, perhaps even estrangement, in relationships between inhabitants, including immediate neighbours.

A home seemed to be understood as an independent unit, and while there was an openness, even excitement, towards the possibility of new housing through relocation, there was no desire for community dynamics.

Interviews and observation (in a limited time) showed little collective action throughout the site. The few community leaders are appointed, but wield little function over their constituents and CDF
structure Serey Sophon, and specifically with Sangkat Kompong Savay, is still young. When still in use, are primarily used for individual loans, for instance for food, not for communal projects. Particularly problematic seems to be the lack of trust originating in the former holder of community savings migrating to Thailand with the cash.

STRATEGY
One dimension of the developed strategy was typological, from which individuals could benefit without much interaction - if loans were affordable - though suggested infrastructure solutions and shared open spaces generally require more community cohesion. Moreover, the proposed strategy articulated possible collective activities such as garbage collection, community gardens, and development of shared spaces that could eventually rebuild community trust to engage in savings groups with more dedication and towards greater communal goals.

[VISIBILITY]

SITE
Perhaps the most (in)visible evidence for the aforementioned is the lack of truly communal spaces. The road that connects the communities internally and with each other is a shared space and has great potential to unfold a wider community dynamic. Specific opportunities are provided by unused patches of land along the road that could be transformed into public spaces, the shop fronts at individual houses that already function as spaces of encounters, but could be enhanced, and infrastructural or entrepreneurial spaces.
STRATEGY
Of course, the most evident visible success was the presence and participation of community members in meetings and presentations with and to the municipality of Serey Sophon and the Phnom Penh administration. The physical presence can act as a catalyst for a stronger political presence in the discourse around upgrading and relocation, perhaps especially pronounced with the assistance of local partners such as CDF.
[inappropriate use of space - visibility]
The railway settlement, divided into 4 villages with a total of 172 households, had many differences, opportunities and challenge. The 4 villages are facing the threat of eviction due to the reconstruction of a national railway. The municipality of Serey Sophon is in the process of identifying a relocation site for the railway communities along with other communities who will be relocated for different reasons (i.e. new road construction). However, very little information is given on the location and nature of this site as well as the process of how the relocations will be conducted.

[autonomy]

Site
Sae Sen and Korothan village were found to be resisting evictions, with lots of tension and mistrust with the municipality, CDF and also among the villagers. During the fieldwork, lots of difficulties were faced in order to be able to meet with the people and conduct interviews. Many of the inhabitants of the Railway settlement are planning to build or upgrade their houses in a resource-limited way. For example, one of the inhabitants interviewed built his own house from bamboo as he says it was cheaper and easier for him to build. One other resident constructed a drainage and water collection system on the roof of his house. On the other hand, many others are collecting plastic. These small acts, although individualistic, can be seen as a trigger and potential for autonomous action that shows the existing capabilities and can eventually build collective capacity.

No evidence of collective action was shown in the studied villages apart from a non-governmental organisation mainly working in health issues and income generation. In general, Rong Masen seems to have a more potential for collective action than the other three villages.
STRATEGY
The strategies formulated for this case were primarily focusing on stimulating agency through building collective capacity. The strategy proposed different small-scale activities that can stimulate collective capacity, building on existing potentials and capabilities, for example building common spaces through recycling plastic bottles. These activities were necessarily accompanied by different actions that would guarantee transparent exchange of information and eventually build trust that was seen as an integral prerequisite for collective actions - one of these proposals was to have info points for important announcements and news.

[VISIBILITY]
SITE
Centrality: During the fieldwork, the difference between Rong Masen village and the other three villages of Korothan and Sae Sen emerged clearly. While the latter was centrally located in the city, with better services, an existing market, a future station and consequently high pressure on land, the resistance for relocation was much higher. While in Rong Masen, which is relatively peripheral and in worse physical condition, the resistance is weaker. In fact, most of the interviewed inhabitants of Rang Masen said that they are willing to move to relocation sites if the government asks them to do so.

Appropriation of space: The railway constitutes an integral of the daily lives of the inhabitants of the railway settlements. By the time the sun sets, most of the people, of different ages, would gather around the railway sitting, chatting and playing. Moreover, some individuals run their own private ‘bamboo trains’ which are small locally made units. Children use coasters to play along
the railway as well. Thus, the railway is not just a publicly owned, occupied location; it became an integral part of the people living there, an identity of the railway communities.

STRATEGY
The strategy introduced a new perception to the municipality of Serey Sophon, trying to identify the significance of the railway in people’s lives and the effects of relocations on people’s livelihoods and social relations. The group members worked on upgrading plans with members of both villages of Rong Masen and Sei Sen (along with village 4). Although the mayor asked for developing a vision for relocations, the community wanted to find alternatives for on-site upgrading. The group members decided to work with the community on that. Moreover, community members presented these plans to the mayor in the municipality. This act was in itself seen by the group members as an act of resistance and disrupting the sensible. Voicing the needs, aspirations and desires of the residents inside the municipality and in front of the mayor, gave a new vision of what the future can be and providing alternatives to the residents of the three villages and can be seen in itself as an act of politics.
3.3 KEY FINDINGS

As it was presented before, several elements were found on the sites’ realities and strategies; both contributing to qualifying the concepts of autonomy and visibility that are fundamental in our understanding of transformation. These elements further informed the general strategy that will be presented in the next chapter. To do so, below is a summary of the key findings on autonomy and visibility at two levels: a) site reality and b) site strategies.

a) Autonomy and Visibility (A&V) on sites’ reality were found through:

Physical production: Self construction and/or collective construction reflects the will and power of the excluded to make space in places that were not provided by the dominant reality.

Financial systems: Collective saving groups reflect capacities and power of decision making on a (monetary) dimension that is not associated with those who are excluded from the “institutional” circuits of money.

Administrative structures and leaderships: Some sites have developed social structures to coordinate not only a collective financial dimension, but also collective services (for instance in Tra Pang Chreng Srok and Russey Keo District). These administrative structures emerge as an autonomous decision in order to deal with their necessities and problems.

Enterprises as livelihood strategies: In all the sites, individual and collective enterprises reflect the capacity of developing autonomously a source of income. Therefore, claiming a space
in the existing reality that tends to label them “informal” as a way of diminishing its value.

**Actions of resistance and appropriation of elements of dominant interest:** The appropriation of the railway line in the Railway settlements, or the occupations with self built houses of the river border (Keo District), or of spaces inside a land-sharing project (Borei Keila), are all evidences of the will of those who are excluded, to remain and claim a space despite the expulsive pressure.

**b) Autonomy and Visibility on the Strategies’ level were stimulated through:**

**Design of incremental and self-built housing projects.** The building capacity should be recognised and brought to the front in order to break the imposition of a form that does not fit the necessities of those who are meant to inhabit it. When construction cannot be done by the inhabitants, the possibility to expand, and therefore to develop the final house in an incremental way, is also a way of recognising the right of those who are excluded, to produce space.

**Collective events and actions:** Collective actions, such as “mingas”, waste collections, or “milestone” events, are a strategic way to involve a broader range of actors and therefore facilitate the process of making existing capacities “visible”.

