University of Cincinnati

Date: 3/4/2013

I, Yasunaka Cho, hereby submit this original work as part of the requirements for the degree of Master of Community Planning in Community Planning.

It is entitled:
Evaluation of the Baan Mankong Slum Upgrading Project in Thailand

Student's name: Yasunaka Cho

This work and its defense approved by:

Committee chair: David Edelman, PhD

Committee member: Menelaos Triantafillou, MLA
Evaluation of the Baan Mankong Slum Upgrading Project in Thailand

A thesis submitted to
Division of Research and Advanced Studies
of the University of Cincinnati

in partial fulfillment of the
requirement for the degree of

Master of Community Planning
in the School of Planning
of the College of Design, Architecture, Art, and Planning

April 4, 2013

by

Yasunaka Cho

B.E., Architecture, Hokkaido University, Japan, 2011

Committee Chair: David Edelman, Ph.D., FAICP
Committee Member: Menelaos Triantafillou, MLA, AICP
Abstract

According to the United Nations, the slum population of the world will grow to 2 billion in the next 30 years if no preventive measures are taken. The UN has listed the Baan Mankong Program (BMP) in Thailand as one of the few unique and sustainable examples of participatory slum upgrading programs.

However, is that really true? This research, then, focuses on evaluating how successful the BMP really is. The research questions are: 1) What are the gaps between the initial goals of BMP and the current situation? 2) Why have differences occurred between the plan and reality both in quality and quantity? and 3) How can a further slum upgrading program be developed from the BMP? The analyses are based on information the author has collected through a literature review, field research on site in Bangkok, and interviews in Thailand. This paper uses the single (embedded) case study method as its research methodology for analyzing both macro level analyses of how many projects have been implemented in a certain periods, and micro level analyses on how a target community has improved through the program.

The main findings are: 1) The BMP has failed to achieve its initial goal; 2) The reasons for this failure are mainly the unsustainable financial model of the program and the changes in the Thai government due to an unstable political situations; and 3) the physical improvements, such as those in buildings and infrastructure, accomplished through the BMP have been sufficient.
Acknowledgment

First of all, I would appreciate Dr. Edelman, who gave me a great chance to visit Thailand, and let me research a topic what I wanted to do. He always helps my thesis move forward smoothly. Professor Triantafillou gave me useful suggestions for brushing up my thesis more. I also got a lot of help from many people including Ms. Boonyabancha in ACHR, Ms. Khanitta in NHA, Nicha in CODI, and Yoshida-san in DPF. I also got countless supports from others who I did not particularly list in here. Faculty and students in MSU gives me priceless experiences in my first visit in Thailand. Ico and Yuwadee, two best friends of mine, always let me work for the best conditions, and gave me a wonderful time in Thailand. Lastly, this paper is dedicated to my parents, who always support me not only financially but also mentally from far away in Japan and China. They gave me a precious time of studying here in University of Cincinnati.
Table of Contents

1. Introduction
   1.1 Background to Research
      1.1.1 Globalization and urbanization
         Globalization
         Urbanization
      1.1.2 Bangkok, Thailand
      1.1.3 Slums in Bangkok
   1.2 Research Objectives
   1.3 Research Questions

2. Literature Review
   2.1 Slum Dentition
   2.2 Slum Upgrading Programs in Thailand
   2.3 Baan Mankong Program (BMP)
      2.3.1 Background of the program
      2.3.2 Features of the program
      2.3.3 Outcomes of the program
      2.3.4 BMP in Klong Toey Block 7-12

3. Methodology
   3.1 Case Study Method
   3.2 Developing the Case Study Model

4. Analysis of Baan Mankong Programme
   4.1 Past and Current Situation of BMP
   4.2 Factors Affect the Implementation
      4.2.1 Policy and governance
      4.2.2 Finance

5. Analysis of BMP in Klong Toey Block 7-12
   5.1 Evaluation in physical changes
   5.2 Evaluation in mental changes
5.2.1 Satisfaction for the housings and lands
5.2.2 Financial Situation

6. Conclusions and Recommendations
6.1 Research Implications
6.2 Recommendations
List of Figures, Maps and Table

List of Figures

Figure 1.1 Core, Semi-periphery, and Periphery in the World-system
Figure 1.2. Connectedness of Global Cities: α, β and γ tiers
Figure 1.3 Working Mechanism of Urbanization under Coordinated Development
Figure 1.4 The new urban world
Figure 1.5 Thailand and its surrounding countries
Figure 1.6 Trends in Urban and Rural Population in Thailand
Figure 1.7 Bangkok and its surroundings
Figure 1.8 Population living in urban slums and proportion of urban population living in slums, 1990-2010
Figure 2.1 Social Networks of the Baan Mankong Program
Figure 2.2 The Baan Mankong Program mechanism
Figure 2.3 On-site Upgrading
Figure 2.4 On-site Reblocking
Figure 2.5 On-site Reconstruction
Figure 2.6 Land Sharing
Figure 2.7 Nearby (or not-so-nearby) Relocation
Figure 2.8 Streetscape of 60 Rai area
Figure 2.9 Aerial photo of Klong Toey community
Figure 2.10 Main street in the 60 Rai area
Figure 2.11 Five story flat in Klong Toey
Figure 2.12 Boundary of Port Authority of Thailand (PAT) and Klong Toey community
Figure 2.13 View from Klong Toey community to PAT
Figure 3.1 Basic Types of Designs for Case Studies

Figure 3.2 Flow of analyses with the single (embedded) model

Figure 4.1 Number of the projects implemented in the BMP

Figure 4.2 Number of the communities implemented in the BMP

Figure 4.3 Number of the housing units implemented in the BMP

Figure 5.1 Locations of Klong Toey Block 7-12 before and after the BMP

Figure 5.2 Site plan of the new Klong Toey Block 7-12

Figure 5.3 Street view of the main entrance

Figure 5.4 Street view of the main street

Figure 5.5 Street view of a street

Figure 5.6 Sub-street between housing units

Figure 5.7 Public Park

Figure 5.8 Open space

Figure 5.9 Accessibility to water

Figure 5.10 Accessibility to sanitation

Figure 5.11 Location analysis of the Klong Toey community

Figure 5.12 Small path dividing the Klong Toey community from slum

Figure 5.13 Housing construction for the BMP

Figure 5.14 Initial condition of the housing units

Figure 5.15 Two types of the housing units’ designs

Figure 5.16 Housing unit 1

Figure 5.17 Housing unit 2

**List of Table**

Table 1.1. Classification of cities 2010
Table 1.2 Country Development Profile, Thailand
Table 2.1 Indicators and thresholds for defining slums
Table 2.2 List of pilot projects of the BMP
Table 3.1 Relevant Situations for Different Research Methods
Table 4.1 Number of the implementation through the BMP
Table 5.1 Housing types and its numbers and percentage
Table 5.2 Number of rooms in each housing
Table 5.3 Number of restrooms in each housing
Table 5.4 Land size
Table 5.5 Preference for selling own houses
Table 5.6 Satisfaction toward their land size
Table 5.7 Changes in salary of the residents before and after the BMP
Table 5.8 Changes in expenditure of the residents before and after the BMP
Table 5.9 Issues of returning loans of the BMP
Table 5.10 Place the residents borrow the loan
Evaluation of the Baan Mankong Slum Upgrading Project in Thailand

Yasunaka Cho

1. Introduction

1.1 Background to Research

1.1.1 Globalization and Urbanization

Globalization

Globalization has taken place since 1970s, at first gradually and now at a quickened pace. As capitalism grew and counties or nation-states were established, these sovereign or independent political units engaged in economic relations with one another (Kaplan, Wheeler & Holloway, 2008). At the same time, another changes in the world foster this movement of globalization. The developed countries like the United States and Canada experienced a shift away from industrial production and toward services, particularly sophisticated business and financial services, as the basis for profitability, which was a shift from industrial capitalism to advanced capitalism. This shift began to transform occupational structures, sparking deindustrialization. – decline in manufacturing jobs but not in manufacturing production. Meanwhile, the increasing globalization of the economy which allowed huge transnational corporations to outmaneuver the national scope of both governments and labor unions by moving routine production and assembly operations to lower-cost, less developed parts of the world as part of a new international division of labor – contributed to a destabilization of the relationship between business, labor, and government
in the developed countries (Knox & McCarthy, 2005). These were international relationships, such as international trade, international diplomacy, and world wars.

Globalization rears to the movement of capital, information, goods and services among huge multinational corporations ignoring national boundaries. Globalization reflects (1) the geographic reorganization of industrial production and service provision (2) the interpenetration of corporations across national boundaries; (3) the worldwide diffusion and deliberate creation of markets being offered identical or nearly identical consumer goods; (4) the internal movement of populations within developing countries to large cities, and the immigration of people from developing countries to the United States, Canada, and Western Europe; and perhaps (6) the emerging worldwide preference for democracy (Kaplan, Wheeler & Holloway, 2008). Because of these aspects of globalization, national boundaries have become less significant in many parts of the world.

The influences of globalization have spread throughout the world and changed the system dramatically. Globalization has had profound effects on cities and systems of cities because of the close interaction between global and local forces. The journalist Thomas L. Friedman popularized the term "flat world", arguing that globalized trade, outsourcing, supply-chaining, and political forces had permanently changed the world. Here are the well-explained phrases to describe globalization by him.

“Western Europe would be an assisted-living facility, with an aging population lavishly attended to by Turkish nurses. The United States would be a gated community, with a metal detector at the front gate and a lot of people sitting their front yards complaining about how lazy everyone else was, even though out back there was a small opening in the fence for Mexican labor and other energetic
immigrants who helped make the gated community function. Latin America would be the fun part of town, the club district, where the workday doesn’t begin until ten p.m. and everyone sleeps until midmorning. It’s definitely the place to hang out, but in between the clubs, you don’t see a lot of new businesses opening up, except on the street where the Chileans live. The landlords in this neighborhood almost never reinvest their profits here, but keep them in a bank across town. The Arab street would be a dark alley where outsiders fear to tread, except for a few side streets called Dubai, Jordan, Bahrain, Qatar, and Morocco. The only new businesses are gas station, where the owners, like the elites in the Latin neighborhood, rarely reinvest their funds in the neighborhood. Many people on the Arab street have their curtain closed, their shutters drawn, and signs on their front lawn that say, “No Trespassing. Beware of Dog” India, China, and East Asia teeming market, made up of small shops and one-room factories, interspersed with Stanley Kaplan SAT prep schools and engineering colleges. Nobody ever sleeps in this neighborhood, everyone lives in extended families, and everyone is working and saving to get to “the right side of the tracks.” On the Chinese streets, there’s no rule of law, but the roads are all well paved; there are no potholes, and the streetlights all work. On the Indian streets, by contrast, no one ever repairs the streetlights, the roads are full of ruts, but the police are sticklers for the rules. You need a license to open a lemonade stand on the Indian streets. Luckily, the local cops can be bribed, and the successful entrepreneurs all have their own generators to run their factories and the latest cell phones to get around the fact that the local telephone poles are all down. Africa, sadly, is that part of town where the businesses are boarded up, life expectancy is declining, and only new buildings are health-care clinics (Friedman, 2007).”
As Friedman describes above, although the size of the globe is obviously the same; we are able to feel mentally that the world has become smaller like neighborhood level. Globalization let labor, capital, and resource to transit from one place to another much easier. This process is called globalization or the global-local nexus.

Globalization increases speed and global scale of economic interactions, and the increasing mobility of goods and people on a global scale. So, what are the impacts of these economic transformations upon the social landscapes of cities triggered by globalization? The profound economic changes that characterize globalization have deepened economic and social polarization, such that today the numbers of both rich and poor are increasing while the high-income working class and the middle class are shrinking. This process has the potential to affect cities because the increasing numbers of the wealthy and the increasing numbers of the poor both place new demands on cities for housing and residentially based services and amenities. International migration flows, especially from less developed countries of the world into the largest global cities, are creating new opportunities for social groups to interact socially and economically. New opportunities for discrimination and conflict also arise.

Another trend by globalization we can see within cities is a special polarization that means increased spatial concentration and separation of social groups. Although some degree of social separation has always marked cities, globalization is argued to have accentuated the extent and intensity of separation (Kaplan, Wheeler & Holloway, 2008).

Immanuel Wallerstein’s world system (see Figure 1.1) conceptualizes that sees the entire world economy as an evolving market system comprising an economic hierarchy of regions - a core, a semi-periphery, and a periphery. The labels “core” and “periphery” refer to the dominant process operating at particular levels in the hierarchy. Core processes characterized by economic relations that incorporate relatively high wage, advanced technologies, and a diversified projection mix. Periphery processes involve low wages, more
rudimentary technologies, and a less diversified production mix. The label “semi-periphery” refers to places in which there is a combination of both sets of process.

