Towards Principles for the Control of Squatter Settlements in Bangkok, Thailand

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TOWARDS PRINCIPLES FOR THE CONTROL OF SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS
IN BANGKOK, THAILAND

Thesis by

Nirmal Brito Mutunayagam

For the Degree of Master of Engineering

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TOWARDS PRINCIPLES FOR THE CONTROL OF SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS
IN BANGKOK, THAILAND

by

Nirmal Brito Mutunayagam

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Engineering in the Asian Institute of
Technology, Bangkok, Thailand.

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(II)
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ABSTRACT

The squatter problem is one of complexity and diversity, and lasting solutions to the problem have been elusive, despite the numerous techniques and approaches that have been tried out. This is primarily because the squatter problem has not been comprehensively understood or defined.

The objective of this study is therefore to find a comprehensive definition of the squatter problem, with specific reference to Bangkok, in Thailand, and to recommend workable principles as a basis for their control and progressive elimination.

Proper reorganization of squatter control mechanisms can contribute to the orderly spatial growth in the city, and will promote the general well being of low income people, while preserving the legal rights of private property ownership.

The major contributions of this study are in its providing:

1. a rationale for the proper identification of, and distinction between slums and squatter settlements;

2. an identification of the squatter problem in Bangkok with its entire ramifications;

3. guidelines for the comprehensive policy for the control of squatter settlements in Bangkok; and

4. recommendation of outline programs for the successful implementation of such policy.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Title Page</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thesis Approval</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Acknowledgement</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Table of Contents</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scope of the Study</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>HISTORIC PERSPECTIVES OF SLUMS AND SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Global Perspective</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Slums in England</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Slums in the United States</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Slums in Asian Countries</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conclusions</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Squatting and Slum Dwelling in the Developing Countries</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>URBANISATION IN THAILAND</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urbanisation in Thailand</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Demographic Perspectives</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Economic Base</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Level of Urbanisation</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Industrialisation</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bangkok</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Historic Perspectives</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Growth of Population</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Migration to and from Bangkok</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Population Growth by Natural Increase</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Industrialisation</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Housing Shortage</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Observations in Urban Land Development</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conclusions</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>DEFINITIONS AND DISTINCTION BETWEEN TERMS</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Slums and Squatter Settlements Defined</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Definition of Terms</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Squatter Settlement</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Slum</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Squatter Slum</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Classification of Squatter Settlements and Slums</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(v)
TABLE OF CONTENTS (CONT'D)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Classification of Squatter Settlements</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classification of Squatter Settlements by Location and Ownership</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classification in Respect of the Attitudes of Landlords and Squatters</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classification in Respect to the Status of Occupancy and Migrant Status of Occupants</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classification of Slums</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classification by Location and Duration of Deterioration</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classification by Development Possibility of Land and Building</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Conclusions</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| V | THE SLUMS AND SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS OF BANGKOK | 37 |
| The Slums and Squatter Settlements in Bangkok | 37 |
| Historical Perspectives | 37 |
| The Early Settlements | 37 |
| Later Settlements | 38 |
| The Current Situation | 38 |
| Identification of Squatter/Slum Status According to the Definition Squatter Status | 40 |
| Classification of Squatter Settlements | 40 |
| Classification of Slums | 49 |
| General Conclusions | 52 |

| VI | REVIEW OF HOUSING POLICY AND PROGRAMS IN THAILAND | 54 |
| Past Performances in Housing and Town Planning in Thailand Upto 1972 | 54 |
| Policy for Urban and Local Government Development During the Third Plan | 55 |
| Estimate for Housing Demand Programs Envisaged in Metropolitan Planning and Housing During the Third Plan | 55 |
| Policy Guidelines Recommended by the Government | 56 |
| Measures for Implementation of General Policy | 56 |
| The Housing Agency | 57 |
| The Policy and Area of Responsibility of the NHA | 57 |
| Programs of the NHA | 58 |
| Projects Proposed | 58 |
| Funds of the NHA | 59 |
| Detailed Target of Number of Housing to be built in Bangkok Metropolis (within ten years) | 60 |

(vi)
## TABLE OF CONTENTS (CONT'D)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Framework for Analysis in Respect to Slums and Squatter Settlements</td>
<td>61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objectives of Policy for the Control of Slums and Squatter Settlements</td>
<td>61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation of the Third Plan</td>
<td>61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation of NHA Policy</td>
<td>63</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lessons from the Din Daeng Rehabilitation Project</td>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Project in Perspective</td>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Actual Working of the Project and Its Evaluation</td>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Problems</td>
<td>68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVE</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Shortage of Low Income Housing</td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Economics of Housing</td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Problem of Housing Standards</td>
<td>73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Problem of Finance</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Problem of Land</td>
<td>76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusions and Policy Implications</td>
<td>76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>CURRENT APPROACHES TO SQUATTER CONTROL</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problem Perception</td>
<td>78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classification of Approaches</td>
<td>78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Development Approaches in Respect of Fulfilment of Objectives</td>
<td>79</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>THE DEVELOPMENT APPROACHES IN PERSPECTIVE</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Town</td>
<td>82</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dispersal of Industry</td>
<td>82</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registration of All Dwellings and Policing of All Unauthorised Construction</td>
<td>83</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Renewal</td>
<td>84</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Housing</td>
<td>84</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sites and Services</td>
<td>85</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instalment Construction</td>
<td>86</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Core Housing</td>
<td>87</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Roof Loan</td>
<td>88</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td>TITLE</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF DEVELOPMENT APPROACHES</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Critical Appraisal of the Current Approaches</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in Respect of Squatter Control</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New Towns</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Industrial Dispersal</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Registration of Dwellings and Policing</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of Unauthorised Construction</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban Renewal</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Public Housing</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sites and Services</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Core Housing</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Roof Loans</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Housing Allowances</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Community Development</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Repatriation</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII</td>
<td>CONSOLIDATED EVALUATION AND PROBLEM DEFINITION</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Definition of the Squatter Problem in</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bangkok</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII</td>
<td>PRINCIPLES FOR THE CONTROL OF SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IN BANGKOK</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Objectives of Squatter Control Policy</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Principles for Policy Formulation</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>National Level</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>City Level</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Squatter Settlement Level</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Overall Perspective</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Time Spectrum</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conclusions</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV</td>
<td>CONCLUSIONS</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Concluding Remarks</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Utility of the Study</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subjects for Further Research</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>REFERENCES</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>APPENDICES</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
An ever present phenomenon of the rapidly developing cities of Africa, South America and Asia, are the extensive communities of squatter and shanty-town dwellers, that have sprung up and abound, in and around them. Estimates were made of the number of squatters in various countries in 1962. In Ankara, they made up 45 percent of the population; in Manila, 20 percent; in Caracas, 38 percent; in Santiago, 25 percent; in Singapore, 15 percent and in Delhi 7 percent.* In Thailand, Bangkok is faced with a similar problem, and most recent figures cite the existence of 39 settlements, constituting 162,000 people.**

Until recently, a squatter settlement was regarded as a temporary problem involving marginal sections of the population and limited to the interstices and margins of the city. Thus comprehensive policies to deal with causes and symptoms of the problem are rarely formulated. This is primarily because the squatter problem in its entire complexity and diversity has rarely been comprehensively defined or understood. This study is therefore aimed at the comprehensive definition of the squatter problem, with specific reference to Bangkok, Thailand, and at the recommendation of workable principles towards their control and progressive elimination.