**Legitimated community structures:** Seeking a better quality of community structures like some strategies did is fundamental. Some strategies worked on this encouraging the election of
new leaders (that complement or replace others that were co-opted by government’s or private developers’ interests). Legitimated community structures ensure an autonomous process of decision making.

**Diversifying or expanding existing sources of income:** Money is a strong tool for negotiation and an element that facilitates autonomy. The expansion of existing sources of income (enterprises) recognises, on the one hand, the value of livelihood strategies (tackling visibility), and on the other, expands the field for more “autonomous actions” that can be funded.

**Alliances and partnerships:** In alliances and/or partnerships, its members recognise the mutual value among them. Therefore making alliances and partnerships can be a way of “giving space” (in a specific) relationship, to those who before were not “seen” as potential subjects of partnerships or alliances.

**Redesigning dominant spaces of interest breaking subjectification processes:** The process of making a “subject” of something that has a higher or more complex nature. At a socio-spatial level, it can be understood as the process of hiding a reality under a single or a few elements. For instance, understand a specific area only as an area were “Prahok” is produced, rather than a living area with opportunities for other sources of income generation. This process of subjectification can be broken by re-designing some key socio-spatial elements (e.g.: river side). Elements that once re-designed, question the lack of complexity that was implied in this process of subjectification.
The strategy for transformation in Cambodia has been understood as an instrument that mediates between a theoretical and a practical level. It allows both, the theoretical products produced during the pre-field stage and the practical products produced during the on-field stage, to become “operational” at the country level.

From the theoretical level it extracts the action oriented dimensions of the definition of transformation and its key components, and gives them the form of principles and vision.

From the practical level, it extracts those site specific elements that have the higher potential to become “strategic projects”. Meaning that they enclose a potential as a “precedent”, replicable in different contexts.

The mediation process is facilitated through an analytical exercise that uses the key components of autonomy and visibility to “test” the definition of transformation on the sites, extracting what has been called “key findings” on autonomy and visibility.
4/OPERATIONALIZING TRANSFORMATION 21 MAY-2 JUNE 2014
### Diagram showing the strategic lines of action [vertical columns] and the four proposals [horizontal rows]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OPAQUE INFORMATION</th>
<th>Organizing and revealing the available support</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>EVICTION</td>
<td>Activating the border</td>
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<tr>
<td>RELOCATION</td>
<td>Creating community exchange board</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Re-thinking landsharing</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Setting up collective physical upgrading</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Our vision is to raise collective agency among the poor, in order to make the vehicle towards developing a socio-spatial reality founded upon equality. As mentioned before, the Vision is an action-oriented reformulation of the definition of transformation. Below is a deconstruction on how the components of the Vision reflect the definition of transformation.

“To raise collective agency” surfaces the concept of autonomy. It acknowledges, indeed champions, agency as a fundamental human quality. The wording, it is hoped, reflects the position taken in the definition of assuming the poor as equal in capacity, and suggests that capabilities can be fostered, though it is not something inherently lacking.

“Among the poor” recognises and endorses the focus mentioned in the definition on those “who have no part”.

“To make it the vehicle” reflects the “procedural” orientation that was included in the definition when stating: “those who were considered as excluded become visible, not by the “power of the police”, but rather by their own initiative”. The vision, then, grounds the idea of “their own initiative”, into the concept of collective agency and proposes that it become a “medium” for future action.

“Socio-spatial reality founded upon equality” refers explicitly to the operational dimensions of the strategy: space and social reality and “puts the excluded in the centre” of a process towards their equality.

The six lines of action are directly related to the key findings on Autonomy and Visibility as described in the previous chapter. A line of action is understood as a strategic “space” to work on in order to develop collective agency, and therefore, in order to develop a transformative process in the way it has been conceptualised.

In order to qualify the context in which the previous strategic actions could be developed, three scenarios were proposed. These scenarios of “opaque information”, “eviction” and “relocation”, are meant to cover key contested topics identified in the field.

Finally, the four proposals link together the strategic actions with the scenarios. In other words, they represent a specific example on how an action looks like when developed in a certain context. The main idea of this matrix, is to provide a tool for potential actors interested in contributing to a transformative process in Cambodia and, at the same time, to give them clues as to what kind of proposals and projects they could develop. The actor that is interested, for example, in “expanding livelihood possibilities”, will have three examples in three different scenarios on how to do that.
Organizing and revealing the available support

In this scenario transformation occurs because the community takes an active action towards the external support rather than just waiting for it.

The community is looking for support in relation to certain issues. In order to find it, the community leader meets with other community leaders to share information and experience about different actors (NGOs). The process is facilitated by a representative of CDF who helps in getting the members together.

After sharing the information, it becomes necessary to organize them in an online database, that can be created with the technical support of local universities. When it is ready, one member of the community leaders network presents it to the MPP.

The meeting aims both to inform the municipality of the work done and to expand the database itself, collecting more information provided by local authorities. Other organizations can be contacted in order to include their agendas in the database, making them visible to the communities seeking for support.

The database is not meant to be completed but rather to be continuously updated from both sides: NGOs and communities (with experience and new needs).
Sharing needs is a way to strengthen the community. Electing the leaders in charge and launching the online platform with an event will help the sharing and collective updating aim.

The whole collective process will also help different communities in improving their physical needs.

Let's organize these info.

We know this person.

We worked with this NGO.

CDF

University

List of NGOs/organisations

Municipality of Phnom Penh

Online platform
Activating the border

A shift is made in terms of the position the current inhabitants have in the context of municipal development plans for the river side. Settlers move from being excluded to be the agents that will develop the area through strategic alliances and proposals. The appropriation of the riverside through a new development proposal, disrupts the dominant vision of the area being only “Prahok”, making visible its complexity.

The strategy begins with an opening of the riverside by making it available (including existing infrastructures, such as the football court) for all the city inhabitants.

A key element here are the piers that would facilitate access to the riverside, not only from land but also from the river itself.

Over time, this opening is expected to trigger growth in affluence of people and therefore activities taking advantages of it, and also the development of social organisations to coordinate the activities.

In the long term, the nodes of activity will be connected through paths creating a circuit. During the entire process, strategic alliances are made to give the project financial sustainability.

[**stage 1:** House upgrading to avoid floods. Piers and walking paths along the river constitute the backbone of collective physical production]

[**stage 2:** Inauguration ceremonies for collective constructions. Events such as setting up a market, and “marketing events” would be associated with new income generation strategies. Sport events]
[stage 3: Alliances between CDF and local communities to develop a youth network, related to specific topics, such as tourism, agriculture and fisheries]

[stage 4: Exploit the touristic potential of the river. Production of vegetables on the riverside and activities, such as boat tours, diversifying income alternatives. Appropriation of the riverside; re-planning it to allow the existing occupants to become key actors in the development of the area]
Rethinking land sharing

In this scenario, transformation is addressed through the appropriation of the initial proposal as a land sharing project. The project establishes two distinctions: the first one refers to those who play a role and have power in decision-making, such as the private developers and the committee that already exists. Secondary, since a private company owns the land, the presence of different actors and the sharing of information among people living in the area is very limited.