Figure 1.1 The global hierarchy of national societies: core, semi-periphery and periphery

Source: Knox & McCarthy, 2005

This attempts to portray the current composition of countries in each of these three categories using national figures for total and per capita gross domestic product or GDP. Countries with high scores on both indicators are likely to have politically strong states, large internal markets, and predominantly high-wage, capital-intensive production. These are so-called developed countries. Conversely, countries with a low national economic output and a low per capita GDP are likely to have work states and predominantly low-wage, labor-intensive production, which is characteristic of peripheral status. The category of countries with intermediate scores for total and per capita GDP is characteristic of semi-peripheral status.
Along with the influences of globalization on country level, this also affects in smaller scale such as city level and even company level. Because of the main characteristic of globalization resources leave from the poor countries to the rich countries, from poor rural areas to rich urban areas, and from poor people to rich people. The process of widening the gaps between the poor and the rich can be called polarization. Handful countries such as USA, UK, and Japan can get benefit from the phenomena, however the majorities of rest of developing countries are just forced to give up their benefit to the stronger countries (Collier, 2008).

This polarization also happens in city level. For example, the emergence of so-called world cities-command centers such as New York, London, and Tokyo that key players in the new concentrated financial system. However, beyond these various interpretations prevail. One interpretation, proposed by John Friedmann (1986) is the world city hypothesis: The world city hypothesis is about the spatial organization of the new international division of labor. By international division of labor, Friedmann meant the separation of management, financial, and production (labor) functions, that is, the division of the capitalist world economy into specialized roles occurring in different locations. These locations are cities at the international, national, regional, and local scales (Kaplan, Wheeler & Holloway, 2008).

With the growth of large multinational corporations, globalization has become a feature of today’s economic, cultural, and political environment. Multinational companies are the movers and shakers of to modern global economy. Multinational corporations have freed themselves from operations in a single country and have established a global network of industrial production, service provision, and distribution. These multinational corporations are headquartered in world cities, which act as places where these corporations locate their management headquarters.
Because the flow emerge of socio-economic inequality occurring between rural and urban areas, the inequality results in many companies and houses have concentrated on urban area, which drives land values extremely high. It also causes the population flow, that is, rural-urban migration and immigrants from overseas. These capital and labor flow to urban areas result in creating substandard living condition. Many of immigrants do not have enough money to live in formal housing in urban, and they form informal settlement such as slum, finally they live in under inadequate living conditions with a lot of problems. According to United Nations, slum population grows up 2 billion in the next 30 years without any rational measurements (UN-HABITAT, 2003).

The Globalization and World Cities (GaWC) Research Network, created in geography department at Loughborough University, focuses upon the external relations of world cities. Although the world/global city literature is premised upon the existence of world-wide transactions, most of the research effort has gone into studying the internal structures of individual cities and comparative analyses of the same. Therefore this research network has been formed to create understandings between cities. Figure1.2 and Table1.1 show international connections of each city and categorization of world cities into α, β and γ tiers.
Figure 1.2. Connectedness of Global Cities: $\alpha$, $\beta$ and $\gamma$ tiers

Source: http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/visual/globalcities2010.pdf
Table 1.1. Classification of cities 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alpha++</th>
<th>LONDON</th>
<th>NEW YORK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alpha+</td>
<td>HONG KONG</td>
<td>PARIS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SINGAPORE</td>
<td>TOKYO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SHANGHAI</td>
<td>CHICAGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MUNICH</td>
<td>DUBAI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SYDNEY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alpha</td>
<td>MILAN</td>
<td>SEOUL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BRUSSELS</td>
<td>JAKARTA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SAN FRANCISCO</td>
<td>WASHINGTON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alpha-</td>
<td>MIAMI</td>
<td>COPENHAGEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MELBOURNE</td>
<td>ZURICH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NEW DELHI</td>
<td>MUNICH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ISTANBUL</td>
<td>BOSTON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BANGKOK</td>
<td>TEL AVIV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TAIPEI</td>
<td>SANTIAGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LISBON</td>
<td>PHILADELPHIA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>JOHANNESBURG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Beta++</th>
<th>DUESSELDORF</th>
<th>STOCKHOLM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beta+</td>
<td>PRAGUE</td>
<td>MONTREAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ROME</td>
<td>HAMBURG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MANILA</td>
<td>HOUSTON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BOSTON</td>
<td>ATHENS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>RIO DE JANEIRO</td>
<td>CALIFORNIA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ORLANDO</td>
<td>DURBAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MILAN</td>
<td>SEOUL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOULOUSE</td>
<td>MADRID</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SYDNEY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gamma++</th>
<th>GLASGOW</th>
<th>NAPLES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gamma+</td>
<td>NAPLES</td>
<td>RALEIGH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>STRASBOURG</td>
<td>TOSCCAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BANGKOK</td>
<td>BANGKOK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TAIPEI</td>
<td>SEOUL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CHICAGO</td>
<td>SHANGHAI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gamma</td>
<td>VALENCIA</td>
<td>KANSAS CITY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KLIN</td>
<td>MUNICH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MILAN</td>
<td>SANTO DOMINGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MILAN</td>
<td>TURIN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BOSTON</td>
<td>SANTO DOMINGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gamma-</td>
<td>TALLIN</td>
<td>MARSEILLE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PUNE</td>
<td>MARRAKESH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SYDNEY</td>
<td>BANGKOK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PORTO</td>
<td>PORTLAND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MARSEILLE</td>
<td>SHANGHAI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DUBAI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High</th>
<th>JACKSONVILLE</th>
<th>LIEGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sufficiency</td>
<td>MEDELLIN</td>
<td>LEIPZIG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WINNIPEG</td>
<td>RALEIGH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SANTOS</td>
<td>STRASBOURG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SACRAMENTO</td>
<td>TURIN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CHICAGO</td>
<td>MILAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MANAGUA</td>
<td>MANAGUA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BUENOS AIRES</td>
<td>NEW YORK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BOSTON</td>
<td>BOSTON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>RALEIGH</td>
<td>RALEIGH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>STRASBOURG</td>
<td>STRASBOURG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOSCCAN</td>
<td>TOSCCAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CHICAGO</td>
<td>CHICAGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MILAN</td>
<td>MILAN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/visual/globalcities2010.html
Urbanization

The UN has projected that 70% of all population in the world will live in urban area by 2050. This means less people live in the rural area, and more people live in urban area in most countries, which results from changes including demographic, technological, and international relationships. Urbanization can be defined and measured as the percentage of the population classified as urban as opposed to rural within an area, region, country, or other meaningful area unit. In other words, it is the number of urban dwellers divided by the total population. Urbanization is also the process through which countries evolve from agrarian to industrial and postindustrial economics (Kaplan, Wheeler & Holloway, 2008).

The main reasons of transforming urbanization are rapid decline in death rates, rise in birth rates, and rural urban migration. The more rapid decline in death rates compared to birth rates is a fairly recent trend that has generated large increases in population well in advance of any significant levels of industrialization or rural economic development. In rural regions this has produced fast-growing populations in places that face increasing problems with agricultural development. Rural urban migration is a common response as many impoverished rural residents migrate to the larger towns and cities in search of a better life. They are driven by the desire for employment and the prospect of access to schools, health clinics, piped water, and kinds of public facilities and services that are often unavailable in rural regions (Knox & McCarthy, 2005). Rural migrants have poured into cities out of desperation and hope, rather than being drawn by actual jobs and opportunities. Because of the disproportionate number of teenagers and young adults in these migration streams, an important additional component of urban growth has followed – exceptionally high rates of natural increase of the population. In most peripheral countries the rate of natural increases in cities exceeds that of net in-migration. This rural-urban migration is largely recognized as the
main factor of rapid urbanization, however natural increase also has huge impact on the rapid urbanization. Political and environmental circumstances can also promote urban growth.

Figure1.3 Working Mechanism of Urbanization under Coordinated Development

Urbanization can be positive. No country in the industrial age has ever achieved significant economic growth without urbanization. Cities concentrate poverty but they present poor people's best hope of escaping it. The potential benefits of urbanization, which include easier access to health centers and education, far outweigh the disadvantages. However, urbanization also can be negative as well. Rapid urbanization in many less developed countries has created a host of problems that weaken the role of cities as engines of economic growth. Pervasive poverty, inadequate housing, lack of urban services, transportation problems, and environmental degradation all contribute to dreadful living conditions for many urban dwellers (Knox & McCarthy, 2005). The processes involved in urbanization are inherently problematic and how space and place often play key roles. The
local effects are associated with acute problems of social disorganization and environmental
degradation in less developed countries. The problems like poverty, inadequate housing, lack
of urban services, transportation problems, and environmental degradation are visible in the
extensive areas of slum and squatter settlements in megacities. If present trends continue, an
increasing number of the largest settlements in less developed countries are likely to face
these problems of urbanization.

The close relationship between globalization and urbanization means that the local
effects of splintering urbanism are transforming traditional patterns of spatial organization
(Knox & McCarthy, 2005). The term of splintering urbanism is devised by geographers
Stephen Graham and Simon Marvin to describe the fragmentation of the economic, social
and material fabric of cities as a result of selective impact of new technologies and networked
information and communication infrastructure. The factors promoting urban growth vary
within and between different parts of the world. In sharp contrast to the experience of the
world’s core regions, where urbanization was largely an outcome of economic growth,
urbanization in peripheral regions has resulted from demographic growth that preceded
economic development. The following figure shows differences of urbanized rate in each
country throughout the world.
200 million. Rural populations are expected to decrease worldwide by 28 million people (Vidal, 2007).

The UN Population Fund reported. "In 2008, half of the world's population will be in urban areas. The shift from rural to urban changes a balance that has lasted for millennia. Within one generation, five billion people, or 60% of humanity, will live in cities. The urban population of Africa and Asia is set to double in this time." According to the State of the World Population Report, large-scale population growth will take place in the cities of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It suggests the largest transition to cities will occur in Asia, where the number of urbanites will almost double to 2.6 billion in 2030. Africa is expected to add 440 million to its cities in the same period, and Latin America and the Caribbean nearly 200 million. Rural populations are expected to decrease worldwide by 28 million people (Vidal, 2007).
1.1.2 Bangkok, Thailand

Thailand has a population of 67 million (July 2012), which ranked 20 in terms of population, and ethnic groups are 76.5 percent are Thai, 14 percent are Chinese, and other is 11 percent. Thailand locates Southeastern Asia, bordering the Andaman Sea and the Gulf of Thailand, southeast of Burma, which is organized by 77 provinces.

A unified Thai kingdom was established in the mid-14th century. Known as Siam until 1939, Thailand is the only Southeast Asian country never to have been taken over by a European power. A bloodless revolution in 1932 led to a constitutional monarchy. In alliance with Japan during World War II, Thailand became a US treaty ally in 1954 after sending troops to Korea and later fighting alongside the United States in Vietnam. Thailand since 2005 has experienced several rounds of political turmoil including a military coup in 2006 that ousted then Prime Minister Thaksin Chinnawat, followed by large-scale street protests by competing political factions in 2008, 2009, and 2010. Thaksin's youngest sister, Yinglak Chinnawat, in 2011 currently leads the Puea Thai Party to control of the government.
With a well-developed infrastructure, a free-enterprise economy, generally pro-investment policies, and strong export industries, Thailand achieved steady growth due largely to industrial and agriculture exports. Unemployment, at less than 1% of the labor force, stands as one of the lowest levels in the world. The Thai economy has weathered internal and external economic shocks in recent years. The global economic severely cuts Thailand's exports with most sectors experiencing double-digit drops. In 2009, the economy contracted 2.3%. However, in 2010, Thailand's economy expanded 7.8%, its fastest pace since 1995, as exports rebounded. In late 2011, historic flooding in the industrial areas north of Bangkok interrupted the growth (CIA, 2012).
Table 1.2 Country Development Profile, Thailand

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parameter</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Human Development Index (HDI) rank of 177 countries (2003)</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP growth (annual %, 2004)</td>
<td>6.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GNI per capita, Atlas method (current $, 2004)</td>
<td>2,540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GNI, Atlas method (current $ billion, 2004)</td>
<td>168.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP per capita PPP ($, 2003)</td>
<td>7,595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP PPP ($ billion, 2003)</td>
<td>471.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population growth (annual 2005–2010 %)</td>
<td>0.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population, total (million, 2005)#</td>
<td>64.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban population, total (million, 2005)#</td>
<td>20.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban population percent of total population (2005)#</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population largest city: Bangkok (million, 2005)</td>
<td>6.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population Growth: 9 capital cities or agglomerations &gt; 750,000 inhabitants (2000)#</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of capital cities or urban agglomerations with growth &gt; 50%, 2005–2015</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of capital cities or urban agglomerations with growth &gt; 30%, 2005–2015</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanitation, % of urban population with access to improved sanitation (2002)**</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water, % of urban population with access to potable water (2002)**</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slum population, % of urban population (2001)**</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slum population in urban areas (million, 2001)**</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty, % of urban population below national poverty line (1992)**</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aid (Net ODA received ($ million, 2003)\</td>
<td>-966.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aid as a share of country income (Net ODA/GNI 2003 %)\</td>
<td>-0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aid per capita (current $, 2003)\</td>
<td>-15.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

GDP = gross domestic product, GNI = gross national income, ODA = official development assistance, PPP = purchasing power parity.

Sources: See Footnote Table 3.1; World Bank (2005); Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2003); United Nations (2004, 2005).