The term 'squatting' is often misunderstood and confused with the term 'slum'. One of the fundamental purposes of this study, therefore is to furnish a rational definition of the terms 'squatter settlement' and 'slum', and to establish the clear distinction between them.

Squatter settlements and slums exist in different forms within the scope of such definition. A qualitative dimension could provide a clearer perspective of the settlement type, and characteristics. This calls for a classification of squatter settlements and slums. The understanding inherent in such a classification system is important if programs are to be tailored to the solution of special types of squatter and/or slum conditions. Such a classification of squatter settlements and slums is an added highlight of this study.

These definitions and classifications are useful for the proper identification of each category of settlement in Bangkok.

Squatting is considered as a problem of housing which directly affects low income groups. The Government of Thailand has focussed some attention on providing accommodation for low income families in Bangkok Metropolis, since 1964, and has most recently established a National

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* CLINARD (1966)  
** YAMKLINFUNG (1973)
Housing Authority (NHA), in 1973. One of the priority projects of the NHA is to resettle the squatter slum residents at Klong Toey, which is the biggest of its kind in Bangkok (population: 35,002: 1973*).

An evaluation of the policies of the Thai Government and of the programs of the NHA, together with an appraisal of one of the implemented projects can provide a clearer insight into the prospects and practical limitations, in coping with the squatter problem in Thailand.

A political overview could provide a valuable insight of the structure, institutions and ideas that constitute Government attitudes and characterise policy.

An economic perspective of the operation of the housing market can illuminate the adequacy of housing programs and projects, put forward by the Government and could suggest avenues along which Government policy should preferrably be aligned. This would take the form of recommendations for the conservation and distribution of public funds, by seeking means to exploit the potential capacities of the squatters, in respect of house building, and performing those functions which the squatters are incapable of, such as provision of serviced land, and financial assistance.

Numerous approaches have been devised, in different situations, to solve the squatter problem in various cities of the Developing World. Each approach has attributes and affinities that suit certain situations, but they also display weaknesses that limit their universal applicability. By studying the characteristics of each approach and appraising their performances, it is possible to identify whether any of the ready made approaches, either individually or in combination, offer prospects for successful application to the squatter problem in Bangkok. Such an evaluation assists in comprehensive definition of the squatter problem in Bangkok.

The definition of the squatter problem in Bangkok is the pre-requisite for deriving principles for the control of squatter settlements, and formulating policy.

Scope of the Study

This research is mainly restricted to a qualitative study and analysis of squatting as a phenomenon, and proceeds towards evolving a set of rational principles for its control and progressive elimination.

* HONGLADARCMF (1973)
Whereas considerable information has been generated about individual squatter settlements in Bangkok, precious little has been done on the general perspective of squatting. As such, available quantified information of squatter population growth, effects of migration on squatting, and other demographic information on the total squatter population in Bangkok is grossly inadequate to conduct a quantitative study, involving squatter population growth in the city, etc. Available quantified information warrants the possibility of formulating detailed development programs for each squatter settlement. But this study is restricted to the derivation of generalized principles for the control of the overall squatter problem in the city, and programs and projects are extensions of this study, which are beyond the scope of this research, and have not been attempted.
II  HISTORIC PERSPECTIVES OF SLUMS AND SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS

The Global Perspective

Though 'cities' have existed in one form or another close on 3000 years, the past two centuries, 1750-1950, have witnessed an unprecedented urbanization of people and economic activity in areas affected by the Industrial Revolution. During this brief period in history, many towns and villages in Europe and North America ceased to be mere regional markets for craftsmen and cultivators; they became vibrant centers for almost all the manufacturing servicing and distributive functions developed in an expanding economy.

Those new centers of employment attracted large numbers of people from the rural areas towards them, in search of industrial employment. The effects of high speed urbanization brought about by the advent of the factory and the railroad were manifested in the formation of slums in the urban complexes. MUMFORD (1961)* puts it, the factory, the railroad and the slum were the direct results of the Industrial Revolution.

But the trend was not confined to Western Europe and North America. During the first half of the present century, urban growth became more marked in form in the underdeveloped countries as well. Cities mushroomed in parts of the world which had previously felt little urban or industrial development, and expanded in areas of both high and low population density in the various countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The development of shanty towns and slums was natural in following in the wake of rapid urbanization.

No nation has ever been able to prevent the emergence of slums and squatter settlements under the pressure of mass movements of people and these settlements have punctuated almost every city of the world. They vary by type, location and character, and they are a dynamic phenomenon that tends to grow at such a pace that large portions of the city areas are occupied by them.

Slums and squatter settlements are the consequence of man's struggle for shelter and the baffling problems that are faced by the city planners of today is how to hold them down to a minimum, limit their effects, or plan to rationalize the inevitable formation and growth of such settlements.

Though slums did exist even in ancient Greece, slums as are known today are traced back to those of England in the 18th century, as the Industrial Revolution brought greater opportunities for employment in Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, London and Sheffield. CLINARD (1966) attributes the earliest slums in Great Britain to the issue of a proclamation by the English Government during the 17th Century which had a lasting effect on slum development during the Industrial Revolution. The Proclamation prohibited the construction of new dwellings in London, except those "fit for inhabitants of the better sort". The stated justification for this limitation on construction was a fear that large numbers of people would give rise to all kinds of disorders and that the plague would spread more easily if growth were allowed to continue. The result of the proclamation was, however, not a cessation of housing construction for the poorer classes, but rather, overcrowding in the areas where the edict was not effectively enforced, viz. subdivision into smaller units of existing buildings, conversion of stables and warehouses into dwellings, and patching up of tumbledown buildings and cellar additions. Violations of the Proclamation were buildings hidden in alleys and courts and built of the cheapest material possible, for fear of financial loss, lest they be removed at any time.

As industrialization progressed, in the 19th century, the factories began to claim the best sites, mainly near the cities, near the waterfronts or near the railroads and communication channels. Free competition or "laissez faire" alone determined the location of factories.

The advent of the factory brought in its wake a wave of immigration from the rural areas around cities, towards them in search of better employment and higher wages. Whereas the factories attracted the rural folk towards the cities, the rural areas themselves induced the departure of the farmers consequent to the virtual stagnation of the agricultural productivity, the forced unemployment and underemployment and the high incidence of poverty that existed in the rural areas at that time.