The aim of the strategy below focuses on capsizing this dichotomy between the residents of the eight buildings and the informal settlers and by leaving space for negotiation to use the area that is not yet developed in a way that will be beneficial for both sides. In order to achieve this, it is necessary for the inhabitants to get organised into a community that will collectively vote for the representatives of the committee.

In the next step, the community, after negotiating and working with the private developer, will be provided with land on the rest of the site which was aimed to be used for administrative and commercial development, in order to broaden their businesses through activities such as markets or sport courts. This action will be efficient, as it will provide new opportunities for income generation.

In the final stage, the community will be able to move to further upgrading activities by improving the spaces in between buildings.
| Improve working environment for businesses exist on the site and create job opportunities through the market |
| Need for community organisation and committee that will be elected frequently |
| Transfer shops into common space providing from private developer, to create market |
| Community will work collectively for secondary needs small scale projects |

改善工作环境，业务存在现场并创造就业机会。

需要社区组织和委员会，定期选举。

将商店转移到共同空间，由私人开发商提供，创建市场。

社区将共同工作，满足次要需求的小项目。

networks
Creating Community Exchange Boards

This proposal suggests a new transformative approach for relocation, with autonomy and visibility at its core. It suggests the initiation of “Community Exchange Boards (CEB)” between leaders of different communities that are expected to share common relocation sites in the future. The proposal relies on CDF’s networks and its established relationships with communities, taking CDF’s exchange approach further into a co-production process. Hence, the CEBs will be facilitated by CDF.

Circular 3. Identifying the “public interest”: This strategy recognizes Circular 3 as an opportunity, it having identified “public interest” as a priority, without specifying what defines it. By forming the CEBs, communities become actors in a process that is based on negotiation to identify the common good. This allows for re-appropriating Circular 3 into a rights-oriented approach.

Re-imagining relocation sites: The boards act as facilitators for creating a collective vision of the relocation sites. Moreover, the CEBs can enhance communities’ positions for negotiation for location of sites as well as the services and infrastructure provided. They can also open up new opportunities of management of community funds for handling the commons.

Milestone events: Organising events can stage milestones, focusing on the outreach of those events. The power of events (e.g. “minga” re-blocking) is that they are visible and tangible products of what the communities are capable of. They also work as collective events that can trigger building up collective capacity.
**Stage 1:** Re- appropriating Circular 3; identifying the common good and "public interest". Alliances between local communities that share relocation or threat of evictions. This alliance is facilitated by CDF.

**Stage 2:** Relocation sites: designing the commons, infrastructure, services and public spaces.
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4.3 CONCLUSIONS

This research report has given an account of how transformation is perceived and conceived in the Cambodian context. The research set out to determine how transformation could be operationalised in the form of specific strategies towards the betterment of conditions. The evidence from this report, specifically in the first chapter, has shown how the ongoing process of change in Cambodia is currently excluding people – the urban poor. To elucidate this theme, it became crucial to ask if that exclusion could be reverted and, if possible, how. The position taken in the report is that these patterns can indeed be altered and that it requires, as a first step, that those excluded must act collectivity. Further discussed in the second chapter was that the main operational implications of this position are two-fold, namely, that there is a need to identify the existing capacities and to develop strategies that expand collective capacity. These findings lead us to propose a strategy in which the elements of autonomy and visibility are significant objectives in reaching collective agency. Finally, this logic must penetrate both the theoretical and practical levels to be potent in transitioning into a new paradigm.
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Tiles

Wood

Walls

2.5m

down

Zinc

Cheap

Roof

Brick

Walls

2.5m

down

2.5m

down

70%
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2. PRE-TRIP LECTURES
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8. FINAL PRESENTATION
Introduction

The 3 weeks seminar we had were given by different lecturers who have experience related to Cambodia. The lectures covered many topics which helped us to understand Cambodia from different aspects.

Reflecting

From all the lectures we were given, the first presentation was aimed to show our understanding about the definition of transformation.
**Actors**

Budd students were given lectures from different local authorities and NGOs since they arrived to Cambodia. Through the presentations they gave, the students were able to have a more vivid impression about each actor.

**Methods**

There were a variety of methods that we used on the site, the methods were dependent on different situation of different site and the purpose of the workshop.
The preparation prior to the field trip was started in the middle of February 2014 in London. This included a report group assignment, meetings, seminars and presentations. The BUDD students were split into 4 groups of 9 people and we started our own group planning, assigning roles to each person in the group. The first assignment was to develop the definition of ‘Transformation’ by direct reference to Cambodia. We were given 3 weeks of seminars with several lectures before preparing our presentations to report our understanding and analytical framework. A week before departure, students were assigned into 6 different site groups; 3 groups in Phnom Penh and another 3 groups in the north of Cambodia in Battambang and Serrei Seophon. Students worked in both report and site groups for the second presentation, held a day before we left for Cambodia.
Presentation 1

The 3 weeks seminar we had were given by different lecturers who have experience related to Cambodia. The lecture covered plenty topics which helped us to understand Cambodia from different aspects. The lectures gave us a first image about the current Cambodia as well as what we will be doing and facing on the site.
Giorgio Talocci

Overall we had 3 seminars with a few lectures from each seminar. The seminars were presented by a variety of people including guests whose have has direct involvement with development in Cambodia. Mr. Talocci spoke about Cambodia in general, and the transition of this charming country from 1954 to 2014. The lecture covered the time just after the French colonial occupation when the New Khmer power and architecture took place from 1953 to 1970. Many architects played a large role together with the king. The nation, free from French rule, constructed the Olympic stadium which still exists today. They also worked on master plans, public intervention in the Phnom Penh-built conference hall, new public buildings, flats for civil servants and also many public spaces.

This was disrupted by the Khmer Rouge who took power and led the country to become Democratic Kampuchea in 1975. Their attitude is revealed in their slogan: “The city is bad, for there is money in the city. People can be reformed, but not cities. By sweating to clear the land, sowing and harvesting crops, men will learn the real value of things. Man has to know that he is born from a grain of rice!” This era which brought much misery ended in 1979 after Vietnamese troops liberated Phnom Penh and formed the People’s Republic of Cambodia as a new state. Another interesting part of the lecture was about the strongmen Hun Sen and Sam Rainsy who are struggling for Cambodia.
Hallam Goad

Another lecture was by Mr. Hallam Goad about community mapping done at Daun Taok Village, Kampot and covering more than 200 families. The mapping at this fishing village was done with participation the community members in events like fun days where they arranged a match called ‘Football for Peace F4P’. The purpose of the activities was to try to get people together in the community. Mapping and surveys were done with the permission from the local Sangkat council. The progress of the work covers more than 200 houses and the people worked closely with authorities. The programme and its objective was made clear to the community. Members of the community participated in the process in activities such as colouring the maps to show different information. Finally the people in the community were able to obtain land titles for their settlements individually.