Source: Vorratnchaiphan & Villenuve, 2006

Bangkok is the capital city of Thailand and was established in 1782, the year King Rama I ascended the throne. The location was selected with the consideration on natural defense by rivers and canals. Since its establishment, Bangkok grew steadily in size and importance. At the beginning, it covered only 4.14 sq. kilometers. Now, it is 1,568.737 sq. km. Bangkok is a primate city and is the administrative, economic, transportation, and education center of the country. At present, Bangkok is considered an administrative metropolis or an economic megalopolis. However, the urban field of Bangkok expands
beyond its administrative boundary to adjacent provinces. Greater Bangkok is another
definition referring to Bangkok and the two adjacent provinces of Nonthaburi and Samut
Prakan. However, another term, the Bangkok Metropolitan Region (BMR), which refers to
Bangkok and the five adjacent provinces of Nonthaburi, Pathum Thani, Samut Prakan, Samut
Sakhon and Nakhon Pathom, is now widely used. The BMR constitutes an area of 7761.662
sq. km. BMR is a planning term, not an administrative one, as the five provinces retain their
own administrations (Pornchokchai, 2003).

Thailand, one of the rapidly growing countries in Asia, has also been influenced by
globalization. Thailand was formerly an agricultural country, but the situation has changed.
Many factories from developed countries looking for cheap labor locate in Thailand, which
creates a lot of jobs for local people. However, this movement necessarily causes a socio-
economic imbalance, which means people in rural areas flow to the urban areas to find jobs.
This rural-urban migration has contributed to the development of large cities in Thailand.
Bangkok, the primate city of Thailand, has been especially affected and has experienced both
a growing economy and an increasing population, which contribute to the rapid development
of Bangkok.

Urbanism in Thailand began in 1960s and intensified in 1980s. Population had
grown to 2.2 times, and 65 percent of total population lives in rural and 35 percent live
in urban areas during these 20 years (UN-HABITAT, “Slum upgrading,” 2009). If
urbanization was defined as urban municipal area, then the rate drops to 34 %. The
figure is low compared to the neighbor countries with similar development stage such
as 49 % in Philippine (2010) and 44 % in Indonesia (2010) (CIA, 2012). The possible
reasons for this low urbanism rate are difficulty to collect accurate number of people
who migrate from rural places, and the actual number of population in the Bangkok
Metropolitan Area is larger about a couple of hundred thousands. Figure 6 illustrates past
and projected changes in urban populations to 2030. Thailand is experiencing a slower rural-urban transition than other countries in the region. While the return to higher economic growth may see more rural to urban migration, urbanization pressures are being tempered by overall low rates of natural population increase. Previous projections showed Thailand’s population at over 50% urbanized by 2008; however, the economic crisis of 1997 substantially slowed the pace of urbanization. Much of this urban growth is occurring at the expense of adjacent arable lands being transformed into peri-urban zones. This growth on the urban fringes means that 70% of Thais live within 75 kilometers of an urban area of at least 50,000 inhabitants (NESDB/ADB 2003b).

Figure 1.6 Trends in Urban and Rural Population in Thailand

Source: Vorratnchaiphan & Villenuve, 2006
The main direction of urbanization is in the peri-urban areas, which still largely fall within the rural-focused administration of the Tambon administrative organizations (TAOs). Many of these local authorities are ill equipped to manage the new demands for the timely provision of necessary infrastructure as well as other services. An emerging challenge is how local jurisdictions can cooperate effectively to manage urban growth and address strategic issues in a coordinated manner. For example, in Samut Prakarn and Pathum Thani and other Bangkok vicinity provinces, there are TAOs located next to the Bangkok metropolis that have to grapple with the expansion forces of a mega-city of 11 million persons, but do so equipped only with the organization, staffing, and resources of a rural district administration (Archer, 2012).

Figure 1.7 Bangkok and its surroundings
Bangkok, the capital of Thailand, has experienced considerable population growth during the last few decades. One of the reasons of the growth is because of migration from rural to urban areas. During 1782 - 1900, during the initial period of the city’s establishment, Bangkok grew rather slowly. The population then was only 600,000 and the urbanized area was about 18 sq. km. After the Second World War, Bangkok grew increasingly populated with rapid urbanization, which brought about a number of infrastructure and other construction projects. The registered population in Bangkok increased from 1.6 million in 1958 to 5.4 million in 1986 (Global Report, 2003). However, migrants could not afford to buy or rent formal housings, so they ended up living in slum communities. Metropolitan Bangkok has faced problems associated with slums for many years. Although there are only 50 slum settlements have been identified in Bangkok in 1968, the number of slum settlement increased dramatically to 943 slum settlements in 1985, and it has increased up to 1208 in 2000. A survey illustrated that the number of slum settlements are increasing in both Bangkok as well as adjacent provinces since 1990s. Residences in slums face many problems including insanitary living conditions and threat of eviction. Lack of secure land tenure is one of the fundamental problems for habitants in slums. Usually, slums with unclear or no tenure status faces eviction when land for new urban development are in demand. Most of slum communities faced relocation experiences because of the lack of tenure land security when economy in Thailand was booming through 1987 to 1997. Then, the Asian economy had undergone economic recession in 1997, and eviction from the public sector has become less prominent (Viratkapan & Perera, 2006).

1.1.3 Slums in Bangkok
In Bangkok and its surroundings, urban development has generated many slums. They increased from 50 in 1968 to 1,020 in 1985 (Pornchokchai, 1992) and to 1,208 by 2000, containing 243,204 households in Bangkok and its peri-urban areas (NHA, 2002). Starting in the 1980s, low-income settlements in Bangkok have shifted increasingly to the peri-urban areas. Using aerial photos taken in 1974 and 1984, the National Housing Authority estimated that 150 slums with approximately 30,750 households had disappeared from Bangkok proper and the land changed to other uses during that period. Moreover, between 1984 and 1988, another 107 slums had disappeared (Khan 1994). During the same period, new settlements appeared in the peri-urban areas and expanded into the adjacent provinces. Low-income settlements increased by 84% in the outer zone of Bangkok during 1990–1993 alone (Pacific Consultants International 1997). Factors pushing low-income residents from the city center originated in the first economic bubble of 1988–1990 and continued through to the second boom ending in the 1997 Asian financial crisis. These factors were related to new urban development projects, such as expressways, office complexes, and shopping centers, and were reflected in the property market in Bangkok where prices of prime land in the city center and suburbs increased up to tenfold (Phongpaichit and Baker 1998).

Related to this, the income of Bangkok citizens has become more skewed. A few became extremely rich as a result of the economic boom and inflation of urban land prices, resulting in the average income of the top 10% of the nation’s households tripling between 1981 and 1994. The incomes of the bottom 10% barely changed during the same period, such that the gap between the top and bottom widened from 17 times to 37 times. A combination of rapidly rising land prices and enormous redevelopment pressures, coupled with the widening gap between the rich and the poor during these boom years until 1995, saw many lower income groups unable to compete for access to land in good locations for their housing and livelihood needs (Phongpaichit and Baker 1998).
Slum areas are on the decrease (1020 areas in 1985 and 866 in 2000). Many slums were demolished under the pressure of rising land prices, while few new slums could be established, as alternative land use was more profitable. Furthermore, the proportion of slum dwellers decreased, despite growth in their absolute number. While, in 1974, 24 per cent of Bangkok’s housing units were considered slums, in 1994 this number was estimated at a mere 6 per cent. This is believed to be largely the result of more affordable access to public and market housing, and the percentage that could not afford a house in the open market decreased from 80 per cent in 1980 to 50 percent in 1993 (UN-HABITAT, 2003).

1.2 Research Objectives

Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by United Nations listed slum upgrades for ensure sustainably development as one of eight goals. According to the MDGs 2010 report, over the past 10 years, the share of the urban population living in slums in the developing world has declined significantly (see Figure1.8). However, in absolute terms, the number of slum dwellers in the developing world is actually growing, and will continue to rise in the near future. The progress made on the slum target has not been sufficient to offset the growth of informal settlements in the developing world, where the number of urban residents living in slum conditions is now estimated at some 828 million. Extra efforts will be needed to improve the lives of the growing numbers of urban poor in cities and metropolises across the developing world (MDGs, 2010).

Figure1.8 Population living in urban slums and proportion of urban population living in slums, 1990-2010

---

1 Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger, Achieve universal primary education, Promote
Without concerted action on the part of municipal authorities, national governments, civil society actors and the international community, the number of slum dwellers is likely to increase in most developing countries. A UN’s report reveals that the number of slum dwellers worldwide is projected to rise over the next 20 years to about 2 billion if no serious action is taken. Many international organizations, countries, and cities have engaged to reduce the number of slum. For instance, the “Cities Without Slums” action plan, developed by the Cities Alliance in 1999 and launched by Nelson Mandela, aims to improve significantly in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by 2020 (City without slum action plan). The United Nations refers that the accepted best practice for housing interventions in developing countries is now participatory slum improvement, which means holistic approaches to neighborhood improvement, taking into account health, education, housing, livelihood and gender. Government role, in this approach, is to largely adopt a facilitative role in getting
things moving, while maintaining financial accountability and adherence to quality norms. Communities also encourage to involve its process from the outset, often through a formalized process, and to require a contribution from the occupants.

The UN listed slum upgrading program in Thailand listed as one of sustainable examples of participative slum upgrading programs along with Pakistan, Brazil, Egypt, Senegal, and Columbia. Thailand is a unique country in terms of only a small portion of the total population lives in slums in spite of its rapid urbanization. This is largely due to the continuous efforts of the Thai government to prevent an increase in slums. In 1974, 24 percent of Bangkok’s housing units were considered slums, however, by 1994 the number reduced to 6 percent, largely because of access to affordable public and market housing (UN-HABITAT, 2003).

In the document the UN introduces a practice of The Urban Community Development Fund (UCDF) of Thailand, a tool for poverty eradication, empowering both the urban and rural poor, which provides low interest rate loans for community development in poor areas. As a result of the study team’s report, the UCDF was capitalized and the Urban Community Development Office (UCDO) was set up in 1992 to manage it. Later, UCDO and Rural Development Fund has merged to Community Organizations Development Institute (CODI), which is the central organization to implement the Baan Mankong Programme (BMP). The methods of UCDF succeeded after the merger till now.

This research focuses on the latest participatory slum upgrading program, the BMP, in Thailand. Here, I will evaluate the success of the program, and make recommendations to improve this program.

1.3 Research Questions
The goal of this paper is to analyze, evaluate and make recommendation to the BMP. Research questions intend to understand the gap between the initial goal of the program and the actual number of achieved, and analyzes the reasons why there are differences or similarity has happened between them, and draw conclusions and make recommendation from this research. Therefore, number of important research questions will be considered in this research include:

**Three research questions:**
What are the gaps between the goals of Baan Mankong Programme and current situations?
Why the differences between the plan and reality have happened both in quality and quantity?
How to improve slum development program from the BMP?

To inform the research questions above, this paper covers from the general background of how slum can be generate to the evaluation of BMP from both micro level and macro level. Chapter 1 provides background knowledge of this paper by discussing about general idea of how Bangkok and Thailand have developed under the context of globalization and urbanization. This chapter includes how slum is created in Bangkok and what policy the Thai government has implemented to the issue. Chapter 2 is literature review that includes definitions of the terms of “slum”, then slum upgrading program that have implemented in Thai government, and introduction of the organizations that have participate in the Baan Mankong program, and the Klong Toey. Chapter 3 explains case study method, which is the research methodology of the paper. Because case study method can be flexible on its framework, so it also discusses about the model of the case study framework that suits to inform these research questions. Chapter 4 focuses on the macro level of analysis of the BMP, which compare the initial goal of the government has predicted till 2008 and actual
outcome of the program by 2008. Then, to base on the difference and outcomes, this chapter analyses from three different views, which are policy of the government, financial condition, and networking system of the program. Chapter 5, then, focuses on the micro level of analyses, which means the chapter focuses on Klong Toey slum and evaluate how this place has improved its living condition from physical and mental conditions with before and after the implementation of BMP. Chapter 6 draws the conclusion and also suggest recommendation to e the organizations.
2. Literature Review

2.1 Slum Definition

Before discussing about slums in Thailand, it is important to have a shared concept of what is slum and squatter. The United Nations mentions as followings;

The problem with measuring slums starts with the lack of an agreed definition. As a result, enumeration of slums has not yet been incorporated within mainstream monitoring instruments, such as national population censuses, demographic and health surveys, and global surveys. Some surveys provide proxies or related variables, such as ‘proportion of unauthorized housing’ or ‘proportion of squatters’.

Participatory poverty assessments in many least developed countries (LDCs) generally provide only qualitative information on urban poverty.

United Nations explains that there is no universal definition about slum, which means that each city defines what is slum by them. UN had conducted 29 slums investigation around the world\(^2\) and found out that they do not have any slum definition in eight cities. The shortest one is in Chengdu, that says “Slums are shanties in low-lying areas” (UN-HABITAT, 2003). Others are more elaborated, however they mentions about slum each other are different.