The influx of population to the industrial cities in England was unchecked and settlements took root wherever land was available around the factories and the railroads. Disregard for property right and violations of legal land occupation were frequent and unhampered. Buildings were erected with any improvised material that was available, cheap and dilapidated buildings and tenements were overloaded with people in need of shelter. "Free competition" alone determined location of factories and residences, and there was little possibility of functional planning, resulting in the "jumbling together of industrial, commercial and domestic functions in industrial cities". (MUMFORD (1961).
The housing stock and the urban infrastructure were overloaded and unable to meet the demands of the total city populace. This compelled the poorer sections of the population to improvise their own accommodation or live in a state of inexorably low level living conditions, in deteriorated housing, in state of continuous deprivation — it was these housing areas occupied by the low income earners, particularly the rural immigrants that became termed as "slums".

Slums in the United States

The development of slums in the United States again was closely related to the successive waves of immigration that swept the cities in the country. However, these slums have largely an ethnic connotation. The vast majority of Negroes in urban America have been from the very beginning living in slums.

The earliest mention of poor housing in such cities as New York and Boston made note of the fact that recently arrived foreign groups were forced to live in the worst neighbourhoods. Throughout the 19th century, lack of housing and consequently high rents even at the early date, were responsible for the increasing number of immigrant families that had to find accommodation in stables, attics and damp cellars, all small and congested with poor water supply and inadequate toilet and washing facilities.

The influx of low income people also witnessed the exodus of middle and upper classes to the suburbs. Low income people displayed a tendency to congregate around the city centres where the older sections of buildings were located so as to reduce cost of travel and avail of cheaper dwellings and lower rents. The resultant overcrowding and dilapidation of building without proper or timely maintenance, linked with the neglect of these areas by the authorities delegated with the responsibility of providing the necessary services and infrastructure for healthy living, led to the blighting of these areas and their eventual classification as slums.

Slums in Asian Countries

Slums and squatter settlements in the countries of the Developing World are the direct result from the increased concentration of population in the cities caused by both natural increase and the influx of immigrants from the rural areas.

The developing countries display an exceptional rate of increase in absolute numbers of urban population as well as rural population. The urban population is currently growing about 2.29 percent per annum* in the Developing Countries.

* WORLD BANK (1972)
The growth of population in cities of Asia, both by natural increase and in-migration from rural areas is enormous in absolute numbers. This by itself implies a tremendous pressure on land, housing and urban infrastructure. The high land values, the housing shortage, and consequently high rents, coupled with the high incidence of poverty, unemployment and the dire need for shelter and survival compels the new entrants to seek and set up accommodation in any vacant areas they can find. The occupation of such areas led to the formation of most of the squatter settlements in Asia.

Migration in Asian cities is attributable to various "push pull" factors: the attraction to the city for employment and availing of urban amenities not available in rural areas, the apparent attraction of industrial employment, the drive to overcome the status of poverty and deprivation common to many rural areas in Asia, and the inducement to leave the overloaded rural areas with its weak employment opportunity and low productivity. Migration in many Asian cities has also been induced by War ravage which forced waves of refugees to seek protection, from enemy attacks, by proceeding to the city.

Modern industrialization in Asia is of recent origin and dates back to the end of World War II. While city administrations were struggling to establish themselves in post war circumstances, the opportunity was open for many squatters to occupy large tracts of land, particularly evacuated areas.

Squatters also occupied vast areas of land near employment centres, usually publicly owned. Commonly, squatter settlements tend to be located around the central areas and at the urban fringes in most Asian cities.

The high incidence of poverty that prevailed in these areas compelled the squatters to erect shelters in the form of shacks and huts with any cheap material that can be found and each unit accommodates as many residents as it can hold.

Later settlements were forced to be located on any available lands, irrespective of topography or physical conditions and habitability, provided the location had close proximity to employment centres.

The characteristic of most of the squatter settlements reflects traditional forms of building construction, characterised by lack of urban amenities and infrastructure, though this is not always necessarily so. Such deprivations reflect strong similarities to the slums of the West and have invariably been labelled as such.

A unique form of squatting is the floating squatter. Low income families live on the waters of rivers and canals in junks and boats.
The unhindered growth of slums and squatter settlements can also be attributed to the complacency and inactivity of government agencies consequent on weak or inadequate authority, low financial resources and political pressures. As such, even on the basis of very modest standards, it has been estimated that "from one third to two thirds of the typical Asian city population must be considered to reside in slums".*

Conclusions

The historic background of the origin and growth of slums and squatter settlements indicate the following features:

(1) Slums and squatter settlements are one of the effects of modern industrialization on urbanization.

(2) The slum/squatter problems can be traced to the high rate of population growth in the cities. The mass influx of rural migrants, forms the most important element of population growth that is responsible for the formation and proliferation of squatter settlements and slums.

(3) The migration can be attributed to three main factors:

1. The 'push' process, from the rural areas, of workers to urban areas caused by the lack of agriculture employment which prohibits minimum subsistence conditions, low and uneven distribution of income in rural areas, the incapacity of the rural economy to sustain the rural population, with its low productivity and lower degree of employment potential.

2. The apparent attractions of the urban centres as potential areas of more productive employment, with greater supply of goods and services and the prospect of more job opportunities and higher wages. The improvement of transportation favoured city bound movement. Life in the city was characterised by the progressive elimination of physical, cultural and psychological barriers that used to separate rural folk from urban and suburban inhabitants and this also contributed to unhindered city bound migration. The prospects of social and economic mobility induce motivation for migration to the cities.

3. The ravages of war that have adversely affected the rural areas have compelled the desertion of vast numbers of rural homesteads by rural inhabitants who flee to the cities for protection and refuge.

* UNITED NATIONS (1971) Improvement of Slums and Uncontrolled Settlements, United Nations, New York, pp.27.
(4) Income earned by the migrants and resources available, on arrival are inadequate for anything more than subsistence living in most instances.

(5) The high degree of unemployment and irregular employment reduce the viability of the low income earner to provide independent accommodation for himself. He is compelled to share accommodation, resulting in overcrowding of dwellings.

(6) In spite of unfulfilled expectations, which have led to frustration and exclusion from social and economic activities, the magnitude of migration is not deterred and most migrants prefer to remain in the urban areas rather than return to their rural habitats.

(7) The lack of maintenance due to inadequate resources is primarily responsible for the deterioration of buildings. Poverty compelled the residents to forego the more conventional and costlier urban infrastructure and community facilities, and contributed to the occupants being subjected to deprivations and health problems which characterised the slum.

Squatting and Slum Dwelling in the Developing Countries

In addition to the general conclusions cited above, the following conclusions may be added which are unique to the Developing Countries:

(1) The phenomenon of mass squatting appears to be unique to Asia and other countries of the Developing World.

(2) Squatting varies in form from futile trespass on property by individuals, to wholesale "invasions" of large areas by waves of immigrants.

(3) The Asian situation strongly reflects that the growth of population in absolute numbers is itself large and there is a high incidence of indigent poverty in the urban areas as well.

(4) Inadequacy of housing stock and urban land, at low or reasonable prices backed up by the pressure of large number of migrants makes squatting on any vacant land, public or privately owned, the main solution for the migrants, desperately in need of shelter.