Geoff Payne

Relating to that, there was another lecture by Geoff Payne on 28th February 2014 regarding ‘Land Tenure and the City Wide Scale of Urban Development in Cambodia and Phnom Penh.’ The research about improving tenure security for the urban poor was done with ex-DPU students, and surveyed 700 households in 12 settlements with 70 case studies. The project was funded jointly by Cities Alliance, UN-Habitat and GTZ to develop approaches to provide security of tenure in Phnom Penh as part of the capital’s social and economic development. The findings of this research were that many people are insecure as evictions are common on Cambodia, especially in the city of Phnom Penh.

Several approaches were proposed as recommended by this research:

- Slow down the process of relocation and evictions to the affected settlements.
- Relocation sites should have medium term of tenure status and should be close to the initial unacceptable initial settlement.
- Provide acceptable communal lease or title for the settlement meeting governance criteria and for formalisation.
Diane Archer

The following lecture by Diane Archer was about the ACCA program and experiences in Cambodia looking into community-driven approaches to urban upgrading. The lecture reviewed the role and activities of ACCA in Bangkok since 1989 and work in 150 cities in three years. She started by giving an understanding of living conditions in poverty-stricken urban areas, as well as about everyday life and cost of living weighed against income. In referring to inequality towards poor people, she also talked about power relationships, the rights and obligations of the state in general and also about the failure of market and governance. Security of land tenure was one of the interesting topics in this lecture when it touched on people renting within slum areas who had no formal tenure, leading to eviction and further problems. After looking into those problematic scenarios within a poor, urban livelihood, the lecture introduced ‘Horizontal Power Delivery’ as empowerment delivered by a participatory approach that gives the urban poor a voice and agency. It also introduced the idea of ‘Savings as catalysts’ that hold together community organisations and give security in the face of uncertain government funding. This collective action will help the community to move forward in improving the livelihoods of individuals in many aspects. Funds can be a tool to create partnerships with government departments and draw in contributions. CDFs are a platform to bridge gaps to contributed funds, land and material or to support policy change. It explained about the CDF foundation and the relation to all individuals of the urban poor.

Laurie Parsons

Laurie Parsons gave a lecture on Labour Migration in Contemporary Cambodia during the following week. Cambodians who are working as garment workers work many hours every day with national minimum wage of $80 per month excluding overtime. A part of that the lecture also revealed the living conditions of the poor. ‘Migrant communities are diverse and complex’. In reality they need to share space with poor services in order to live in the city where more job opportunities are present. Migration to Phnom Penh is getting higher every year; most of the people migrate from rural areas to look for jobs to support their families. Those who already have debts are more likely to send family members to work in the city. Furthermore micro-finance organisations are willing to lend to families with migrants. This resulting to debt as a percentage of household income is over 60%. Some also work as construction and garbage workers. As a feedback to the village, those who migrate are often seen to have undergone social change, becoming modern and rich.
Phillipa McMahon

Phillipa McMahon in her lecture approached Cambodia’s urban poor topic by looking into resettlement sites and their livelihoods. She took the example of evictions which leads to the formation of ‘informal settlements’ when people are given no choice.

Inhabitants of Russei Keo 2 were evicted without any compensation in early 2012 and they resettled themselves behind Russei Keo 1. There is a resettlement site provided by the government but without proper infrastructure and opportunities for the people. It’s called the ‘Forgotten Resettlement Site’ mad from those relocated in September 2001 from Khan Chamkarmorn. It is located 15km from the central of Phnom Penh and contains 100 families. The land was purchased by the Municipality of Phnom Penh with no water, no sanitation and only private electricity. Fewer than 25% of the plots are inhabited, with settlers suffering from a lack of job opportunities, expensive water and electric supplies. Another ‘Abandoned Resettlement Site’ was formed in 2009 from those resettled from Khan Steung Meancheuy to Oudong, and it is located 54km form central of Phnom Penh. Out of 504 plots, only one family still remains at the site. In the absence of proper infrastructures and job opportunities, the settlers have decided to look for better living options. However in the ‘Factory Resettlement Site’ it was different. 120 families were resettled near to a garment factory and also located close to the city centre, well connected with public transport. Many families are still remain at this resettlement site with improved living conditions as well as better houses.
GROUP RESEARCH

Discussion

We started from the definition of transformation through looking into different urban lens. The urban lens are based upon the reading materials about Cambodia urban issues, which concluded as five important lens as housing, land, finance, identity and infrastructure. Those lens are specially formulated with Cambodia urban context, thus to rise with key questions in approach of developing plan of actions.

Plan of actions can also be seen as our principles, that are the fundamental framework of producing strategies during and after the field work. The lenses are crucial at this stage of research, it involves history background, current situation and key issues that may become limitations or opportunities for intervention.

Reading

Our readings are mainly focused on topics of housing, land, finance, identity and infrastructure. Looking at the past and current Cambodia is a way of basic understanding it in terms of transitions into our topics, that is also the urban transformation of Cambodia from Kmer Rough period until so far.

From the readings we gained the basic knowledge of how the community getting on with loan, how the housing rights allocated to people and the relationship between land management and migration, then rise up key questions that appeared in those context, the issues about community saving groups, land legal framework, housing relocation, urban/ rural migration and informal mobility.
Presentation 1

From all the lectures we were given, the first presentation is aiming to show our understanding about the definition of transformation. The current situation is analysed through 5 topics, the group work was through divided by the topics. From each of them we found the strength and threats. According to them, we then came up with our first version of principles and "Plan of Action".
Therefore, transformative change is a process of change that is driven by the power those who “have no part” and transform their own reality, positioning themselves as equal. Within this process, those who were considered as excluded are not “included” by the “power of the police” but rather by their own initiative through exercising their own power. Hence, transformation can be defined as a process of fundamental change that is able to encroach the dominant and propose a different order and logic. This process is only possible when it is grounded from the grassroots, putting in its center the “excluded” as agents of development rather than subjects of change.

METHODOLOGY

I. DIAGNOSIS
ANALITICAL LENSES

II. FRAME WORK
KEY QUESTIONS

III. PLAN OF ACTION
HOW TO ANSWER

General Question
What is transformation in Transition?

General Principles
Massive influx of refugees to Phnom Penh between 1970-1975 who lived in camps or squatted around the city. During the same time, two thirds of housing stock was destroyed. Urban development soon continued, rising specifically with the Chinese shop house-style of housing. In recent years, there is an increase in high-rises, a further shift in housing style.

While traditional Khmer architecture made use of natural, widely available building materials, modern colonial architecture introduced solid, more durable building materials that could be bought and sold, forcing a radical shift in culture from carpentry to masonry.

Question: is there remnants of vernacular Khmer architecture in urban settings and would there be value (and resistance) in trying to bring it back?