\(^2\) Abidjan, Ahmedabad, Bangkok, Barcelona, Beirut, Bogota, Cairo Chengdu, Colombo, Durban, Havana, Ibadan, Jakarta, Karachi, Kolkata, Los Angeles, Lusaka, Manila, Mexico City, Moscow, Nairobi, Naples, Newark, Phnom Penh, Quito, Rabat-Sale, Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, and Sydney
In Thailand the definition of slum varies in each organization. The National Housing Authority (NHA) defines a slum as ‘a dirty, damp, swampy or unhealthy area with overcrowded buildings and dwellings which can be harmful for health or lives or can be a source of unlawful or immoral actions, with a minimum number of 30 housing units per 1600 m2’. On the other hand, the BMA defines a slum as “an overcrowded, non-orderly and dilapidated community with substandard environment which can be harmful to health and lives and with a minimum of 15 housing units per 1600 m2”.

On the other hand, the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA) defines a slum as ‘an overcrowded, non-orderly and dilapidated community with unample environment which can be harmful to health and lives and with a minimum of 15 housing units per 1600 m2’. While slums and squatter settlements are considered similar terms, squatter settlements are largely sited on illegally occupied lands, with slums being mostly on rented land. There are few cases where both land and house are owned by the dwellers (UN-HABITAT, 2003).

Different countries, even different organizations in a country, define the physical and social attributes of slums differently. In 2002, UN-HABITAT, the United Nations Statistical Division and the joint UN-HABITAT/World Bank Cities Alliance gathered together a group of experts to define slums and propose a way to measure them. The resulting definition and methodology represent a compromise between theoretical and methodological considerations. Five indicators compose the slum definition indicator. Four out of five of the slum definition indicators measure physical expressions of slum conditions: lack of water, lack of sanitation, overcrowding, and nondurable housing structures. The fifth indicator is security of tenure that has to do with legality (UN-HABITAT, 2006).
Table 2.1 Indicators and thresholds for defining slums

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Access to water</td>
<td>Inadequate drinking water supply</td>
<td>A settlement has an inadequate drinking water supply if less than 50% of households have an improved water supply:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(adjusted MDG indicator 2)</td>
<td>• household connection;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• access to public stand pipe;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• rainwater collection;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>with at least 30 liters/person/day available within an acceptable collection distance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to sanitation</td>
<td>Inadequate sanitation (MDG indicator 3)</td>
<td>A settlement has inadequate sanitation if less than 50% of households have improved sanitation:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• public sewer;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• septic tank;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• pour-flush latrine;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• ventilated improved pit latrine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structural quality of housing</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Proportion of households residing on or near a hazardous site. The following locations should be considered:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• housing in geographically hazardous zones (inundable/earthquake and flood areas);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• housing on or under garbage mountains;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• housing around high industrial pollution areas;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• housing around other unprotected high-risk zones (e.g. railways, airports, energy transmission lines),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The excreta disposal system is considered adequate if it is private or shared by a minimum of two households.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Permanency of structure</td>
<td>Proportion of households living in temporary and/or dilapidated structures. The following factors should be considered when placing a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>housing unit in these categories:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• quality of construction (e.g. materials used for wall, floor and roof);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• compliance with local building codes, standards and bylaws.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overcrowding</td>
<td>Overcrowding</td>
<td>Proportion of households with more than two persons per room. The alternative is to set a minimum standard for floor area per person (e.g. 5 square meters).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security of tenure</td>
<td>Security of tenure (MDG indicator 3)</td>
<td>Proportion of households with formal title deeds to both land and residence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Proportion of households with formal title deeds to either one of land or residence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Proportion of households with enforceable agreements or any document as a proof of a tenure arrangement.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: *Note: and ‘spring’ are considered acceptable sources in the original MDG indicator but are almost certain to be polluted in urban areas. 
Source: UN-HABITAT, 2003

The analyses of this research is based on the UN slum indicators instead of the NHA and BMA indicators because the UN slum indicator covers adequately on physical conditions from five different criteria with quantitative standard compared the NHA and BMA ones that refers on specifically about overcrowding but not others. Considering that slum definition varies in each country and organization, the UN definition can fit variety of slums. Moreover, the physical parts of research in chapter 5 require objective analysis, which the UN indicator fits well in that case. Therefore, here uses the UN slum indicator as a standard slum indicator.

2.2 Slum Upgrading Program in Thailand

To deal with issues that accompanied by fast urbanization occurring urban areas in Thailand was urgent issues for Thai government at that periods. The NHA was established as a government enterprise o February 12, 1973 by the Revolutionary Announcement No. 316
dated December 13, 1972. The objective of the establishment was to be the core public agency responsible for low-and-middle income housing development. During the early age of the establishment, NHA was under the supervision of the Ministry of Interior. Until the year 2003, the NHA was shifted to the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security due to the Public Sector Reform. Its work mainly focused on the construction of houses and flats. From 1977 to 1980s, this organization tackled with sites and service development program. NHA main focus was on public housing and slum clearance during 1950s to 1970s, however the public housing built in here was unpopular with its inhabitants. In the 1980s, the policy moved towards a market-oriented strategy (Department of Housing Development Studies, 2011). The special feature of this program is that slum dwellers could stay in the same places where they existed rather than being relocated. Slum upgrading also started at the same time of the sites and service development program, and it still continues until now (UN-HABITAT, “Slum upgrading,” 2009).

In 1992, Urban Community Development Organization (UCDO) was established within NHA. During its initial stage, UCDO was a special program under NHA, having a certain independence of its own administration and development process with urban poor communities. UCDO extended loans with low interest rate to organized communities for settlement upgrading that includes land acquisition, housing improvement, housing construction, infrastructure installation, and livelihood based activities. UCDO had kept providing these loans and assistances to help many urban communities for several decades. UCDO worked directly with individual communities, however it was inefficient and challenging to scale up their work. Therefore, UCDO encouraged local communities to form networks for more efficient services. The all communities and their networks shared a base in community savings and loans. Through this networking, UCDO developed links with wide range of community-based saving groups. Though the UCDO was still a special unit under
NHA at that time, the both institutions had different features required different rules and regulations. The problem for UCDO was that limited of its flexibility and growth under NHA controls (UN-HABITAT, “Community development,” 2009).

In order to offer service to national scale, the UCDO merged with the Rural Development Fund to become Community Organizations Development Institution (CODI) in 2000. The main role of CODI is budget reception from central government then pass the budget directly to communities according to the consent of city development partners local authority and community network in each city (CODI). Then, donors, banks, non-government organizations and government were able to use CDOI as meant to reach directly to urban poor with helps of establishing of Community Development Fund.

Figure 2.1 Social Networks of the Baan Mankong Program

Source: http://www.codi.or.th/housing/FrontpageVision.html
There are limited numbers of documents on policies on slums in Bangkok. Thailand’s slum policies and development concepts closely followed those of the developed countries and international organizations.

a) Housing production policy, 1948-58

After the Second World War, social welfare policy was first introduced into Thailand. At that time, Thai government constructed housing for the urban population. The Government Housing Bank was established in 1953. During this period, 3,462 housing units were built, of which 3,264 were apartment and detached house, 198 were owner-occupied, 56 were hire-purchased and 142 were financed through housing loans (Litchfield Whiting Browne and Associates, 1960).

b) City beautification, 1960-71

Slum clearance and relocation and the construction of walk-up apartments were actions within the city beautification policy due to the first city structure plan for Bangkok for 1960-90 by a group of American consultants. During 1963-71, 5,120 housing units were built, of which 4,158 were rental apartments and 962 were purchased. However, housing applications were as high as 72, 192, which only 7.1 percent of the need was met (Sakornpan, 1975). The Government followed the experience of developed countries by building social housing for the poor as the first priority regardless of the fact that Thailand at that time was not yet developed and could not afford to do so. The social housing concept helped to generate an enormous boom in housing in the post-war reconstruction period in developed countries, but this was obviously alienated from Thailand’s situation in the 1960s.
c) Slum improvement, 1970s

The establishment of the NHA in 1975 came along with loans for slum improvement from the World Bank and other international organizations. The government changed its policy on slum improvement partly because of the failure of costly social housing construction. Slum improvement was also cheaper and could help win more popular support. However, one general observation for developing countries is that loans for such non-productive activities termed as reconstruction mean a big burden for future generations.

d) Land for housing the poor, 1980s

The Government did not set up any recognized mechanism to deal with slums. As mentioned, there were very few specific documents providing substantive policies towards slums. However, a constructive international seminar on the Land for Housing the Poor was held in Bangkok in 1985 (Angel, 1985). The NHA borrowed this concept for development, resulting in a few land-sharing projects and relocation sites. Very few land-sharing projects occurred since providing land for the poor is costly. The concept behind this policy is that housing would be improved once people gain access to land. However, there is no significant difference in the sub-standard physical appearance between landowner and land-rental slums.

e) Recognition policy, 1990s

Slums have come to be better recognized through experience. One concrete action is the establishment of the Urban Community Development Office (UCDO) with an initial fund of Baht 1,250 million. The UCDO helped to support the development of
savings groups and generates loans for slum dwellers to undertake their own
development on a self-help basis.

f) Baan Mankong Programme and Baan Eua Arthon Project

The government in 2003 announced a new housing effort for the urban poor to
provide secure housing to one million households. The effort was composed of two
programs. One is the BMP, a newly approved to slum-upgrading program, which was
specially set up as a support process that was to be designed and managed by existing
low-income communities and networks. The CODI has implemented this program
(UN-HABITAT, “Community development,” 2009). Since 2003, the Thai
government has provided financial support to local urban poor-community
organizations, and the government put fewer conditions on the allocation of funds
than previously (Boonyabancha, 2005). The improvements have been accomplished
by the local organizations that cooperate with local governments and local
universities. The program offers several types of slum upgrading depending on which
type is demanded in a particular slum.

2.3 Baan Mankong Program (BMP)

2.3.1 Background of the program

On March 24, 2003, Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra visited the NHA.
According to the government’s policy to provide One Million Housing Units within 5
years between 2003 and 2007, the NHA was assigned 600,000 units within 5 years as
well. In the first NHA formulated Baan Eua Arthon Project (BEA) for a family with a
household income of 10,000 Baht maximum per month, with a monthly repayment of 1,000 Baht, and for a family with a household income of 15,000 Baht maximum per month, with a monthly repayment of 1,500 Baht. Certainly, these monthly repayment rates were starting rates. BEA creates ownership and better quality of life of low-income people as well as promote a housing security. This project gives new buildings on new plots of land in new communities with necessary infrastructure and facilities, and the buildings are standardized and constructed under a legal process. This is in accordance with the international vision on urban development of “Cities without Slums” (Department of Housing Development Studies, 2011).

In the second, BMP channels government funds, in the form of infrastructure subsidies and soft housing loans, directly to poor communities. The main difference from BEA is that instead of delivering housing units to individual poor families, the BMP encourages existing slum communities to form co-ops and develop their housing in a collective way. Each participating community would end up having a collective land title. This method is designed to discourage speculators from buying off individual housing units from the poor and selling them out to higher income groups. Collective housing provides the security for low-income families so that they can have access to jobs in the city (CODI, “History,” 2011).

2.3.2 Features of the program

According to CODI, “Baan Mankong has set a target of improving housing, living and tenure security for 300,000 households in 2,000 poor communities in 200 Thai cities within five years. This represents at least half the urban poor communities in
Thailand” (Boonyabancha, 2005). As part of this unconventional program, poor communities work in close collaboration with their local governments, professionals, universities and NGOs to survey all the communities in their cites and then plan an upgrading process that attempts to improve them. Once these citywide plans are finalized and the upgrading projects are selected, CODI channels the infrastructure subsidies and housing loans direct to the communities (Boonyabancha, 2009).

**Networking**

This program imposes fewer conditions in order to give urban poor communities; networks and stakeholders can make more flexible designs that suit the local context. There are challenges to support the poor communities in the way they developed and designed the programs, so the whole city contributes to the solution. Another key feature of the program is that wide range of communities can get benefits from the programs. Thus, networking is one of the most important implementation of the program that needs to be addressed by design citywide. It involved the following steps; networking, survey including collecting information, developing a plan, selecting pilot project, expanding and integrating project, and networking again (Boonyabancha, 2005). This BMP is different in many ways from conventional slum upgrading programs, which can be largely categorized as four different features. First of all, the program emphasizes on urban poor community and its network as priority rather than simply physical improvement. Urban poor community organizations and their networks can control funding and its managements. In addition, people can plan slum upgrading within city framework, thus their local upgrading plan can be intergraded within city planning and city development strategies. Secondly, this project is implemented on demand-driven, not supply driven. That means the program only supports communities
who are ready to implement improvement projects. Third, the project also allows a large portion of flexibility to communities by not specifying physical outputs, but provides flexible finance to allow community organizations and local partnerships to plan, implement and manage directly. Last, this program focuses on larger benefits. Its focus is citywide development with a commitment to reaching all low-income communities within a three- to four-year period drawing on local resources (Boonyabancha, 2005).

Figure 2.2 The Baan Mankong Program mechanism

Source: Boonyabancha, 2005
These key features above have a great deal with decentralized planning movement, that opposite form of any municipality- or government-led planning processes. Instead, citizens and communities take initiatives of the planning processes. This shift from centralized planning to decentralized planning approach become popularity in postmodernism era coming. Under this situation, communities can deal with different aspects of city management such as public parks and markets, maintenance of drainage canals, solid waste collection and recycling, and community welfares programs.