(5) Inaction, complacency and lack of consistent action by landlords and government are also responsible for the unchecked growth and formation of illegal squatter colonies.
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THI URBANIZATION IN THAILAND

This chapter deals with the overall perspective of urbanization in Thailand and makes specific reference to Bangkok. The major problems of urbanization and the factors unique to the country and the metropolis have been enumerated and discussed. The study reveals the relationships that have contributed to the formation of slums and squatter settlements in the city.

Urbanization in Thailand

Demographic Perspectives Thailands population which numbered only about 6 million persons in 1900 was enumerated at 26.3 million in 1960 and is estimated at about 35 million in 1970. This six fold increase in seventy years reflects an average annual growth rate of about two percent for the thirty years following World War I and an increase to 3.2 percent per annum in the years between 1947 and 1960, and continuation at this or a slightly higher level.

GOLDSTEIN (1972) considers Thailand's growth rate as among the highest in the world.

It stems from a sharp drop in mortality but a continuation of high fertility. Thailand's death rate has dropped from about 30 per 1000 at the dawn of the century to about 11 per 1000 by the mid sixties. The consequent increase in life expectancy from about 35 in 1937 to between 55 years for men and 62 years for women is noteworthy.

Fertility has not experienced any decline and number of birth in Thailand has been estimated by the United Nations experts to average 45 per 1000 as late as 1960-65.

Economic base

Thailand largely remains a rural agricultural country. According to the 1960 census only 12.5 percent of the population lived in places classified as municipal areas, and four out of every five persons resided in agricultural households. Over 80 percent of the economically active population were employed in farming. The population increase has been so rapid that per capita area under agriculture has declined from 2.7 acres of arable land per person in 1930 to only 0.9 in 1970. A further reduction to only 0.5 by 1990 has been predicted*.

* All figures quoted in this chapter are from GOLDSTEIN (1972)
The Level of Urbanization

The level of urbanization in 1960 was 12.5 percent of the total population, which is low when compared with 22.9 percent for the Developing World as a whole and 17.8 percent for South East Asia. This is attributable to the high rate of rural population growth in Thailand. Thailand's urban growth rate, however, is high averaging about 5 percent a year, compared to the growth of rural population by 3 percent annually.

Larger places clearly occupy a more important role in the overall growth of Thailand's urban population. Of the total urban increase between 1947 and 1960, 68 percent is attributable to the largest ten of the total 116 urban places, with Great Bangkok alone accounting for 61 percent of the increase. Between 1960 and 1967 virtually the same pattern existed. Of the total urban increase, 71 percent was due to the ten largest places with Greater Bangkok alone accounting for 63 percent. Bangkok may be considered to be the primate city in the country, as its population of 2.61 Million is more than Thirty Times bigger than the next biggest city, Chiang Mai with only 81,579 population*.

Industrialization

The existence of the primate city, Bangkok-Thonburi has tended to encourage further industrial, commercial and service activities to locate within them. Of the 2177 new industries established in Thailand during 1968, 1127 or more than 50 percent were in the Metropolitan Bangkok area. This pattern increases the attractiveness of the primate city to potential migration from other parts of the country, and in turn detracts the positive effects which even greater decentralized urban growth might have on economic and social development in other regions of the country.

Bangkok

Historic Perspectives* At the time Ayuthaya was founded in B.E. 1893 (1350 A.D.) Bangkok was nothing more than a collection of mudbanks, inhabited by a few scattered fishermen. The area attained some importance during the reign of King Narai in B.E. 2218 (A.D. 1675) when it was decided to strengthen the walls of the existing fort, Fort Wichayen, located on the West Bank of the Chao Praya River at the mouth of the Klong Bangkok Yai. Bangkok Assumed the role of the Capital City in B.E. 2310 (A.D. 1767) after the fall of Ayuthaya, when King Taksin drove the Burmese from Bangkok and established his capital. The capital was first founded on the West Bank which was on higher ground and not liable to inundation. In B.E. 2325 (A.D. 1782) General Chakri who assumed the kingship moved his capital to the East Bank of the Chao Praya River for political and military reasons. The early city was enclosed by a wall encompassing 3.76 sq. kms.

*
The growth of the city was very slow between the years B.E. 2352 and B.E. 2394 (A.D. 1809 to 1851). The city which up till then had been nothing more than the buildings in the citadel comprising the palaces and temples and motley assemblage of poor wooden houses of wood and bamboo wattling began to improve during the reign of King Rama IV (B.E. 2394-2397) (A.D.1851-1854) and the city reached an estimated population of 400,000.

Growth of Population

The growth of population and the increase in area of Bangkok from then on is given in the following table:

Table 1 - Growth of Population 1854-1967

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Urban Area in Rai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>400,000</td>
<td>8,430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>600,000</td>
<td>8,430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>650,000</td>
<td>26,920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>963,626</td>
<td>41,735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>1,622,462</td>
<td>60,230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>1,800,678</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>2,614,356</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The rapid growth of population after the Fifties has been responsible for the city to develop into a metropolis during the last two decades. The annual rate of growth of population during the sixties is 5.2 percent as against only 3.2 percent for the Nation as a whole.

It is relevant at this stage to reiterate that Bangkok-Thonburi area has predominated in the growth of population and elevated itself to the statue of a primate city. This is very evident from the fact that the populations of the next three largest cities namely Chiang Mai, Korat and Hadd Yai are only 81,579, 73,030, and 49,327.

Migration to and from Bangkok

The primacy of Bangkok in Thailand urban structure calls for more detailed examination of the role of migration in its growth. The data on lifetime migrants indicate that over one third of all persons living in Bangkok were born in a different province (37.7 percent for males and 35.9 percent for females). But the capital area has also lost people
to other parts of the country. It has been estimated by GOLDSTEIN (1972) that for every two persons moving into Greater Bangkok, one person moved out. Yet this has resulted in a substantial net gain, with the flow in of 486,500 persons being over three times as great as the out-movement of 144,500 (1960). The reversible process of migration is discernible, though not of any remarkable extent.

Population Growth by Natural Increase

The most recent data for Bangkok shows a crude birth rate of 46 and a death rate of 7. Population growth by natural increase accounts for 3.0 percent of the total increase of population is the unofficial conjecture.

Industrialization

Industrialization in Thailand began after World War II, when a transition in the economic system from the concentration on primary products set in.

In Thailand, the metropolitan area of Bangkok-Thonburi is the main center of secondary and tertiary industry according to the data from the Ministry of Industry for 1947 to 1965. The total number of factories in the country was 39,394, 9,004 of which are in the metropolitan area. If rice milling is excluded, the factories within the metropolitan area amount to more than half of the total factories in the country. Service industries (26.4 percent) and commerce (24.1 percent) occupy one half of the economically active population of the metropolitan area.

Housing Shortage

The United Nations "World Housing Report" (1965) estimated that in the following years the world must produce 10 housing units per year per 1000 head of population to keep abreast of housing needs. It means that the twin cities must provide 28,000 dwelling per year.