**Shop Houses**

The interview exercise was conducted to various age of people randomly in the community from old people to children to get variety of detailed information. The idea is to get to understand different perspective when communicate with different experiences - the way they have perceived. Furthermore, it can be method to evaluate different needs in the community from education, living condition, the need security of tenure, job status, other limitation and problems or future needs.
Eviction is one the main issues in Cambodia especially for the violent and unjustified way that they are carried out.
These evictions do not respect the IHR (international human rights) due to the fact that reasons are not provided for the displacement. Furthermore, some of the evictions are carried out from private armed forced which is prohibited by the cambodian law.
When the eviction brings to relocations there are also problems such as: inadequate monetary refund, inadequate resettlement (services, etc.). If relocation are not carried out well people will come back in the city going to live in different informal settlements. If with a relocation the government does not give the land tenure it means that the inhabitants will not have the security of not being evicted in the future.
[CULTURE/IDENTITY]

Change 1/postcolonialism
THE BUILDING OF A NATIONAL IDENTITY/ 1953-79
The role of architecture in the making of and celebration of newborn nation after the independence from France
> Not only urban renaissance, but also attention to the rural areas > Attempt to merge modernity and tradition
> Not only public/governmental buildings, but also social housing. Most of them are now in a bad state of maintainance and are squatted

Change 2/back to the city
URBAN - RURAL MIGRATION. CONFLICT IDENTITIES?
Massive urban migration happened in the last 20 years. Cambodia is expecting to become more and more urban, even if not like the neighboring countries (Singapore, Bangkok, Manila). Still 85% of the population lives in rural areas and rural identity remains strong. Cambodia is an “agrarian society”.

Change 3/globalisation
SATELLITE CITIES IN-BETWEEN: GLOBAL VS RURAL IDENTITY
Satellite cities (e.g. Camko city) are conceived as gated communities in the outskirts of the city. They do not belong to the “urban” nor to the “rural”: they are set in- between. They belong to global flows/capital, seceding the existing urban-rural flows.
Informal Transport:
Parallel to the formal infrastructure projects taking place, several informal transport processes take place in Phnom Penh as well as other urban and rural area. Transportation in Cambodia is complex and easy at the same time, governed with informal processes that take place on the level of the everyday life experience. Transport in Phnom Penh is complex and easy at the same time. Everything is possible, at one condition, that many people can go inside, or upside and not specially sit down in one and a single truck, van, lorry, minibus etc. The more the better and the less expensive.

Informal Border-Trade:
Several informal trade processes happen on the borders with Vietnam and Laos

Fuel Informal Trade:
Due to the high price of gasoline, roadside informal vendors sell gasoline ion soft drink bottles that is illegally imported from Vietnam with lowers prices.
Observations/Questions
Loans from ACCA to UPDF:
15,000 /city (20% infrastructure)
40,000/city (Housing)
50,000/city Revolving loan fund
10% of loans Land Titling
12.00/city: environmental projects; Infrastructure

How the loans work:
Monthly repayment 5 years to communities with savings that cover 10% of the loan
8% interest rate
1% City welfare
2% CDF network activities
5% UPDF/CDF Foundation for more lending capacity. Materials form implementations
Presentation 2

We keep the 5 topics from the first presentation and try to make critical diagonals from them. At the same time, the updated definition of transformation was formed. We want to “ground” the transformation through our principles. Therefore, we re-think about the plan of actions we had from the previous presentation and write them with our strategy and understanding of transformation.
[WHAT IS TRANSFORMATION]

Therefore, transformative change is a process of change that is driven by the power those who “have no part” and transform their own reality, positioning themselves as equal. Within this process, those who were considered as excluded are not “included” by the “power of the police” but rather by their own initiative through exercising their own power.

[PRINCIPLES]

**Empowerment**
This is the principle that allows to explicitly recognize the field of transformation as a power field. **Transformation for whom?**
It allows to take a position on whose “power” and whose “initiatives” we want to strength. Empowerment does not mean here to “give” power, rather to recognize the boundaries, barriers, or limits that can be removed in order to expand existing power. It’s therefore deeply related with the idea of equality. It is that process of removing that is understood as a process of empowering.

**Insurgency**
*Used here mainly as a practical methodological principle: How to proceed to reach transformation?*
R: Seeking to identify “new” spaces that can be invented, or old ones that can be re-appropriate, to invoke citizenship rights (Miraftab, 2012, p.35) or to invoke an “agent of development” rather than a “victim of changes”

**Sustainability**
Emphasizing its “time” dimension: When does a transformative process take place?
When those places mentioned in the previous principle are not only used to “invoke” rights or “new” agents of development, but also to “sustain” (those rights and agents) over time.

**Transparency**
This is the principle that recognizes that transformation is necessarily a collective process. And goes forward in defining a “common ground” to manage that “collectiveness”
Is there an internal ethical dimension of transformation?
Yes. Since transformation is a collective process, individual and even group specific interests can collide (eg. Interests of practiciones and interests of saving groups).
To ensure an “ethical” process of transformation, collision should not be avoided, rather “transparently” (explicitly) brought to the table and negotiated.
Could the spatial and social demand that showed by the shop house re-composition activity be considered into future upgrading? (empowerment, participation, insurgency)

How to remain the livelihood of local urban shop house and help them integrate with other architecture typology? (sustainability, identity)

How can participatory mechanism be made to coordinate decision making that influences a good housing policy for the urban poor settlement?

How do we mobilize population, governments, institution and civil society to forge a common plan of action in shifting urban poor living pattern?

How evictions can be carried out with more transparency respecting human rights and avoiding any form of violence?

Do the relocation sites provide security of tenure and basic services? How the living conditions and the livelihoods are affected by the relocations?
Could the spatial and social demand that showed by the shop house re-composition activity be considered into future upgrading? (empowerment, participation, insurgency)

How to remain the livelihood of local urban shop house and help them integrate with other architecture typology? (sustainability, identity)

How can participatory mechanism be made to coordinate decision making that influences a good housing policy for the urban poor settlement?

How do we mobilize population, governments, institution and civil society to forge a common plan of action in shifting urban poor living pattern?

How evictions can be carried out with more transparency respecting human rights and avoiding any form of violence?

Do the relocation sites provide security of tenure and basic services?

How the living conditions and the livelihoods are affected by the relocations?
Transformation 1: “turisticisation”

How do ordinary people conceive perceive live the colonial and post-colonial heritage, the preservation emphasis and the tourism flows?
How can the urban poor exploit the new tourism market?

Transformation 2: urbanisation

Which are now the conflicts between rural and urban identity, considering also the history of the country? How are the living condition of the urban migrant? How can the migrants improve their networks in order to have better living conditions?