Financial system

1. Community welfare fund
Communities set up a welfare fund to take care of community members in need and prevent loan defaults. Community members contribute 1 Baht per day, and the government matches this contribution. They can withdraw funds in the case of birth, death, illness, natural disaster, etc.

2. Micro-credit
CODI offers government-subsidized loans to communities for housing development, land purchases, environmental projects and small businesses. The interest ranges from 4% to 6%. In addition to housing and land loans provided through the BMP, CODI enables communities to borrow for community projects, business development, emergencies and environmental projects.

Loans for such projects are administered in one of two ways. First, communities can borrow directly from CODI for specific projects if the government has appropriated funds for that purpose. Otherwise, the community organization can chose to on-lend its funds to community members at a rate of 6-7% for personal projects. By doing this,
community members can access credit at a very reasonable rate, and community organizations can earn a profit that they can use for future activities or welfare support. Since its inception, CODI has lent 4,851 million THB to 655 communities (CODI web, grant and loans).

3. Capacity building for savings groups
CODI assists community members in forming savings groups to accumulate the capital necessary for land and housing projects, as well as long-term projects (CODI web, strategic plans). The process is that CODI works alongside the communities, offering technical assistance and support throughout the process. To initiate a CODI-sponsored Collective Housing project, a community must form a savings group and prove their financial responsibility. Over the course of 6 months to 2 years, the community saves enough money for a down payment of 10% of the estimated project costs. During the process, the community forms small groups to plan a strategy to secure housing and design a new layout.

4. Flexible Financing
Soft loans are made to communities for the purchase of new land in case of relocation and improvement or construction of houses. The interest rate is subsidized by the government, which allows the communities to borrow at 4%. The ceiling for land and housing loans together is 300,000 Baht ($9,000) per family; housing loans alone are capped at 200,000 Baht ($6,000) per family. All loans are made collectively to the community cooperative, not to individual families. With both housing and land loans, the community cooperatives must save 10% of the amount they borrow from CODI and keep the funds in a community saving account during the repayment period.
The government also provides specific subsidies to support the development process.

Infrastructure Subsidy:

- On-site Upgrading Subsidy: 25,000 baht (US$715) per family for on-site-communities upgrades/repairs.

- Reconstruction Subsidy: 35,000 baht ($1000) per family for communities rebuilding their settlement on the land they now occupy or for communities relocating to different land and rebuilding there. In special cases where the cost of filling land or infrastructure is very high, the per family subsidy can go up to 45,000 baht (US $1,285)

- Additional Subsidies: Additional subsidies are available on a case by case basis to help communities do heavy land filling if their land is low-lying, to install household sewage treatment systems, to landscape the newly upgraded settlement (20,000 Baht or $600 per community), to liven up the visual character of the new community (200,000 Baht or $6,000 per community), to construct temporary houses in case of fire or eviction (18,000 Baht or $500 per community), or to construct a community meeting house (18,000 Baht or $500 per community).

Administrative Subsidy:

A grant equal to 5% of the total infrastructure subsidy is provided to the community organization and their partners for administrative costs they incur.
Process Support Subsidy:

This subsidy supports the various activities that go along with the upgrading planning process, including exchange visits between cities, seminars at various scales, meetings, coordination costs, on-the-job training activities, support for the community network's involvement in the upgrading process and salaries.

**Project types**

Each community can choose one of five types of upgrading:

1) On-Site Upgrading

Slum upgrading is a way of improving the physical environment and basic services in existing communities, while preserving their location, character and social structures. Usually upgrading means that the houses, lanes, roads and open spaces are improved without changing the layout or plot sized. Besides, the physical improvements made under an upgrading process can act as a springboard for other kinds of development among community members such as income generation, welfare and community enterprises.

Figure2.3 On-Site Upgrading
2) On-Site Reblocking

Reblocking is a way of improving the infrastructure and physical conditions in existing communities by making some adjustments to the layout of houses and roads to install sewers, drains, walkways and roads. Then, communities can then develop their housing gradually at their own pace. When communities opt for reblocking, some houses usually have to be moved and partially or entirely reconstructed to improve access. Some lanes may also have to be re-aligned to enable drainage lines, water supply systems or sewers to be constructed.

Figure 2.4 On-Site Reblocking

3) On-Site Reconstruction

In this upgrading strategy, existing communities are totally demolished and rebuilt on the same land, either under a long-term lease or after the people have negotiated to purchase the land. The new security of land tenure on the already-occupied land often provides community people with a strong incentive to invest in their housing through rebuilding or new construction. Although the option involves making considerable physical changes within the community and requires some
adaptations to a new environment, the strategy allows people to continue living in the same place and to remain close to their places of work and vital support systems.

Figure 2.5 On-Site Reconstruction

4) Land Sharing

Land-sharing is a housing settlement improvement strategy which allows both the land-owner and the community people living on that land to benefit. After a period of negotiation and planning, an agreement is reached to share the land, where the settlement is divided into two portions. The community is given, sold or leased one portion (usually the less commercially attractive part of the site) for reconstructing their housing, and the rest of the land is returned to the land-owner to develop. There’s no rule about how the land is divided: the amount of land the people get and how much goes back to the owner is settled during the negotiation.
5) Nearby (or not-so-nearby) Relocation

Baan Mankong distinguishes between NEARBY RELOCATION projects (within 5 kilometers of the original settlement) and RELOCATION projects (more than 5 km away). The relocation strategy is usually coming with housing security though land use rights, outright ownership or some kind of long-term land lease. Relocation sites can sometimes be far from existing communities, job opportunities, support structures and schools. But in many cases, resourceful communities are finding bits of land to buy or rent cheaply for their housing that are not far away at all. Although communities face the cost of reconstructing their houses at the new site, and in some cases the additional burden of land purchase payments, tenure security tends to be a big incentive to invest in housing and environmental development at the new community.
Figure 2.7 Nearby (or not-so-nearby) Relocation

Source: http://www.codi.or.th/housing/TypesDev.html

Pilot projects

Pilot projects of the Baan Mankong program were implemented to explore new approaches, thus 10 pilot projects were supported initially in communities that had organized themselves. The conditions of these projects are; these had some experience of working with other organizations; and these had families with monthly incomes below 10,000 baht (US$250). All but two places were on state land, so implementation was easier.

10 Initial Programs (CODI update, 2004, p6)

The budget to cover all ten pilot projects:

- Infrastructure subsidy .................................................. 61.9 million baht
- Housing loan interest rate subsidy................................. 61.63 million baht
- Budget for management and administration....................... 3.1 million baht
- Total government subsidy............................................. 126.63 million baht
Table 2.2 Pilot projects of the BMP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Land owned by</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Tenure</th>
<th>Housing loan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Charoenchai Nimitmai</td>
<td>Community Co-op</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>CO</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Bonkai</td>
<td>Crown Property Bureau</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>LT to CO</td>
<td>35.36m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Klong Toey Block 7-12</td>
<td>Port Authority</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>26.18m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Kao Pattana</td>
<td>Crown Property Bureau</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>LT</td>
<td>3.32m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Ruam Samakkkee</td>
<td>Crown Property Bureau</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>LT</td>
<td>17.15m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Klong Lumnoon</td>
<td>Community Co-op</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>CO</td>
<td>4.85m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Boon kook</td>
<td>Municipality</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>LT</td>
<td>15m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Laem Rung Reung</td>
<td>Treasury Department</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>LT</td>
<td>912,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Kaoseng</td>
<td>Treasury Department</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>LT</td>
<td>21.12m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Kolok Village</td>
<td>State Railways</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>LT</td>
<td>62.79m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>1588</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>186.68m</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CODI, 2004
Figure 2.8 Streetscape of 70 Rai area
2.3.3 Outcomes of the program

During the expected target period from January 2003 to March 2008 of the BMP, 512 projects involving 1,010 communities were approved, and 226 cities in 76 provinces, and total number of families affected: 53,976 (CODI Monthly Report, March 2008). The program, which has upgraded 1546 communities and 90,000 households as of January 2011, is still progressing to reach its target of upgrading the housing and living environment of 300,000 households in 2000 poor communities across the country (CODI, web). Boonyabancha’s paper describes how the comprehensively, and then explains that similar upgrading programs like the BMP could be developed elsewhere with a new system and institutional set-up that can provide flexible financing directly to a large number and range of urban poor communities (Boonyabancha 2005).

2.3.4 Baan Mankong in Klong Toey Community

From the time of the port’s first opening the early 1950s, labors had been actively encouraged by PAT to come and work at the river port of Khong Toey. They settled in the low-lying arc of land surrounding the port area or along the nearby Hualamphong and Phrakanong canals. This is the beginning of forming Klong Toey communities.
1) People background

The survey in 1971 revealed that only 19% of household head was born in Bangkok. The most important reason for leaving province to Bangkok was came to find a job as well as job was transferred to Bangkok totally 83%. 71% of those who were working-age had been farmers or farm laborers. According to the survey, the importance of kinship ties was further born out when we learned that 53% of the families actually do have relatives living in Klong Toey.

2) People economy

In 1973 survey by Asia Institute of Technology, it found that 33% was laborer, 34% was factory and transport worker, 10% was trader, 36.8% of household worked in Klong Toey area. In a typical week, number of days a worked: 61% worked 7 days a week, 16% worked six days a week, and 15% worked five days a week for people have
work. A survey in 1984 found that 20% of the people needed to do 2 jobs simultaneously while 7% need to do more than 3 kinds of work to survive. The fact also showed that in average 3 members in a house need to do more than 3 kinds of work. Consequently, they have to work more days in a week, more work despite the low income and insecurity of their labor jobs.

3) Physical environment

Several items of the physical environment in the slum are briefly described as follows:

- Drainage, there is no sufficient drainage or water control system in the area
- Walkways, are built between the houses, above the swamp, and on poles. On the average the wooden surface construction has a reasonable quality but the wooden bearing structure consisting of poles and girders suffers from subsidence and rotting.
- Electricity, most houses have a connection whether legal or illegal
- Water supply, the locks do not have a distribution network except for Blocks 6 and 12 (however, these networks are in a bad condition), water is supplied by public stand post, some private taps and municipal water trucks, the water I stored in jars that suffered from high contamination.
- Sanitation, almost every house has a toilet but no or poor treatment occurs before disposal in the environment, this results in a high degree of pollution and many health hazards.
- Access, both by car as well as on foot the slum has a bad accessibility. The slum is a pedestrian oriented.
Historical background of KT community

During the year from 1937 to 1939, the government recalled the land area of 361.4 ha around Klong Toey and Bangjak district for the construction of Bangkok Port Authority (BPA) for the purpose of developing docking and warehouse facilities for international shipping. Since then, port activities become a powerful magnet drawing low income communities to the area and become the largest squatter settlements with about 7,000 families in Bangkok. Along the past 40 years, there were a number of occurrences that could be divided into four periods.

1) First period (1945-1968): The original community

In the beginning, there were not so many people living in the area because it was till paddy fields. Later, the BPA constructed the warehouses and the port on the area was recalled. During the construction and the operation of the BPA, plenty of jobs were available. The more employment increased, the more the people came for settlement. The BPA took no action about the people's settlement on its land. This is because of the people need employment. The community gradually grew bigger and became divided according to their domiciles and had some similarities to a rural community. The settlement scattered around the area but after the eviction in 1957 the people in the area, where Klong Toey market locates today, moved to the north and the west. During 1962-1963, there were evictions in several areas occasionally. Most of those evicted moved to the unused area nearby. From those evictions, Klong Toey slum became crowded. After that it became even more crowded being a place for other evicted slums to migrate to in big and small groups.

In this period, PAT expanded considerably resulted in its serious roles of evicting Klong Toey slums. In 1970, the World Bank approved a loan of 250 million baht ($12.5 million) for expansion of docking facilities on the eastern harbor. The more crowded conditions in Klong Toey slum had forced the people in a more desperate situation to resist. As a consequence, this was first period that PAT adopted violent methods of evictions such as using the caterpillar tractor to breakdown the houses in slums. This period also marked by the intervention of academics who conducted filed survey in 1971 by Thammasat University and in 1973 by AIT which resulted in a powerful report revealing facts and recommendation about Klong Toey problems. At the same period, this was a first time the people struggled against evictions since 1971. These two new experiences in Thailand were enough to cause the establishment of NHA in 1973.