The U.N. estimates assumed a population increase of 1.7 percent and an average of 5 persons per household. The population increase of Bangkok-Thonburi area being 5.2 percent and the average household size being 6, it has been worked out that 23,800 units per year are required to be constructed over a period of 10 years. A replacement of existing stock (380,000 houses) over the next 40 years amounts to 9500 per year. In addition there exists at present a backlog of 92,000 units which in turn represents another 9,200 units per year#. This accounts for a colossal figure of 42,500 units to be constructed anew, per year*.

# GOLDSTEIN (1972)

* YAMKLINFUNG (1973)
The Division of City Planning, Bangkok Municipality has forecasted that 17,000 dwelling units per year are required in Bangkok area alone, of which only 15,000 are being constructed and not precisely for the low income earners, who are the most adversely affected by the housing shortage.

Between 1952 and 1969 the Government built only 7000 housing units for low income families. Assuming that at least one third of the households of Bangkok qualifies as low income group, (earning less than 1,500 Baht per month), then 14,166 such households will require accommodation each year. At a cost of 50,000 Baht per unit*, it would require 708 million Baht each year for the next ten years to build the units needed. This is 35 times more than the present annual Government budget of 20 million Baht, for the purpose*.

These figures bring us to the conclusion that the pressing demands for shelter of the ever expanding number of low income people can only be satiated by their being accommodated in slums and squatter settlements. It is hence no wonder that the Department of Social Welfare has listed 39 such settlements within the limits of the Bangkok Municipality alone, accounting for some 162,000 people.

Observations in Urban Land Development

Urban land development problems in Thailand are diverse in nature, varied in magnitude and extensive in number. The following are among the more important ones:

(1) The pattern of growth for Bangkok can be described as natural, unplanned and uncontrolled. City planning is still facing serious difficulties: technical, organizational, legal and administrative. The lack of city planning laws and inabilities to enforce the laws are probably the most important obstacles to an orderly urban development program. An Act is in the drafting and approval stage which will empower the authorities concerned, particularly in respect of Town and Country Planning Department and the Municipalities, to enforce the already prepared town plans.

(2) Land acquisition for public purposes is also very complicated. Land expropriation is a long drawn out and cumbersome process. Law has to be promulgated for each particular expropriation for public purposes, and compensation depends on direct negotiations.

* YAMKLINFUNG (1973)
(3) Land speculation is also wide spread. Land taxes are very low and capital gains taxes are almost non-existent. In the central areas of Bangkok, land costs are extremely high (between Baht 5000 to 10,000 per square meter.)

(4) Land values are highest immediately adjacent to roads and canals, decreasing to the lowest values in the interior of blocks and relatively inaccessible areas. Value of land on road frontages varies from 12 to 14 times the value of interior portions. Selling prices for any property depend on negotiation and usually vary considerably. Speculative interests and high prices dictate the operation of the land market and these constrict the acquisition of land for public purpose.

(5) The Building Control Act only deals with safety and structural strength but not the location, type nor the use of such buildings. The general pattern of development of these urban centres therefore takes the form of strip development along the highways leading to these urban centres.

(6) Within the urban areas themselves, the lack of building and construction control has created disorders in the types of buildings and the creation of squatter settlements and slums.

(7) Land can be classified into the following categories:
   a) Crown property
   b) Government land (national and local)
   c) Government sponsored organizations
   d) Military

   These four categories constitute about 19 percent of the land area of Bangkok Metropolitan area. In the instance of government requiring additional land, the government is authorised by the Constitution to expropriate land for only three major purposes, i.e. National defence, public utilities and "city planning". If it is not used for the purpose intended, the original owner has the right to buy it back at its original value. However, the Land Expropriation Act entitles the Government to freeze land prices for a period up to 5 years, which is renewable for another 5 years, for land to be used for public purposes. This procedure however does not prevent the sale of land or the transfer of ownership. Speedy expropriation of land is possible only for highway construction, both by law and custom.

(8) Administrative coordination among Government agencies is also lacking. There are numerous Government agencies dealing with urban problems, and urban services. It has proved to be extremely difficult to coordinate the plans and programs of these agencies.

* It is understood that city planning refers to development of roads, and non residential public uses only. As such public housing falls beyond the purview of this purpose.
It is clear from the above that problems of land acquisition for public purposes is faced with numerous hurdles and can be surmounted only by keen and purposeful interest by the Government officials in charge. Government has the option to distribute land under it's custody for various purposes. But this too is hampered for want of adequate legislation.

Conclusions

(1) Historic evidence cites Industrialization as one of the key factors that attracts rural migrants to cities. Industrialization in Thailand is still in its infancy, but appears to be concentrated in the Bangkok Metropolitan area. With industrialization gaining impetus to National development, the possibilities of increased immigration into the cities appears to be a distinct prospect.

(2) Even though migration appears to be a two-way process, in the instance of Bangkok City, the net figure of immigrants is still large.

(3) Bangkok exhibits a very high rate of population growth that has established the primacy of the city in the Kingdom. Population estimates indicate that the city will exceed 10 millions by 1993 A.D. and 15 millions by 2000 A.D.. It is also estimated that projections for land requirements are expected to be around 1000 square kms. in 1993 A.D. and 1600 square kms. in 2000 A.D.. (Figures are from unofficial sources from the German Team dealing with Transportation Planning for Bangkok). It is beyond any doubt that at this rate, the pressure of population on land, services and housing is going to be a major burden on the city, in years to come. And it is only too obvious that low income groups are going to be thrust into more serious hardships and deprivations, with public agencies resources being unable to cope with the demand for land, housing and infrastructure.

(4) The need for City Planning and controls on land utilization, subdivision and value are inevitable. A rational distribution of land for various uses and among the different income groups is an urgent necessity. Large areas of land in the metropolitan city are still vacant and capable of intensive use. Their optimum utilization and distribution may be instrumental to more economic utilization of services and facilities in the city.

(5) The Expropriation Act appears to be cumbersome and unwieldly. It displays a prejudice towards acquisition of land for housing which is not among the stipulated purposes. Unless this is remedied, government agencies authorised to undertake and execute housing programs can be expected to make little headway in solving the housing shortage problems.
(6) Land values in the city are fixed on a "Laissez Faire" basis and this strongly influences the formation and growth of squatter settlements and slums in the city. Since land values even for Public acquisition are based on negotiation with landlords, it involves a long and cumbersome process which can hold up development programs indefinitely. The controls on land value in the form of taxation appear to lack utility, function or purpose. They must be reviewed and overhauled.

(7) The control of land value is the logical first step towards reducing the uneven distribution of land among the different income groups. This too has strong National Connotations involving various other factors and variables with a strong political significance. It requires careful comprehensive analysis and planning to arrive at an optimum solution, which appears to be a dire necessity.