Transformation 3: globalisation

Which are the investors and interests behind the satellite cities? For whom are built? For a “forthcoming” middle class? Why are they empty? Did the investors/government create the supply (market) without creating first the demand (buyers)? How can the urban poor’s needs be integrated in the process?
Budd students were given lectures from different local authorities and NGOs since they arrived to Cambodia. Through the presentation they gave, the budds were able to have a more vivid impression about each actors. At the same time, the Q&A section gave buddies an opportunity to gain more specific information from the experts.
4th May, 2014 - Visit to communities

Community field visit with site presentations from three local communities: **42 Khnorng Community, Keang Kong Hing Community and Pro Lay Teuk Community**. 42 Khnorng community was relocated due to the local municipality planning to build a new bridge and a landscaping project for the embankment. It is now relocated in the middle of nowhere, apart from the basic infrastructure provision the community lost the connection to city, school and hospital. Neang Kong Hing community was not organised but then managed to create a savings group in order to purchase a plot of land. Some family could design and build houses with themselves, but the saving is not enough for infrastructures. Prolay Tek community is a canal side community that surfed from flooding during the rainy season. The community worked with local universities to delivery housing design, and with funding supports from **ACCA and CDF**. The relocation of community can be seen as a consequence of policy or decision making from the government, while the process of relocation shall seen as an action that involved different agencies in delivering solutions for housing, infrastructure, finance and so on. It is more like a transformation process with NGO assistance, however families are participated with community in defining issues, collecting money for priority need, i.e. housing and contacting for funding supports to finalise they needs.
5th May, 2014 - Meetings at Community Development Training Centre (CDTC)

The lectures there were given to introduce the past of Phnom Penh, the current situation the city is facing and the future planning for the capital. The vice governor described the urgent urban issues, including informal settlements, rural/urban migrations and the security of land tenure. The informality started after the end of Khmer Rough period, due to the liberation with ‘urbanisation’ and migration to the city. Informality is part of the urban identity of Cambodia. The urban migrants in the informal settlement come from the refugee camps along the border, the rural areas, and from foreign countries. The government supports the urban poor with funding, in coordination with actors like Red Cross, CPDF, ACHR.

The advisor of the Ministry of Land spoke of the land management and urban planning of Phnom Penh. The urbanisation process in Cambodia was unique in a bad way. After reurbanisation, the population increase indirectly caused the squatter informality settlement in the country. The fast growth of migration and informality are also opportunities to restructure the country plan. The urbanisation trend of Cambodia is to prioritise the economic development with infrastructure upgrading and economic corridors (GMZ).
At the University of Royal Fine Art the guest lecturers spoke about Cambodia Planning and Policy for managing the future urban transformation of development in Cambodia. The urban transformation story of Cambodia starts from 1998, with changing of political structure and style of urban planning and management. While in implementation, planning process should also take flooding, water networks, infrastructure problems and limits of high technology solution into consideration. Cambodia should strengthen the role towards the Chinese in terms of economic development, there are still limitations and opportunities, as there are people who live with less than 1 dollar per month; employment in agriculture is relatively still high, but it is decreasing compared to the past. City services are growing with restaurants and shops. Foreign investment from neighborhood countries into early industry economy, for example garment manufacturing. Urban growth in Phnom Penh is high, as it is absorbing labourforce, investment and immigration. Rural/ rural migration was bigger than rural/urban migration in the last 10 years. The limitation of solving the urban issues are related to a lack of urban planning laws in Cambodia. There is an out of date framework of regulations (the only existing tool is the construct permit) and the national housing policy is still under the condition of draft. In community level, there is a lack of community activity, acceptance of top-down project, a lack of collaboration with and between NGOs, and lack of trust between people. ACHR is an important partner to participate in the process in focusing on housing rights and evictions and search for various solutions. They create the training and advisory program (TAP) to scale up of city wide upgrading with ACCA programme; while young professionals (YP) provide technical assistant, community mapping, infrastructure, resilient house design, public design, technical training.
Russeiy Keo District consists of 56 communities, mostly located along the river. It has an area of 107,662 km² within 11 communes, and a total population of 185,763. Most of the population living here are working as fishermen, vendors, taxi drivers, and government officials, however many of them are working as garment manufacturers. Due to its location along the river, most of the communities in the district are faced with flooding problems every year. That is one of the reasons why the type of housing on high stilts is situated along the riverside. The main problem of the communities is that of dealing with security of land tenure. No-one in the community holds the land title, but many have already obtained a land certificate, which means they are allowed to stay on the land for a period of time until given notice to quit by the municipality. However they will receive compensation by being relocated when the government wants them to leave the area where they currently reside. Out of 56 communities there is only one called Psar Touch A&B which is being evicted. Most of the occupants are immigrants and temporary settlers with very poor living conditions. Another challenge to the communities is how to improve their living conditions and build empowerment, thus giving more opportunities for settlers in the future. Some, like the Tonle Sap 1 community, already have ‘community savings’ and a ‘community bank’. However, there are families here who do not contribute to this saving scheme due to limited income (exclusion). The community bank is a place for the people in the community to save their money under the control of the community leader. It has as its base a guarantee for obtaining loans from the local bank or micro finance company. Some of the communities have a system for managing their own community. Apart from the community leader there are also committee members that will look into aspects such as cleanliness, landscape and other things in the community. These can be used as an example to other communities to help them improve. There are actions to support people’s improvement in Russeiy Keo District communities. A CDF loan is provided in order to improve livelihoods in poor settlements. It’s provided for Prahok, to open small businesses, to improve housing conditions and to build a new houses. The communities are strong in woman’s networking, with NGO representatives providing training, as well as explaining and encouraging women to generate income for the family from, for instance, home-based production activities. This builds women’s confidence, gives them strength to be independent, and to go out and work for their families.
2.1 TRAPANG CHERNG SROK

The community of Tra Pang Cherng Srok is formed by 163 families coming from different evictions happened in Phnom Penh, such as: Toek Loak 3, Russiey Keo, Toul Kork, Boeung Salang, Kork Kleang 1, Kork Kleang 2 and others. The initial number of families evicted was 210 but only 163 of them got organized after the evictions. Led by a strong community leader and a community committee 115 families were able to start saving money to get a loan to buy a plot of land where to build new houses for the evicted families. This process started in 2000 and in 2008 they got the land certificate through a CDF loan. The land is located in the Por Sen Chey District. After that they started filling the land with their own savings. A plan of the site was done and the plots were allocated to the families through lottery. In 2013, 22 families paid back the CDF loan for the land and requested a new loan for building the house to ACCA. The loan was approved but in order to receive the money the families need to present a project to show how they are going to use the funds. At the moment the families need technical support to produce this project. They already asked to CDTC (CDF), CAN-CAM and Builders’ network a support for this project but, having these associations more than one project to deal with, it is not clear when this support will come. Furthermore they asked to the municipality for the infrastructures to the site but also in this case there is a delay due to unclear administrative reasons. At the moment the families are still living scattered in different area of the city.

location: Por Sen Chey district (15Km from the city centre)

community: 1

households: 155

actors: CDF, CAN-CAM, Builders’ network, Community leader, Community committee, MPP.

saving: yes

infrastructure: requested but not received yet

challenges: TIME MANAGEMENT (dependency on one actor to continue the process), PRIORITISATION OF NEEDS (having houses without infrastructures).
2.2 ANDONG