During this period, the qualitative developments of the people organizations were generated in the nurturing social and political environment. The most significant change was the conceived attitude of “their right to stay” and “their right to receive all administrative social services from the government”. Social value also status was considered acceptable in society and by the government. The government agencies paid more attention and took more actions in solving slum problems. To sum up, this period had political movement and roles from outside involving in Klong Toey which resulted in no evictions and the forming of groups, organizations and individuals to join in solving methods. Some aimed to develop the community but others aimed for political advantages.
4) Fourth period (1976-1987)

A coup d’état in 1997 had brought the new government a more compromising role which resulted in the low income housing policy for the poorest group of people by slum upgrading and sites and services. The new approach had an impacts on NHA revised its views on slum improvement especially in Klong Toey. The first attempt was a construction of 2,093 flat units in 1981 followed by another 1,440 units for the second phrase in 1982. The conflicts between the PAT and Klong Toey slum had lasted during this periods, which seemed to be unsolved. NHA has tried to negotiate with PAT on the land-sharing alternative since early 1982. The NHA’s role as intermediary at that moment together with people more advanced resistance put pressure on PAT to sign the land-sharing agreement in January 1983. NHA has directly leased 61% of former squatter land and developed housing for the people. The remaining 39% has to be cleared fro PAT within 2 to 5 years. As a result, first group demolition to the new area (70 Rai) was carried out between July-August 1985 with corporations from various organizations (Boonyabancha, Maier, Niyom, Padpui & Suksumake, 1987).
Figure 2.10 Main street in the 70 Rai area
Figure 2.11 Five story flat in Klong Toey

Figure 2.12 Boundary of Port Authority of Thailand (PAT) and Klong Toey community
Klong Toey community was originally located on land belonging to the Port Authority of Thailand (PAT), and was relocated to another Port Authority-owned site after many years of fighting eviction. 114 households were eligible to join the Baan Mankong upgrading, having saved sufficient funds through its savings group. The average unit cost for land, housing and infrastructure is US$ 4,901 and households repay US$ 22–30 per month (Boonyabancha, 2005).

The reasons of choosing the Klong Toey slum are the slum is one of the oldest and largest slum in Thailand, the community is chosen as a pilot project of the Baan Mankong program, and its introduced nearby relocation as its upgrading approaches. Since Klong Toey lock 7-12 implemented other communities following this project have
replicated the BMP as a pilot project, the project. Moreover, the research also can focus on the physical condition of the place and mental conditions of its residences since almost 10 years has passed after finishing its upgrading project. The community used is a unique approach since it was nearby relocation (which is within 5km from its original place) that is different normal relocation. To understand the influences of the newly adapted upgrading methods is also one of the central themes of the research. Because of the reasons above, the paper choose the Klong Toey community as the micro level example.
3. Methodology

3.1 Case Study Method

There are many research methods other than case study including experiment, survey, archival analysis, and history. Research methods depend on a couple of cartelization as the Table 3.1 shows (1) form of research question, (2) requires control behavioral events, and (3) focuses on contemporary events. First of all, the types of questions are the familiar series: “who,” “what,” “where,” “how,” and “why” questions. Among those questions, “how” and “why” questions are more explanatory and likely to lead to the use of case studies. This is because such questions deal with operational links needing to be traced over time, rather than mere frequencies or incidence (Yin, 2008).

Table 3.1 Relevant Situations for Different Research Methods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>METHOD</th>
<th>(1) Form of Research Question</th>
<th>(2) Requires Control of Behavioral Events?</th>
<th>(3) Focuses on Contemporary Events?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Experiment</td>
<td>how, why?</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survey</td>
<td>who, what, where, how many, how much?</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival Analysis</td>
<td>who, what, where, how many, how much?</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes/no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>how, why?</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case Study</td>
<td>how, why?</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Yin, 2008
Case study methods can be divided to four types of basic frameworks based on a $2 \times 2$ matrix (see Figure 2.4). These are (Type 1) single-case (holistic) designs, (Type 2) single-case (embedded) designs, (Type 3) multiple-case (holistic) designs, and (Type 4) multiple-case (embedded) designs. The matrix first shows that every type of design will include the desire to analyze contextual conditions in relation to the “case,” with the dotted lines between the two signaling that the boundaries between the case and the context are not likely to be sharp. The matrix then shows that single- and multiple-case studies reflect different design situations and that, within these two variants, there also can be unitary or multiple units of analysis (Yin, 2008). Case study method can include, and even be limited to, quantitative evidence. Some case study research goes beyond being a type of qualitative research, by using a mix of quantitative and qualitative evidence (Yin, 2008).

Figure 3.1 Basic Types of Designs for Case Studies

Source: Yin 2008
Among these four general types of case study frameworks, this paper uses the single case (embedded) case study as its research methodology. Yin proposed five rationales for using the case study:

1. A single case is when it represents the critical case in testing a well-formulated theory.
2. A single case is where the case represents an extreme case or a unique case.
3. Conversely, a single case is the representative or typical case.
4. A single-case study is the revelatory case.
5. A single-case study is the longitudinal case: studying the same single case at two or more different points in time.

(Yin, 2008)

3.2 Developing the case study model

To reach the answer to the following research questions of the paper, it needs to develop research methods that suits to answer the research questions:

- What are the gaps between the goals of Baan Mankong Program and current situations?
- Why the differences between the plan and reality have happened both in quality and quantity?
- How to improve slum development program from the Baan Mankong Program?

Main focus on the research questions is how to improve slum development program from the BMP, and why the differences between the plan and reality have happened. To
answer these two questions, this research needs to be based on the fact, which is, the gaps between the initial goals of the BMP and the current situation. In addition, the BMP is not any behavioral events, thus this does not fit to experimental method. Although this research also uses survey and archival analysis as a part of the analyses process for supporting the arguments, case study method is perfectly fit to address the answers to the research questions.

As Yin mentions, case study method has four basic frameworks, which are single-case (holistic) designs, single-case (embedded) designs, multiple-case (holistic) designs, and multiple-case (embedded) designs. This research uses the single case (embedded) models because of the following reasons. First of all, this whole paper focuses on a single context under the BMP in Thailand, instead of comparing two or more contexts for its analyses. The BMP, as a single case, also represents the critical case in testing a well-formulated theory and a unique case in terms of using new approach, participatory method, to reduce the number of slums. Secondly, the evaluation of how success the program is and address the research questions must contain two different levels of analyses, which are macro level and micro level of analyses. Both macro analyses and micro analyses should be described as each embedded unit of analysis perceptively.

Therefore, this research uses the single (embedded) case study model as the main research methodology. The Figure 3.2 shows the composition of this paper.
The analysis of the BMP starts from macro overview of the project, which means analyze by using the data from CODI how many projects have implemented each year and where these have done. Then, the next analysis focuses on the micro level by focusing on the specific site to discuss its improvement though the program. By gaining understanding from two different scopes, this gives deeper understanding of the BMP (See Figure 3.2 above).

Chapter 4 will analyze about the changes of the number of project that have finished for the last 10 years, and then to analyze the reasons of the change from three different perspectives, which are finance, governance, and system of the program. Financial situation is a critical factor for implementing the project, which obviously it affects the numbers of projects that can be implemented. If there is enough budgets, then the speed will go faster. Governance, which means political attitudes and policy toward the poor, is also a one factor changes the situation. The last factor, this paper, will be discuss is the system of the program itself. The BMP is featured a bottom-up upgrading approach and it depends on the people. So, to review whether the system functions well or not is also a key component of see how the number changes for a last decade. The paper will discuss and analyze the reasons of the changes in the numbers of the project has implemented.

The Chapter 5 will analyze the project from micro level, which focuses a BMP in Klong Toey Block 7-12. The discussion is about the improvement in both physical conditions of the project such as buildings, infrastructures, and utilities and mental conditions of its residents such as their financial situation and perfection to the projects. The reasons of choosing the Klong Toey Block 7-12 are: 1) Klong Toey slum is one of the largest slum in Thailand and that is also among the largest in the slum in south east Asia, 2) the Klong Toey has been chosen as one of pilot project which done in 2003, the beginning year of the BMP. Because the project in KT has implemented it has already passed about 10 years since then, it
is good for following the progress of the last 10 years, and 3) The project in the KT was a relocation type of upgrading, which is one of the common upgrading methods in the BMP.

After the two sets of analyses, this paper will reach the evaluation of how successful the BMP. This evaluation is directly connected to the last part of this research, recommendations to the future slum upgrading program in Thailand.
4. Analysis of Baan Mankong Program

4.1 Past and Current Situation of BMP

The program has set an initial target of improving housing living and security of tenure for 300,000 households in 2,000 poor communities in 200 Thai cities within five years, which means the programme started 2003 and finished 2008. This represents at least half the urban poor communities in Thailand.

The followings is summary of the initial goals of the BMP:

2003 target:
10 pilot community upgrading projects (total 1,500 units) and national precreation starts in 20 cities. First year’s budget, 146 million Baht (US$ 3.65 million), covers 10 pilot projects and prepares process in 20 cities.

2004 target:
Plan to upgrade about 15,000 units, in 174 slum communities, in about 42 cities, while city preparation goes on in 50 cities. The second year’s budget, 1,000 million Baht (US$25 million), has approved by the government. It was agreed to keep the target modest for this second year, when second round pilot upgrading projects would be carefully selected and carried out in such a way as to:

- Provide maximum learning within and between various cities in the program.
- Demonstrate to communities and city governments as broad a variety of upgrading options as possible (i.e. land-sharing, reblocking, upgrading, nearby relocation).
-Organize communities and use the projects to bridge the relationship between communities and the city, as upgrading possibilities become more real and more evident.

**2005–2007 target:**

Initial target of 285,000 unites in 200 cities. Then, during the third and fourth years, that’s when things should accelerate, and the scale will go up. During the final year of the program, the process will consolidated and everyone will be working to find ways to transfer the upgrading program to the city processes but allow it to be carried on by the cities. By the end of 2007, the BMP should have been able to upgrade and secure at least half the urban poor community in Thailand (CODI, 2004).

Even though the project was not able to reach the target in the decided timeline, the project is still constantly on the way to reach the goal. Let’s see the progress of the number of the slums upgraded in each year to see how many have implemented for the last 10 years. This statistic data will be shown in two figures which one is manly based on magazines and online sources which ACHR or CODI has published and the another source is from the CODI’s excel data showing information such as the year of implementations, province, and community groups name. The central reason of compare the two different sources are to narrow the gaps of the sources that have different figures in each sources. By doing this comparison, the result will be more credential just analyzing either one of these.
Figure 4.1 Number of the projects implemented through the BMP

![Number of projects implemented through the BMP](image)

Figure 4.2. Number of the communities implemented through the BMP

![Number of communities implemented through the BMP](image)
Figure 4.3 Number of the households implemented through the BMP

Source: Approve Report Baanmankong Project. Bangkok: Excel spreadsheet at CODI

Table 4.1 Number of the implementation through the BMP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>t_project</th>
<th>t_community</th>
<th>t_unit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>11735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>13778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>15291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>30983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>636</td>
<td>986</td>
<td>66158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>714</td>
<td>1102</td>
<td>72240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>783</td>
<td>1342</td>
<td>79172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>1398</td>
<td>82772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Approve Report Baanmankong Project. Bangkok: Excel spreadsheet at CODI
The graphs above (Figure 4.1, Figure 4.2, and Figure 4.3) show the number of projects, communities, and units of implemented the BMP each year since 2003. Compared the number of these three components, you may notice the trends in the number of year by year. For the first two years the program was growing rapidly from 17 projects to 87 projects, however the quick implementation had not last the next two years, which has the lowest projects records. Then, again from 2006 to 2008, the program had experienced the fastest and largest implementing rate which finished the four times during the two years compared to the first 4 years from 2003 to 2006. After fast pace of implementation, the speed has slowed down since 2008 till now. The reason for using original data from CODI is to follow the changes of the number of implemented BMP in each year, which allows this research to analyze the trend in the change in speed of the implementation.

Let’s compare to the initial Baan Mankong Target with the implementation, which can give you understanding of the number of implementation from the different perspective. They are some trend you can see by compared the actual number that the projects have done and the initial goal that CODI had declared. The project exceeded the first expectation in the 2003. Although the program had not reached the target, the outcome was quite close to the first expectation in the 2004. However, because of the large slow down on the implementation as a reason the outcome of the project has far behind from the initial goal, which compared to they supposed to built 300,000 units by the end of 2008 but the actual number was less than a forth of total figure. As the analysis of this trend, we need to figure out why the actual result has been that far away from the initial target.

Therefore, the main questions of the paper need to answer is why the number of the implementation of the BMP has slowed down from 2004 to 2006 and 2008 to 2011, and why the number was raised skyrocketing during 2006 to 2008. Other analysis is the reasons why
the actual outcome of the project is going that far from the initial goal. The question we need to answer is how this difference has happened between goals and the real number. Is this because of the goal had set too much higher than what could be imagined of the program has shortfalls to scaling-up its number. This paper reviews the reasons from three different criteria, which are from policy perspective, financial perspective, and system of the project. Each case is to be discussing to be the followings.

4.2 Factors Affect the Implementation

4.2.1 Policy and governance

This session reviews the National Economic and Social Development Plan (NDSDP), which is published by the Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB) every 5 years. Briefly, the plan shows direction of how Thailand should develop the next 5 years. Thus, to review the plan is essential to understand the development focuses in Thailand. The first edition was launched in 1962, and it last until now. In the beginning of this session, the research starts to analyze the Ninth Plan (2002-2006), The Tenth Plan (2007-2011), and the Eleventh Plan (2012-2016), which related to the BMP because of its time periods.

9th Target

(4) Poverty Alleviation Target, Pro-poor economic measures will be taken, together with the creation of enabling environments that enhance the quality of life of lower income groups, and empower poor people. The target is to reduce absolute poverty to less than 12 percent of total population by 2006.
10th Target

2. Targets for community development and alleviation of poverty. Ensure that every community has a participatory community plan, and that local government bodies integrate community plans with their budget management, anti-crime and anti-drug measure; increase access to capital and participation in decision-making; reduce those below the poverty line to 4 per cent by 2011.