(8) The housing demand projections exhibit a very bleak picture of the housing situation in the city and strongly suggest concerted public involvement. Particular attention is required to be focussed on housing needs of low income people. This requires an immense investment which government agencies can ill afford. Government will have to rationalise between investments for economic development and those for social welfare so as to face up to the challenge in a realistic manner.
The housing problem in Bangkok however has more consequences of national importance and will require decisions on Decentralization Policy, Rural development, Urbanization and Population Control that require careful analysis and forethought before a Housing Policy can be formulated and implemented.
The availability of land is the central factor that plays a crucial role in squatting and slum formation.

In sum, the problems of urbanization in Bangkok are integral part of the problems of national development of the whole Kingdom and cannot be viewed, discussed or solved in an isolated vacuum. Among the numerous problems of urbanization, is the glaring problem of squatter settlements and slums which has become one of the most publicised and most critical issues of urban planning, housing and urban development in the past few years.

The problems of slums and squatter settlements in Bangkok are tied up with the problem of mass immigration into the city, and any remedy of the twin problems will require an examination of the migration process and its effects on urbanization, urban growth and urban development.
IV DEFINITIONS AND DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN THE TERMS

This chapter is concerned with the definition of slums and squatter settlements. The need for adequate definition is felt because there is much confusion in making the distinction that actually exists between the two conditions.

The elements of each form of settlement are here disaggregated with a view to provide the terms of reference to help in identification of each type of settlement. This disaggregation reveals the emphasis on the correlation between elements as more deterministic to settlement identification, than the elements themselves.

Qualitative dimension is added to the definition by introducing a classification of squatter settlements and slums. The clear cut distinction between the two concepts having fundamental differences in definition, scope and characteristics is itself evidence to justify that consistent approaches adopted to solve these two urban problems are inadequate and inefficacious.

Slums and Squatter Settlements Defined

Opinions differ on the definition of a "slum" and that of a "squatter settlement". It is more often than not, that the terms have been used loosely and synonymous with one another. While some consider blighted areas and slums as one, others treat these separately. Furthermore, their descriptions are many and biased according to the backgrounds and disciplines of the observer. This is exemplified in the following excerpt from THE NATION (1972)

To the landlord, it (the slum) is an investment, a waiting game, played for property values. To the Government, it is an administrative and legal nightmare to be hopefully ended by clearance of offending areas and relocation of the slum dwellers into more easily controlled and externally impressive public housing projects. To the social worker, it is people in need and file folders documenting scores of causes urgently requiring support. To the public health doctor, it is an island of hunger in an urban sea of plenty. To the urban planner, it is often an enigma of wrong things done at a wrong time for the wrong reasons.

THE NATION (1972), The Slum-People, Bangkok, November 19, Pg. 11
To the dwellers, inhabitants not only of a "deprived area" but the rent collectors' ledger book (if he pays rent), the Government's public housing waiting list, the social workers' case book, the public health doctors' lecture notes, the urban planners' research report - the slum is first and last - HOME.

With such a variegated understanding and perception of two entities, it is essential that a comprehensive definition of the terms deserves to be coined to effectively and completely describe the two terms, "squatter settlement" and "slum". In addition, as identifying characteristics of each entity deserves to be distinguished as a prerequisite for appropriate identification of each distinctive type. As an extension to the identification, a categorisation of settlements will be made to provide the qualitative profile of each variation that is possible within the broad scope of term definition.

**Definition of Terms**

The Squatter Settlement * The "squatter" refers to a person who settles on the rural or urban land of another without title or right. Allied terms are "squattage" and "squatment", meaning the holding occupied by the squatter; "squatterism" or the practice of acquiring land by squatting; "squatterdom" or the collective body of squatters; and "squatter's rights", a verbal contradiction implying that some legal or moral colour of right has been acquired by the squatter. A squatter has no rights except what he may acquire by pressure or by statute.

Equivalent terms for squatters are "favelos" (Brazil), "rancheros" or "conqueros" (Venezuela), "paracaidistas" (Mexico) and "gecekondu" (Turkey). Squatter communities are sometimes referred to in colourful and more often in contemptuous terms: "witch towns", "barrios piratas", "calampas", "bidonvilles" and "arrabates".

The term "squatting" is therefore primarily a legal concept, and as a violation of property rights is a punishable offence. Two elements are involved in legal tenure - land and building. Violation could be in either the land or in the building. In respect to squatting, the central element that defines the term is the violation of legal tenure on land, irrespective of the tenure of the building. The following matrix illustrates in greater detail the real meaning of squatting.

* The definitions of the squatter settlement are coined by ABRAMS (1971)
Table 2 - Definition of Squatting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land</th>
<th>Building</th>
<th>Owned</th>
<th>Rented</th>
<th>Unauthorized Occupation Without Rent</th>
<th>Lease Terminated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Owned</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>First degree Squatting</td>
<td>Second degree Squatting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rented</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>First degree Squatting</td>
<td>Second degree Squatting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lease Terminated</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>First degree Squatting</td>
<td>Second degree Squatting</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It may be observed from the above that irrespective of the tenure of the building, squatting is primarily defined here by the tenure of the land only. There are two classes of squatting:

(1) First degree squatting or primary squatting where the land has been illegally occupied by the squatter from the very beginning.

(2) Second degree squatting or secondary squatting where the tenant is relegated to the status of a squatter by termination of lease, and by virtue of his continued occupation of the land, is committed to illegal occupation of the land without rent.

The Slum

Opinions are many on the definition of the "slum". As there are varieties of slums, definitions too are numerous. Further, while some consider blighted areas and slums as one, others treat them distinctly.

In order to coin a comprehensive definition of the term the various definitions that currently exist are enumerated below; and examined for total coverage of the phenomenon.

ABRAMS (1971):

Slum - A building or area that is deteriorated, hazardous, unsanitary or lacking in standard conveniences; also the squalid, crowded, or unsanitary condition, under which people live, irrespective of the physical state of the building or the area;
BERGEL (1955):

Slum - Slums may be characterized as areas of substandard housing conditions within a city. A slum is always an area. A single neglected building, even in the worst stage of deterioration, does not make a slum. Furthermore, the term "housing conditions" refers to actual living conditions rather than to the mere physical appearance of a building ... Also, the term "substandard" is to be taken not in an objective or technological but rather in a relative social sense, i.e. compared with the recognized standards at a given time in a specific country ..... The slum is a complex product of many factors, as is true of many other social phenomena.

CLINARD (1966):

Slums - The word 'slum' has long had a negative connotation, has been almost an epithet, implying something evil, strange to be shunned and avoided ..... A slum may be an area overcrowded with buildings, buildings overcrowded with people, or both.

FORD (1936)+

Slum - When we speak of a slum, the picture that comes to mind is a mass of more or less nondescript individual houses, tenements, stables, dilapidated shops; an absence of paint, accumulation of dirt, tin cans and rubbish ..... We think of the slum as the abode of half-starved, filthy clothed children, of diseased and crippled individuals; a place of poverty, wretchedness, ignorance, and vice. We think of it as a recession from the normal standards of a sound society ..... The slum is a distinctive area of disintegration and disorganization. It is, however, not merely the decaying and dilapidated houses, the filthy alleys and streets, nor the number of uncared for children and poverty stricken adults which make up the slum. The slum is more than an economic condition. It is a social phenomenon in which the attitudes, ideas, and practices play an important part.