The community of Andong is the result of the eviction process of Tonle Bassac settlement in the center of Phnom Penh. These families (8000 people estimated) were forcibly evicted without any form of compensation from the government apart from the land where to move. Andong is located in the Por Sen Chey District, 15 Km from the city center. Andong was divided in 6 areas from the municipality in order to better organize the community. The municipality chose 6 community leaders, one per area. This process happened in 2006. From that date on many NGOs (17 until now: see list x) started working in the site, providing different kinds of support, from houses to infrastructures to community facilities. Nevertheless there are two areas where the living conditions are still very poor: Andong 4 and 6. In 2012 these two communities were assigned for a housing upgrading project by PCL NGO. The project consists of moving the poorest (income per family lower than 30$ a month) families living in Andong 4 and 6 in new houses on a new land next (less than 1 Km distance) to Andong village. These houses will be provided to the families for free. The families that will not be included in the low income will remain in the areas and they will be provided with the same houses (on site) once the others will be moved to the new site (to be confirmed). To allocate the families PCL did surveys in both areas. In order to avoid the families in selling the houses, PCL decided to put a limit of 5 years on any kind of modification on the houses. Therefore the families will not be able to improve their house for this period of time. Most of the families are now concerned about the dimension of the house, which is too small for a large family (11 members for example). This aspect was not taken into account from PCL. In addition it seems that the materials and the design of the house (low roof) will make the temperature inside the houses really high and therefore not comfortable for living. In conclusion some families prefer to stay where they are at the moment rather than moving in worst houses, but this does not seem to be an option for them at the moment. They are, in a way, facing another risk of eviction. At the moment the project is going on and the land has been bought by PCL to the government that should conclude the filling of the land and provide the infrastructures subsequently.

**location:** Por Sen Chey district (15Km from the city centre)

**community:** 6

**households:** around 900 (average of 150 per community)

**actors:** CDF, ACHR, (UPDF), MPP (district, chief), korean church relief team, YFP (youth for peace Cambodia), pastor Abraham, RED CROSS, HFH (habitat for humanity), PCL (people for care and learning)

**saving:** yes but only as a form of collecting money to fix a common problem

**infrastructure:** partially (not in Andong 4 and 6)

**challenges:** COMMUNITIES NOT ORGANISED (decision making dynamics, mistrust), PROBLEMATIC EXTERNAL SUPPORT (no transparency, no community engagement, no NGOs networking).
3 BOREI KEILA

Borei Keila is located in the centre of Phnom Penh and it is the first land-sharing project, started in 2003. The initial strategy was to build 10 6-storeys building by a private company (Phanimex), that owns the land and the rest of the site to be used for commercial services. In 2012 the company broke the deal due to bankruptcy and since then only 8 buildings were built. While some accepted the offer to move to relocation sites since the beginning of the project, those who resisted moving, 156 families, create informal settlements at the backside of Borei Keila buildings. Since the beginning of the project, the administration and maintenance of the buildings depends on a committee consisting of 15 community leaders, two from each block. One of the main issues that characterize the site is the huge amount of garbage next to the informal settlements, causing health problems to residents and affects people’s living conditions. Taking this as a starting point, by visualising a possible future of Borei Keila, our aim was to trigger the residents to participate in small-scale upgrading projects. A redeveloping physical process, based on the construction of commercial cultural and civic spaces, such as cultural centre, galleries, hospitals, will be the element for residents to move on to a social upgrading as well. First, residents will organize a strong community agency that will be represented by committee which will be elected frequently between the residents of Borei Keila and those living in informal settlements. On the next stage, they will be responsible to maintain and improve their livelihood, starting by managing a waste collection and recycling system.

**location:** Phnom Phen city center

**community:** Not organized community- 15 community leaders

**households:** 1352? in 8 buildings-156 families in informal settlements

**actors:** Private developer-Mayor-Khan district-Community leaders; Squatters-Residents, CDF-NGOs-CINTRI

**saving:** no

**infrastructure:** Waste collection

**challenges:** Threat of eviction for people living in slums/Community organisation & mobilisation/New relocation site(with better conditions)/waste collection management
SITE PROFILING - BATTAMBANG AND SEREI SOPHON

- 4 Chamkar Samroung II
- 5 Sangkat Kompong Savay
- 6 The railway settlement
The community of Chamkar Samroung II, formed by 79 families, is located along a road in the city centre of Battambang. The first member, the community leader, arrived in 1993 from Siem Riep, right after the UN take over; she self-built her house, where we were hosted during the workshop. The community was formally recognised in 2004 (??) after starting saving with CDF; in 2012 the saving group was interrupted and some of the community members joined another organisation (Habitat for Humanity?). Both the role of the CDF in the community and the level of organisation of the community itself seem at the moment unclear and confused.

At present, the community have no land tenure; in order to obtain it, they need to consolidate their position (re-start saving), and start upgrading. The municipality is committed to develop a pro-poor policy, avoiding evictions/relocations and implementing Circular 3 in the poor urban settlements. This attitude stems from the municipality vision of Battambang as capital of culture. With the purpose to meet the community needs and the municipality dreams, our strategy was built on three stages: the first was “mobilising the community”, in order to strengthen the sense of community, clarify the role of CDF and restart saving; to achieve it, we discussed with the community some alternative catalytic events to be collectively realized. The second stage focused on several upgrading scenarios, ranging from infrastructure (canal cleaning and covering) to incremental housing. Special attention was provided on the economic sustainability of the alternatives (individual savings, CDF loans and microcredit). Re-blocking was also taken into consideration, according to the project already submitted to the municipality; in this sense, we focused on diminishing the costs borrowing a Chilean practice called “minga”. The last and less detailed stage was of “scaling up”, with the aim to consider our intervention site as a pilot project for the several settlements in the city.
5 SANGKAT KOMPONG SAVAY

The case was set in the city of Serei Sophon, 3 settlements in Sangkat Kompong Savay, Baret Phum Pi, Baret Kompong Savay and Baret Sophy settlement. They are lining on a road and will be relocated in the near future due to the city's development plan. Totally 123 families (and probably more from other areas) will be relocated to one plot of the land provided by the government.

The aim of the activities and exercises was to develop alternative secure housing plans for these settlements that can also influence the change of policy at the city level. With the plans of the municipality still at the general level, the work that is produced has the opportunity to influence and create a just relocation process that is inclusive and a possible example for the future development in the city of Cambodia.
6 THE RAILWAY SETTLEMENT

The railway settlement, divided into 4 villages with a total of 172 households, had many differences, opportunities and challenge. The 4 villages are facing the threat of eviction due to the reconstruction of a national railway. The municipality of Seri Sophon is in the process of identifying a relocation site for the railway communities along with other communities who will be relocated for different reasons (i.e. new road construction). However, very few information is given on the location and nature of this site as well as the process of how relocations will be executed.

The first day was had a quick visit to Rong Masen and Sae Sen villages after having a meeting in the morning with the mayor of Serey Sophon. On the second day, we started with a collective exercise in Rong Masen village trying to identify the main positives and negatives the participants perceived about their village. Later on we conducted the dream house exercise. These two exercises were done as a basis for moving into another collective exercise of the dream village on the following day. These exercises were supposed to be conducted in the other three villages in the afternoon; however, our hopes were met by lots of obstacles and challenges. The other three villages were proven to be very different from Rong Masen. Relocation was the main issue in the three villages. People were resisting the eviction, and our presence there was not welcomed. It took us sometime, and with the help of the representative of the municipality and the village chief, we were able to convince some village members to participate in the exercise to develop an upgrading plan rather than a relocation plan.