11th Target

1) Thai society will become a better place, characterized by harmony and the well-being of its people, where inequality is decreased, the number of people beneath the poverty line is reduced, and the Transparency International (TI) Corruption Perception Index scores at least 5.0.

The NESDP do not show clear differences through the three editions, which all mentions that the government would work for reduce poverty. The 11th has difference in terms of it focuses on the corruption perception instead of poverty line. Although the differences, the review does not show clear differences on each plans. However, the research once focuses on what happened in Thailand through collecting news article though the Bangkok Post, there were a certain differences in different time periods. Through the articles, the paper can compare the differences of how Thai government deal with the issues based on prime ministers’ and parliament characteristics. The former Prime Minister Thaksin, the father of the Ban Ua-arthorn and Baan Mankong, focused on the poor more in his political practice. At a meeting in Chiang Mai, the largest and most culturally significant city in
northern Thailand, he stressed the importance of local bodies which he said were key to easing national poverty. He believes the grassroots bodies are the first to come into contact with ordinary people's problems and have insight into them (Bangkok post 2006, Jan 27). On the other hand, current Prime Minister Yingluck has negative attitudes toward these two projects. The BMP was suspended when she became prime minister in Thailand. As Thiparat Nopladarom, CODI director, mentioned the government replied that they could not provide the funding without any specific reasons (Bangkok Post, 2012, Nov 9).

Compared with NESDPs with focus on poverty, there are similarities and overlaps in each plan. Thai government tries to decentralize the government functions to local community bodies by fostering participatory actions. Although there are differences between the Ninth Plan and the Tenth Plan, and the Eleventh Plan, the research could not find any direct causes of how the plans affects to the government attitudes toward the poor and poverty. In particular, the plans seem no obvious influences on the number of the implementation of the BMP. However, there are clear influences from the prime minister’s attitudes and political situations toward the poor and poverty. Mr. Thaksin actively supported the poor by establishing the two housing policies, BMP and UAE. On the other hand, Ms. Yingluck has stopped the financial supports to the BMP since she became the prime minister. The speed of implementing the BMP is strongly based on what the prime minister’s attitude and political conditions’ focus. Without these supports, the program cannot effectively carry on.

4.2.2 Finance

Soft loans are made available from CODI’s revolving fund to communities, in order to purchase the land they already occupy or to buy new land, and to improve their existing
houses or build new ones after upgrading or relocating. The program subsidizes the interest rates of these loans, so loans can go to the community cooperatives at 2 percent annual interest rate (the nonsubsidized CODI housing loan rate is currently 4 per cent). The ceiling for both land and housing loans is 300,000 Baht (US$ 8,571) per family, and housing loans alone usually go no higher than 150,000–200,000 Baht (US$ 4,285–5,715) per family. All loans are made to the community cooperatives, not to individuals, and the maximum repayment term is 15 years. The cooperatives then on-lend to individual members, usually adding a 2–3 percent margin on the interest to create a slush fund to cover cases of unsteady loan repayments and to fund other community activities, expenses and some welfare purposes (Boonyabancha, 2009).

CODI receives a budget from central government, which is then passed directly to the communities according to the consent of the city development partners – in particular, the local authority and community network in each city. However, the success of the CODI approach led to new challenges with respect to the scale of capital funding that is accessible by communities. More capital is needed in order to be able to respond to the growing community demand. Figure provides a schematic view of the original CODI lending model, which blends state subsidies with direct loans to communities, and it also provides an overview of the new relationship with the National Housing Bank (NHB) in 2005 (UN-HABITAT, “Slum upgrading,” 2009). Although it’s new financial flow by GHB engagements, the model had implemented just a couple of times. This new financial model, currently, is not in progress because of functional failures. The GHB seeked 30 billion baht worth of loans from the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank (ADB) to finance the BMP. The GHB president, Khan Prachuabmoh, mentioned in November 2003 as following, "Funding from the two international organizations carry a low financial cost. We have no major loans outstanding with either the World Bank or ADB right now, so we think they will
support this program, which is targeted directly at helping the poor" (Bangkok Post, 2005 Nov 3).

Figure 4.4 GHB-CODI expanded financing model

**Original Financing Model**

- **Govt.**
  - 2% interest subsidy
- **Com. Coop**
  - Loan
  - Repayment at 4% interest
- **CODI**
  - Loan
  - Repayment at 6% interest
- **Individuals**
The purchase of land, the provision of infrastructure and the reconstruction of houses require major external capital injections. Although a large part is given as loans, the financial sustainability of the program is not secured, because the capital remains tied in real estate for a long time; repayment of housing loans takes 15 years. With many more settlements to deal with, cash flow problems may emerge and additional large-scale funding may be necessary (Yap & Wandeler, 2010). In 2008, CODI announced in fact that it had cash flow problems (Bangkok Post, 20 March 2008) and had requested the government for additional funds. The Four Regions Slum Network, a national organization of slum dwellers, called on the Ministry
of Social Development and Human Security, the parent ministry of CODI, to inject more cash into the program. It estimated the additional funds needed for the program at Baht 5 billion (US$150 million) (Bangkok Post, 24 February 2009).
5. Analysis of BMP in Klong Toey Block 7-12

5.1 Evaluation in physical changes

Klong Toey Block 7-12, a squatter community on Port Authority land, moved to another piece of port land just 2 km away and rebuild their community, on a long-term lease.

Figure 5.1 Locations of Klong Toey Block 7-12 before and after the BMP
Figure 5.2 Site plan of the new Klong Toey Block 7-12

Source: This image from CODI

Figure 5.3 Street view of the main entrance
Figure 5.4. Street view of the main street

Figure 5.5 Street view of a street
Figure 5.6 Sub-street in the new Klong Toey Block 7-12
Two public spaces have been built in the plan for new Block 7-12. The park located in the center of the area would work well for any emergency such as fire, earthquake, and other disasters. Residence can escape to this place. However, the place does not seem to be functional in daily life. One main reason for this is a play tool in the park, but other place is
not well-designed for kids and adults to play. The park was planned as a community center as public open space for meeting and markets, however it remains a large empty place without fully utilizing by its. This place has still a room to improve.

1. Access to water

   Through field visit, every house has connections ware both inside and outside of their houses. As an example of the KT, the figure below shows water system has attached outside of the house, and shower room locates the first floor with toilets. As rainwater collection in this place also works fine. The first visit to the site in rainy days show the ability of this place to collect rainwater in adequate way, which road soaked rainwater quickly. However, the rain was heavy that day, and some portion of rainwater was still on the road without directly heading to the collection system. Although this collection system works well, this could be improved to suit for the heavy rain in Thailand.
2. Access to sanitation

A house, the owner let me to do the filed survey, has equipped pour-flush latrine in their first floor. The pour-flush latrine in Thailand is common toilet design, which you just pour water after excretion. Compared to the toilet in developed country like the US or Japan, it seems less functional compared to so called the “western toilet”. However, the advantage of this pour-flush latrine is that this can save a lot of water to flush toilet, and this does not require high technology to put these to each houses.
3. **Structural quality of housing**

   **Location**

   The new KT lock 7-12 area has located within 2km from the original place, which is along with Trok Rongmu Street. The place locates neither in geographical hazardous zones, on or under garbage mountains, around neither highly industrial polluted areas, nor unprotected high-risk zones where UN indicates these places above are slum. Although a concern would be a slum locates just behind of the KT lock 7-12 area, the slum has completely different features and seems no clear negative influences on the place. As the figure below shows that you can easily access to the slum just cross a small path.

   ![Small path divided the Klong Toey community from slum](image)
Permanency of structure

Figure 5.12 Housing construction for the BMP

Figure 5.13 Initial condition of the housing units
Figure 5.14 Two types of the housing units’ designs

Source: Data from CODI

Housing model 2 types

As figure A and B show, these houses use durable materials for construction. In addition, community architects in Baan Mankong program have helped by giving guidance for residences about its design to be built and material to be used. The site visit after 10 years since the Klong Toey block have been built also tells that there are no clear structure issues on these housings.

4. Overcrowding
There is no straightforward data, which mentions overcrowding, such as proportion of households with more than two persons per room as such. Additionally, these housings have different building types such as 1 story single family housing, 2 story single family housing, and 2 story two family housing. Floor plan of each house is also different. Some are open room without any bed rooms, however others have a bedroom to four bedrooms. Provided these data, which CODI have done a survey in the Klong Toey slum block 7-12, it is difficult to follow the United Nations slum indicator of overcrowding. However, the visual sense and the idea of 431 people live in the area (need actual number of the area), the place can be considered to be not overcrowding.

5. Security of tenure

Klong Toey lock 7-12 is only area got short-term lease, although the other pilot projects were able to get either long-term lease or cooperative ownership (CODI, 2004). The residences need to return the site to the Port Authority after 30 years lease from the construction by contract. Even though they need to move to different places after 20 years from now, their tenure of the land and housing has currently secured by contract.

There are a number of possible reasons for the lack of an absolute increase in perceptions of security. Firstly, the leases given to the four communities differ. In Klong Toey, the Port agreed to a short-term lease of 3 years, to be renewed at least five times, guaranteeing the community 15 years on the land. Misinformation or lack of information is another reason that perceptions of security are low. For example, KT19 explains that “There’s an agreement with the Port to renew the lease 30 times, so that we can be here for

\[ \text{\textsuperscript{3} The tenure arrangements these communities are able to negotiate might include joint land ownership under their community cooperatives, or cooperative lease contracts that are either long term (30 years), medium term (10–15 years) or short term (3–5 years). Only 5–10 per cent of the Baan Mankong upgrading projects so far have been developed under less secure occupancy rights on public land.} \]
30 years”, whereas according to KT21, “we were told that we have a 30 year lease, then the Port will find us new land” (Archer).

**Diversity of housing**

The indicators that United Nations has proposed have include the minimal but most important features to understand features of slum and component if these are slum or not. As the paper describe these slum indicators above based on filed visit and survey data from CODI, the living standard of the Klong Toey lock 7-12 is far away from what the UN consider as a slum. Although the contract require them to return the land to the Port Authority, the overall results of the BMP in Klong Toey shows that the place has successfully transformed from slum to moderate living place.

As the paper mentions before, the UN indicator has shown the minimal and the important feature of slums, but let’s think from different perspective, which is variety of housing types. Why should take a look from this perspective is because some slum upgrading program is to provide the same hosing model to all household despite of their differences of family member, its numbers, and their needs. However, the BMP has left the room that each family can decide their hosing type and floor plan in decided two land areas. A report CODI documented about the BMP in Klong Toey shows the data of differences of housing types, floor plans, and size of land as the following tables.

**Table 5.1 Housing types and its numbers and percentage**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>one story single house</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two story single house</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one story twin house</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two story twin house</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low house single house</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low house two family</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5.2 Number of rooms in each housing,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>open room</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 room</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>22.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 rooms</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>58.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 rooms</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more than 4 rooms</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.3 Number of restrooms in each housing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 restroom</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>78.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 restroom</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.4 Land size

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30 m2</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>60.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 m2</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>39.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: References from CODI (Thai)

As the table shows the data above, the Baan Mankong program has accepted to the differences of demands of each household with the two land size 30m2 and 60m2. The basic land size and housing structure have already determined from the beginning plan, thus this is not totally flexible to all demands from household. However, the flexibility in building types and room can be admired with thinking traditional slum upgrading that provides ready to live housing unit such as UAE project, and this is one of advantage of the Baan Mankong program by reflecting residence voice to its planning.

Changes in times
Since the BMP has implemented, nearly 10 years have already passed. As the first, the building has constructed similar designs that the figure 5.17 shows above even we can see the differences about these appearance such as color and the design of handrails. But the differences of each house are wider than the time when they are constructed at the first time. We can easily see the differences of aging of the two houses. One is keeping the simplest design of the building design that have not done for decoration and another is making the house decorated such as wall colors and plans. These two houses are just an example of differences of treating house. The visual impression of field survey tells there are many houses have been decorated by different designs by painting different color, putting plants, and benches outside of housing. It is interesting to see how the residences in the Klong Toey Block 7-12 have personalized their 30-year lease houses.
Figure 5.15 Housing unit 1
5.2 Evaluation in mental changes

This part of chapter focuses on the mental situation of the residences in the Klong Toey Block 7-12, which in here means the satisfaction in the housings and land and affordability of financial situations. The main reason of choosing these two factor is because how success of the program is not only depending on the physical condition that UN consider the possibility of slums but also the satisfactions to the current situation includes both housing and financial situation are important. It is not that meaningful if the residences have not satisfied their residence even its pass the UN slum indicators. In addition, they spend their saving and loans for building their houses and many of them have debt and need to pay its
loans monthly. Some of them may not be able to pay loan back every month, which this paper need to figure out the number of residence who cannot pay this back and analyze its reason for understanding the reason behind the fact, and finally this paper will give a suggestions about how they can smoothly pay money back.