FORD (1936)

Slum - A residential area in which the housing is so deteriorated, so substandard, or so unwholesome as to be a menace to the health, safety, morality or welfare of the occupant.

+ Conference on House Building and House Ownership, Washington, D.C. 1931 (quoted in FORD (1963), Ibid., pp. 8)
BERGEL (1955):

Slum - Slums may be characterized as areas of substandard housing conditions within a city. A slum is always an area. A single neglected building, even in the worst stage of deterioration, does not make a slum. Furthermore, the term "housing conditions" refers to actual living conditions rather than to the mere physical appearance of a building. Also, the term "substandard" is to be taken not in an objective or technological but rather in a relative social sense, i.e. compared with the recognized standards at a given time in a specific country. The slum is a complex product of many factors, as is true of many other social phenomena.

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Conference on House Building and House Ownership, Washington, D.C. 1931 (quoted in FORD (1963), Ibid., pp. 8)
There is a general absence of social services and welfare agencies to deal with the major social problems of persons and families in respect of substandard health, inadequate income and low standard of living, who are the victims of biological, psychological and social consequences of the physical and social environment.

The previous definition clearly illustrates the physical, social and economic conditions of a settlement which constitutes the slum.

The various factors that have been cited in the definition mentioned are more clearly illustrated in the matrix diagram given below:

### Table 3 - Matrix Diagram for Slums

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Physical</th>
<th>Social</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Prospects</td>
<td>of Economic Mobility</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land Unfit for Human Habitation</th>
<th>Over-Crowding</th>
<th>Absence or Inadequacy of Services /Facilities</th>
<th>Inferior Materials and Workmanship of Buildings</th>
<th>Deteriorated Circulation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 - (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Physical</th>
<th>Social</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Prospects</td>
<td>of Economic Mobility</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Run-down Housing</th>
<th>Health Problems</th>
<th>Lack of Open Spaces</th>
<th>Lack of Privacy</th>
<th>Social and Emotional Instability</th>
<th>Low Prospects of Social Mobility</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. (X) Marks indicate the valid correlation to be fulfilled
The matrix formation represents a combination of cause and effect relationships that are required to be fulfilled to satisfy the definition of a slum. It is important to recognize here that the individual criteria or considerations do not make the slum, nor do their combinations (considered horizontally or vertically on the matrix, independently), but the inter-relationships in the combination do.

The social factors are strongly reflected on the economic structure and vice versa, and the economic considerations are translated into physical manifestations and hence, the combination of physical and social characteristics in relation to the economic attributes.

It is essential to describe the considerations that have been selected as criteria for the above matrix and these are enumerated and explained below:

**Physical Considerations**

**Land unfit for human habitation:** This refers to the physical condition of the land, which comes under the following categories:

- a) Waterlogged and swampy lands
- b) Undulating and adverse topography
- c) Unhealthy terrains and sites, undevelopable due to poor soil conditions, etc.

**Overcrowding:** Too many persons in too few rooms or too small an area.

**Absence or inadequacy of services/facilities:** This refers to the lack or shortage of water supply, surface drainage, sewage disposal, and electricity (utilities) and community services such as education, health, recreation and social infrastructure facilities (services). It may be noted here that the lack or absence of specific services or utilities is relative to the surrounding areas and the city or urban areas as a whole, and is not absolute.

**Inferior Materials and Workmanship of Buildings:** This refers to the type of materials and construction that have been adopted which is responsible for the deterioration of buildings. Here too, the term "inferior" is relative to the materials and workmanship of buildings in the immediate environs and the city, and is not absolute. Fire hazards are also reflected in this consideration.

**Inadequate Circulation:** This refers to the substandard circulation system in respect of inadequate access, narrow and circuitous paths and rights of way, level of permanence, level of maintenance and repair, structural stability of material used, high probabilities of disruption etc. Lack of access to fire brigades and ambulances are an added consideration. This is yet another relative term.
Run Down Housing: This refers to substandard housing that is below the acceptable standards of a particular society. Since the term "substandard" and "acceptable" and "acceptable standards" vary from period and country, it is essential that the criteria be considered relative.

Health Problems: This refers to the high incidence of disease, high infant mortality, high death rate, and other instances of physical and mental hazards.

Lack of Open Space: This is another relative term which refers to the inadequacy of open yards or courts, recreation spaces between buildings and "lung spaces" in the settlement, which reflects the inadequacy of play spaces for children and the lack of ventilation spaces between buildings.

Lack of privacy: The term is relative and self-explanatory. It is an added index of overcrowding, building condition, intrusion of social space in respect of cultural traits and preferences, as well as behavioural norms.

Social Considerations

Social and Emotional Instability: Various factors are taken into account to constitute the two considerations:-

Social Instability is characterized by any or all of the following:

a) Provincial and local orientation
b) Partial integration into national institutions
c) People who do not belong to labour unions
d) People who do not belong to political parties
e) People who do not partake of medical care, old age benefits, maternity care, and make little use of the city's hospitals, banks, stores, museums, art galleries and airports
f) Mother-centered families
g) Emphasis on family solidarity (an ideal rarely achieved)
h) Present time emphasis
i) Hatred of the police
j) Mistrust of the Government
k) Cynicism as a potential aimed against existing social order
l) Extended family
m) The central role of the peer group
Emotional Instability is characterized by any or all of the following:

a) The display and defense of masculinity
b) The search for excitement
c) The subordinate role of children
d) The lack of interest in children as individuals
e) Freedom permitted for boys against a tendency to keep girls at home
f) The separate social lives of men and women
g) Concrete and anecdotal conversation
h) Detachment from the job and concern with job security
i) Negative views of white collar workers and bosses
j) Lack of trust in the outside world.
k) A personalization of Government
l) Alcoholism and/or drug addiction
m) Frequent resort to violence and/or wife beating and/or violence in the training of children
n) Early sex experience
o) High incidence of desertion of wives and children
p) Free unions and consensual marriages
q) A belief in male superiority
r) Martyr complex among women
s) A high tolerance of psychological pathology of all kinds
t) Juvenile delinquency
u) Solitary living
v) Incidence of crime and violence

Low prospects of social mobility: This refers to the incapacity of movement of individuals or groups from one status to another, vertically upwards. This may be brought about by virtue of:

a) Low literacy
b) Restrictions of receipt of social sanctions
c) Racial/colour/caste/social class prejudices
d) An attitude of fatalism in moving up the social ladder.

It may be mentioned that most of the criteria that have constituted the social considerations are extracted from the definition of "low class people" as put forward by GANS (1962) and that referred to as "The Culture of Poverty" by LEWIS (1963), and rearranged under the respective labels, with modifications.