Based on our analysis, we found out that community organization was key for collective action. Moreover, trust seemed to be a crucial issue in the railway settlements case. Therefore, we proposed three strategies; building collective capacity, exchange of information and knowledge and finally agency. We saw the first two strategies as key requirements for reaching agency, which is a long-term goal. By reaching agency, communities would be able to provide alternatives and have the negotiation power to decide either to relocate or upgrade their current situation. Our proposals focused on building collective capacity and transparency through small catalyst projects and info points that can build trust among community members, CDF and the municipality.
There is a variety of methods that we used on the site, the methods were depend on different situation of different site and the purpose of the workshop. All we aim to do is using all the possible technique on the site to gain as much information as we can, therefore use the information to design a related strategy which would help the community on solving their problems. The on site activities were also planning to increase people’s engagement inside the community and build them a platform which they can participate together on a something.

Even though different sites transformed their idea into different activities, there is a clear timeline about what the methods were used on site according to the level of understanding the site. First step is always a general tour around the whole area, normally guided by the community leader or a CDF member. Then student have a chance to see the typology of house and infrastructure more clear. Some photo taking, measurement and sketch will then be used. By walking into the families, interviews were always used, as well as some surveys. In some community, before dividing the mission into sub-groups, there were meetings held by the community leader which aim to brief the basic information about the site and the community finance. On the last few days on the site, we all came up with different exercise guiding by our on site strategies. They are all quick ways that let all the community members participate into one thing and see their problem and targets.
Observations/Photo Taking

A site tour of the area was done in order to gain understanding about livelihoods, observe facilities, interact with community and obtain more visual information of the region. We analysed building typology and site characteristics, looking at which problems could be improved and opportunities that could be explored. Even though this approach will only scratch the surface of helping us to understand livelihood issues, we were curious to know more about the whole story of the community. In Russeiy Keo District, we had visited 5 communities, each with different types of problems. Due to the land pressure, it became more contested as it’s located nearer to the city centre.
The concept of community mapping is a bottom-up approach, involving understanding of the content of the community and reflecting the needs of the people. The processes involving community members reveal things about which we are interested and concerned. This comprehensive exercise was built from a knowledge of the people in the community as seen through the eyes of those who inhabit the space. For instance, in a simple exercise that we did with the community in Battambang city centre, 4 members joined us to draft mental maps of living/working space as well as conflicts/networks in the community. Also, the CDF representative drafted a map of the communities along National 5.
Observations/Questions

An interview exercise was conducted with various ages of people randomly in the community, ranging from old people to children, to obtain a variety of detailed information. The idea is to begin to understand different perspectives when communicating with people who have had different experiences and the way they have perceived them. Furthermore, it can be a good method to evaluate different needs in the community from education, living conditions, the need for security of tenure, job status, other limitations and problems, or future needs. Like in the Borei Keila site, from the interviews we collected much information that we could simply not obtain from the management representative. The case was quite sensitive and complicated, from the political context to the rights of the settlers that are occupying the space.
Meeting with community leaders and people from the community explained another view of community activities, such as community saving and other network activity that links to CDF, NGO and other participants. The discussion was concerned with different problems in the community as a whole, especially on the status of land tenure, infrastructure and the future development of the community. In the Railway Community we had a meeting session organised on site with representation from other villages which had already established a community saving group. They shared knowledge and experience of the system and upgrading that was organised by the CDF. This sharing approach opened up further discussion in the community that should be used as an example of part of the community’s exercise.
Various exercises were done in different sites, engaging each community’s participation as a tool in generating ideas and possibilities. Through this exercise, we could analyse and determine the reflection, common decisions and ideas from the people who directly experience the space. In Andong & Tra Pang Cherng Srok in Pon Sen Chey District, 3 exercises were conducted. The first one was called ‘The Race (Planning for Real)’. The objective of the exercises was to reach a common decision giving the possibility to influence it to every player (member of the community in this case). The second one was ‘The Most Significant Change’. In short, this method again works in giving a say to every participant and in the end reaching a common decision on a certain topic. The final exercise was ‘The Game of Money’, to show to the community how they spend their money but also to ask them how willing they are to save money for a common issue. As stated in the title, this game was meant to work on financial awareness at the community level.
For this exercise we adapted one of the methods used in the Planning for Real approach: the concentric circles. The exercise was organized as follows. We set up a board with horizontal lines according to the number of topics chosen. On the board there were also vertical lines, cutting all the horizontals, representing the number of people. We had 13 topics and around 70 people, therefore 13 horizontal lines and 70 verticals. The topics are written on post-its and stuck on the first vertical line of the board. Each person has to move forward one topic. Once everyone moves his/her most important topic, the one that is more forward on the board (vertical lines) wins.
The Most Significant Change method.
After deciding the most important topic with the previous exercise, we moved to another method called: The Most Significant Change. In short this method works again in giving a say to every participant and in the end reaching a common decision on a certain topic. Logistically speaking, firstly the participants are divided in couples. The couples discuss about the topic telling to the partner how that topic influenced or would influence his/her life. After this step the couples get together in groups (3/4 couples per group) and each person tells to the group the position of the partner. After this the group will choose the most important position among all the single stories. This can be done voting. After this step the groups do the same process with the other groups until they reach one single position. The number of times that this last step needs to be done is according to the number of people involved, keeping in mind that it is better to have 3/4 positions in these steps.
Financial awareness
This exercise was both meant to show to the community how they spend their money but also to ask them how they are willing to save money for a common issue. The common issue was chosen from the previous exercise and therefore was the result of both first and second exercise. In our case it was: having the PCL house (see Andong description in the report) bigger. We prepared a number of boards according to the main areas where individuals spend their money (i.e. food, transports, etc.). In addition there was a board with the common topic mentioned above. Each participant was provided with 30$ (poor income defined by the PCL project) represented by colored post-its, each of 2$ value. When the game started each one was going panel by panel sticking the amount of money that he/she usually spends on that area. In the end the community was able to see the areas where they spend more money but also how much the community was willing to invest on the common topic of the PCL house. As stated in the title, this game was meant to work on financial awareness at the community level.
Garbage management engagement
We set up a questionnaire in advance list 10 questions about everyday garbage. We write these questions on a big A1 poster and brought it to the community. Every member has a chance to put their answer on a post it and stick it under each question. By the side of the poster we also drawn a diagram of the current garbage management system and its relationship with the city.
Survey/Questions
Site upgrading workshop (drawings/models proposed by the students and based on the community’s requests were discussed with community. Feedbacks were collected and contributed to develop a strategy to be presented by community to the local authority in BB (vice-governor).
The final stage of the workshop of transformation in Cambodia, was the closing presentation of all the materials we produced the last two weeks. Each group had to present the proposal strategy it came up with while working of each area. Several actors, such as community members and leaders from Rusei Keo, Andong and railway settlement in Serei Sophon, representatives from CDF and ACHR, attended the presentation as a way to open discussion and to answer questions about. After finishing with the presentations, the Governor, who also participated in the presentation gave us a speech about the future plans and goals of the government in order to deal with basic issues of Cambodia, but at the same time visible in all six cases. Our day closed with diploma awards for all the students participated in the workshop both DPU and Cambodian students.