5.2.1 Satisfaction for the housings and lands

The most straightforward way to see how the residences in the Klong Toey Block 7-12 is to interview all of them to ask how satisfaction they feel to the house and land. However, this paper is not able to give the actual figures about these numbers because the author could not carry on the interview to collect the information. Instead of the data that ought to collect directly from its residence, here will analyze how they satisfy the house and land indirect ways based on the data that CODI have collected from the residence. There are two table data, which related to the topic; one table is based on the survey that shows if how much they would sell their housing, and another table shows how satisfy they feel about the size of their land.

Table 5.5 Preference for selling own houses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>250,000~1,500,000BHT</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Won't sell</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: P48 Satisfaction to the house

Given that $1 equals to 30TBH, the range from 250,000TBH to 1,500,000BHT is equivalent to from $8,333 to $50,000 (which is the price the residence have paid for the land and house. This survey means that they are willing to move to different houses if they could
get money back.). Considering that 71 percent of total subjects said that they will not sell even if they got offer from that amount of money. This outcome can be considered as about 70 percent of residences feel satisfaction to their houses, compared to about 15 percent would sell their house if they would get that money. This result reflects many of residences have satisfied their housing.

Table 5.6 Satisfaction toward their land size

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Great</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fine</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>59.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Too Small</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

P27 Satisfaction to the land

One the overhand, about 65 percent of subjects reveal they have enough land size, which compared to about 35 percent complain about its size. One reason of these could be the CODI had prepared only two types of land size that are 30m2 and 60m2, which makes feel some of the residence substandard area of land. As the land of the provided area from PAT is also limited, there is a difficulty to respond this situation to enlarge some of their land size.

If there is more data such as the preference of location they live, it might show interesting result. This is mainly because if we can understand the effect of 1km nearby relocation affect residences’ life style and commute methods, and moreover it can directly related to how they like the location they are living now. The outcome also strongly related to how they satisfy the land. However, this paper is not able to reach the analyses. Thus, this idea can be implemented in the future research of this paper.

5.2.2 Financial Situation

Financial situation is also an important topic which has influenced how the residences feel better off regards before and after the program. You may imagine their income remain the same but the living cost would increase because of the loans they borrow. As a statistic that CODI have done shows the following results.
Table 5.7 Changes in salary of the residents before and after the BMP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Salary (monthly)</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Same</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-1000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1001-2000</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-3000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3001-</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-1000</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1001-2000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-3000</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3001-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: P43 CODI Salary

The income before and after the program is mainly similar, however you will see the significant increase in income that 14.2 percent of residences’ income have increased more than 3000TBH monthly. Other than this, most figure remains the same such as about 67 percent has the same income and there are some changes in both people earning more and less except for the increase in $3000.

Table 5.8 Changes in expenditure of the residents before and after the BMP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expenditure</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Same</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-1000</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1001-2000</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-3000</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>22.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3001-</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-1000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1001-2000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-3000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3001-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: P45 CODI
As the table above shows that 69 residences have faced increase of expenditure except for a case that actually decrease in that. The survey that CODI have done reveals the main reason of the increase of cost, which 45.2 percent answer this because of the debt of housing loan, 10.7 percent said the cost spend on electricity and water, and 2.4 percent said because of increase on the living expenses in general. The single case that decrease the cost is because the relocation to the new place let him spend less money on commuting. Therefore, the table explains the nearby relocation to the new place increase their cost of living, which many of the residences have owned loan and debt from CODI and other banks.

The two tables above tell the fact that the residences earn more and at the same time residences spend more from total perspective. Then, how about the overall financial situation of the residences? How they can manage to return their loan or not? The table AA below shows ability of paying back the loan that residences own while they built new houses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No loan</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9.5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Can pay</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>54.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problem sometime</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>29.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problem always</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: P41 Return Loan

This shows that about 65 percent of all have either no loan or has ability to pay the loan contrast to the rest 35 percent has some or always have problem. According to a survey to measure the satisfaction after implementation of the program in Klong Toey, the residents showed ambivalence about the community environment. Although they generally agreed that there were improvements to their houses, they felt uncomfortable about the new houses and new customs after the improvements (Archer, 2012). This is also a crucial issue that CODI and the community need to solve and fix in order to everyone can pay their loan without any problems. This is not only residences problem, but it also affect to the BMP as a whole and
CODI as well. Because the Baan Mankong system is about collecting loan from the community members who have implemented the program and distribute the budget to the new community group who is about start to implement the program, the amount of uncollected money has directly influenced to the system and slow down it.

There are a few problems in the financial management and the overall management of the former slums. Some financial problems are due to the fact that not only the government supports upgrading, but that the residents also had to pay some portion of the upgrades, and the cost was too much for some residents. Although the program itself has been a success, the management of the communities after this upgrading has still faced many challenges to keep them in good condition. Although the Thai government is required to help local organizations maintain conditions after the slum-upgrading program, this has provided difficult. According to a survey to measure the satisfaction after implementation of the program in Klong Toey, the residents showed ambivalence about the community environment. Although they generally agreed that there were improvements to their houses, they felt uncomfortable about the new houses and new customs after the improvements (Archer, 2012).

Thus, let’s see the issue why some of the residences cannot afford to pay back the loan in order to understand the details.

Table 5.10 Place the residents borrow the loan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Total amount</th>
<th>Times</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CODI</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>83.3</td>
<td>123,695.42</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside of system</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>30,986.54</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inside system</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>34,587.50</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other loans</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>36,274.00</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>90.5</td>
<td>130,949.03</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: p39 Times need to pay
This table shows the 76 families have own loan either in CODI or other systems, which also takes a long periods to be return. Especially, the data shows it needs to pay 154 times to CODI.
6. Conclusions and Recommendations

6.1 Research implications

This section draws conclusions and recommendations from the findings in the preceding chapters. First, this paper summarizes the findings from evaluation of scaling-up process of the Baan Mankong Program (BMP). Then, it summarizes the findings of quality of the Klong Toey Block 7-12, a community that has implemented the BMP as an initial project, from both physical environment of the site and mental condition of the residents.

Background

In global context, countries become dependent on other countries. One reason is because of the influences of globalization as Thomas Friedman describes in his prominent book *The World is Flat*. Thailand is not any exceptions of globalization; the country exported mainly their agricultural products for earning profit at the beginning of globalization, then it has shifted to industrial products. Because of the profit the country has gained, its economy has grew faster after the World War II.

Bangkok, capital of the country, also has become one of the fastest growing cities in Asia through globalization. This economic growth brought by globalization fosters its urbanization, and then urbanization also fosters the economic growth. However, this development also has negative aspects. The economic growth of cities have attracted rural immigrates who looks for jobs. Some of them can find formal job, but others can find informal jobs, or cannot find any jobs who would end up living in slums. Thailand has threatened by the ever-growing slums, and the government has established organizations for reducing the number of slum in Thailand such as National Housing Authority (NHA), Urban
Community Development Organization (UCDO), and Community Organization Development Institution (CODI).

The Former Prime Minister Thaksin assigned NHA to implement Baan Eua Arthon Project (BEA) and assigned CODI to implement the BMP as a part of One Million Housing program in 2003. The BMP is a unique slum upgrading project that is different than conventional top-down approach by the government. The program is combination of both top-down from the government and bottom-up from its residents. This means that although CODI has made frameworks of the project, residences also have flexibility to choose what upgrading method they want to adapt, where they want to live, and what types of housings they want to build.

The following is the conclusions what this research has found about improvements of quantity and quality thought the BMP;

**Quantity**

The CODI initially expected to construct 150 housing units by 2003, 1,500 units by 2004, and 300,000 units by the end of 2007. However, they have achieved only about a third of that goal, which is 90,813 housing units, by January 2011. There are significant differences of speed of implementation in each year. Between 2006 to 2008 CODI constructed more than 40,000 housing, the speed slowed down after 2008. Although the project is still in progress, its speed of implementation has slowed down since then.

The Primary reason of the failure to achieve the ambitious goal is because its financial system. First of all, the government has strong influences on the program. Its economy can strongly affected by global economy such as the world financial crises in 2008. In addition, the unstable government political situation has strongly changed the situation. Mr. Thaksin
has emphasized on the support to the poor, however Ms. Yingluck, the current prime minister, focuses less on them. A Bangkok Post article mentioned that she finally stopped to funding the BMP since she has become the prime minister.

Secondly, the financial model of the BMP was not sustainable after 2008 when the program was suppose to be achieved their initial goals by that time. The reason of this is because the financial model, theoretically, takes 15 years to be able to collect all loans from the recipients. CODI had budget to implement the program for the first five years from 2003 to 2007, but the organization have to slow down the project without the government injection since they cannot collect all the loan within five years. Therefore, they could not allocate the same amount of money to other communities for implementing the projects. In 2005, the Government Housing Bank (GHB) involved the financial system to create more smooth financial flows, however the trial could not produce enough outcomes to continue the model.

**Qualities**

The newly built living environment through the BMP has sufficient improvements. The Klong Toey Block 7-12, a community this research has focuses, has been improved significantly in terms of its living conditions that the United Nations (UN) slum indicators shows. The access to water, access to sanitation, building structure, and overcrowding are well constructed. House units in the community have assesses to water and sanitation, and they built durable structures with sufficient materials. However, the location and land tenure could have been improved more. Although this is not a hazardous place as the UN slum indicator mentions, the site of the community locates next to a slum where just across a small path. Although the community has got tenure of its land, they have to move out after the leases are over.
The mental condition of the residences means preferences they have toward their housings and their financial situation they are facing. Many residents show affections to the new houses according a CODI’s survey. The question was about if they would sell their houses when someone offer the same amount of money or more. About 70 percent of them answered they would not sell their housings. In spite of the high popularity of their housing, more than 35 percent of the residents complained about the size of the lands. Therefor, there is a room to improve the size of land with more flexible approaches to distribute based on each needs. Since many residences borrow loans from CODI and other financial institutions, they have to return their loans periodically. However, about 35 percent of them have problem of returning their loans. The budget system of the program suits for the poor who need a little bit more financial supports to build their houses, but not for the poorest of the poor who need a large amount of money for building their houses.

6.2 Recommendations

This research evaluates the successes and failures of the Baan Mankong Program (BMP) through both macro level and micro level. The main successes of the program are its participatory approaches, the speed of implementing projects, and significant physical improvements. The approach is different from conventional top-down slum upgrading projects, which encourages citizens to participate its processes. This method empowers its community members to discuss, decide and design their own housing units and infrastructure. Since they involved in the process, their affections to their houses are high. The speed of implementation of this project is fast, in particular between 2006 and 2008, because of the residences also need to pay loans to join the project, which reduces the government burden and makes this system easier to scaling-up compared to conventional top-down approaches.
The improvement of the community that implemented the project is good. The survey about the access to water and sanitation, and structures of the houses shows that they had significant physical improvement that the UN would not consider the places are slums any more.

On the other hand, the main failure of archiving its initial goal is its financial system. The central reasons are high-dependence on the government finance, unsustainable budget collecting system of the BMP, and ignorance of the poorest of the poor. Because of these three reasons, the project has been slowed down since 2008. The project has depended on the government financial supports after the first five years, however the political attitude toward the poor has completely changed in the five years. Without the government injection to the project, this cannot be implemented as fast as they did. The project also has issues on its financial system of collecting loans from recipient. It theoretically takes 15 years to collect all the loans. On the other word, it cannot cycle the budget for every 5 years. Finally, this slum upgrading program, as the similar as other micro credit funding projects, does not work for about a third of the recipient. Since the poorest of the poor has quite limited financial ability, they have issues to pay their loan periodically.

There the future researches of the BMP can be as the followings:

1. How the BMP can be less dependent on the government budget?
2. How the program can build more sustainable financial flow?
3. How the program can treat the poorest of the poor differently?

10 years has been passed since CODI has implemented the BMP in 2003. CODI seems to have been in rush to implement as many projects as possible. It may be a good time to review the project and its system to create more sustainable practices since the budgets for
implementing the projects has been constrained. They can track the places that they have implemented the projects and analyze how to make future improvements of the projects.
Bibliography


CODI. (2004). *CODI update*. Bangkok: Community Organisations Development Institute

CODI. (2008). *50 community upgrading projects*. Bangkok: Community Organisations Development Institute


Department of Housing Development Studies, (2011). *A remembrance... Bangkok: National Housing Authority*

Department of Housing Development Studies. (n.d.). *National Housing Authority: Roles and responsibilities for the low & middle income housing development.* Bangkok: Presentation powerpoint at National Housing Authority.

Department of Housing Studies, (n.d.). *Senki land-sharing project.* Bangkok: National Housing Authority


National Housing Authority. (2005). *Monitoring and speeding up Baan Eua Athorn Low-cost Housing Programme.* Bangkok: National Housing Authority

Policy and Planning Department. (2012, March 9). *NHA and public housing development.* Bangkok: Presentation powerpoint at National Housing Authority


UN-HABITAT. (2009). Slum upgrading facility local finance facilities exchange visit to the community organisations development institute in Thailand 21st October to 25th October, 2008. *THE UN-HABITAT Slum Upgrading Facility (SUF) WORKING PAPER,*


Unknown author. (n.d.). *Genealogy of the slum. Making Bangkok*. Unknown publication detail, 139-169