Economic Considerations

Weak Economic base: This refers to the sum of all activities that result in the receipt of a relatively low income in any form by the slum inhabitants. This may be characterized by:

a) Low wages
b) Low/No savings
c) High degree of indebtedness at usurious rates of interest
d) Regular incidence of external assistance
e) Regular pawning of goods
f) Chronic shortage of cash

g) No food reserves in the house

h) Irregular employment and high unemployment

i) Supplementary occupation and child labor

j) Use of second-hand furniture or clothing

The weakness of the economic base is relative to that of the community at large and is not absolute.

Low prospects for economic mobility: This refers to the ability or readiness of persons to move vertically upwards from one economic status to another. This can be attributed to the following factors:

a) Poor earning capacity

b) Little prospect of salary increase or job promotion

c) Irregularity of employment or total unemployment

d) Permanent indebtedness

e) Lack or inadequacy of savings

f) Predominance of unskilled labour

g) Inadequate skills to get better employment

h) An attitude of fatalism in moving up the ladder of financial or economic betterment

Having elaborated on the considerations, it is necessary to make certain general explanatory comments.

The factors have been defined with a view to identify the slum by assessing its characteristics. As has been mentioned, the inter-relationships define the slum. It is not proposed to allocate weightages to any of the variables or their inter-relationships for fear of being misjudged as subjective. Moreover, a generalized weighting system appears to be invalid, since many of the considerations are relative to a period, country and location. It may be further added that it is not essential that every single inter-relationship be fulfilled for an area to be termed a "slum", especially since there are numerous variations and manifestations in which slums appear. The definition of the slum is suggestive of a unique urban form, and conformity to the qualitative definition will suffice to deem an area as a "slum".

The Squatter Slum

The squatter slum refers to those settlements that conform to both definitions of squatter settlements and slums independently and collectively.

The following matrix summarizes the three types of settlements that have been defined.
### Table 4 - Types of Settlements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legal Status</th>
<th>Legal Occupation</th>
<th>Squatted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-slum Conditions</strong></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Squatter Settlement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slum Conditions</td>
<td>Slum</td>
<td>Squatter Slum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### The Classification of Squatter Settlements and Slums

A classification of squatter settlements and slums has been attempted with the prime purpose of providing an added qualitative perspective to a squatter/slum/squatter slum situation. It provides an immediate response of a particular quality or characteristic of the settlement.

#### The Classification of Squatter Settlements

The qualification of a squatter settlement can be made in respect to three characteristic qualitative inter-relationships:
1) In respect of their location and land ownership
2) In respect of the attitudes of landlords and squatters
3) In respect of their status of occupancy and migrant status of occupants

A fourth classification is possible in respect of Government attitudes, but this is considered superfluous to the second classification, since the landlord in the cited instance, refers to the Government.

The following three diagrammatic representations demonstrate the classifications attempted above. They may be applied individually or in combination.
The Classification of Squatter Settlement by location and ownership

Table 5 - Classification of Squatter Settlements by Location and Ownership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Public</th>
<th>Private</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Public Core Squatter</td>
<td>Private Core Squatter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Area</td>
<td>Public Suburban Squatter</td>
<td>Private Suburban Squatter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suburban Area</td>
<td>Public Suburban Squatter</td>
<td>Private Suburban Squatter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Classification in Respect of the Attitudes of Landlords and Squatters

Table 6 - Classification in Respect of the Attitudes of Landlords and Squatters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Landlord Attitude</th>
<th>Squatter Attitude</th>
<th>Intent on Eviction Without Negotiation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Willing to Ignore</td>
<td>Willing to Negotiate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unwilling to Move</td>
<td>Permanent</td>
<td>Antagonistic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Deadlocked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willing to Move</td>
<td>Static</td>
<td>Negotiable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pressured</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Classification in Respect of the Status of Occupancy and Migrant Status of Occupants

Table 7 - Classification in Respect of the Status of Occupancy and Migrant Status of Occupants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Migrant Status</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Small Town</th>
<th>Big City (Primate City)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single stage Transitional</td>
<td>Rural Transient</td>
<td>Inter-Urban Transient</td>
<td>Intra-Urban Transient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multi stage transitional (Evicted from other Squatter Settlement)</td>
<td>Rural Mobile</td>
<td>Inter-Urban Mobile</td>
<td>Intra-Urban Mobile</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ABRAMS (1965) has made a categorisation of squatter settlements in his book "Man's Struggle for Shelter In An Urbanizing World" as owner squatter, squatter tenant, squatter hold-over, squatter landlord, speculator squatter, squatter co-operator and mobile squatter (vide Appendix B). TAYLOR (1973) also attempted a locational classification of squatter settlements as inner city tenements, fringe squatters and floating squatters - terms which are self-explanatory. These classifications are fully represented in the classification made above.

Classification of Slums

The classification of slums is attempted in respect of three qualitative inter-relationships which are predominant in the slum. The classification has the prime purpose of emphasizing a typical characteristic of the slum within the scope of the definition. This is distinct from the adoption of a weighting system.

The three inter-relationships that are emphasized are as follows:

1) Location and duration of deterioration
2) Development possibility of land and building
3) Psychological attitudes of the slum dweller and socio-economic mobility

These are further illustrated in the table given below.
Classification by Location and Duration of Deterioration

Table 8 - Classification by Location and Duration of Deterioration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Central City</th>
<th>Urban Fringe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Squatter</td>
<td>Non-Squatter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From the Start</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over a Period of Time</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. (X) marks indicate all the variations

Classification by Development Possibility of Land and Building

Table 9 - Classification by Development Possibility of Land and Building

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Building</th>
<th>Developable</th>
<th>Undevelopable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Developable</td>
<td>Terminable</td>
<td>Unfavourable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undevelopable</td>
<td>Replaceable</td>
<td>Perpetual</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Classification of Psychological Attitudes of the Slum Dweller and Socio-Economic Mobility

Table 10 - Classification by Attitudes and Mobility

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitude Mobility</th>
<th>Hope</th>
<th>Despair</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Escalator</td>
<td>Aggressive</td>
<td>Fatalistic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Escalator</td>
<td>Optimistic</td>
<td>Committed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This classification has been adapted from STOKES (1962). Slums of hope and despair are distinguished horizontally, whereas escalator and non-escalator classes are distinguishable vertically. "Hope" and "despair" are intuitive. By hope, it is meant that quality of psychological response by the inhabitant of the slum which indicates both his intention to "better" himself and his estimate of the probable outcome of such an effort. "Despair" by the same token, denotes either a lack of such intention or a negative estimate of the probable outcome of any attempt to change one's status.

An escalator class is a group of people who can be expected, barring unusual circumstances, to move up through the class structure. A non-escalator class is one which is denied in some way the privilege of escalation.

Other classifications have been attempted by GANS (1962) as "urban villages" and "urban jungles" in his book, meanings of which are as follows: The "urban villages" represents entry areas or the area populated by new comers to the city. The "urban jungle" is the area populated by social rejects. In real life, these types overlap and the distinction are never crystal clear.

In his paper "The Slum: Its Nature, Use and Users" SEELEY (1959) has utilized two differences, as criteria for making a distinction viz the difference between necessity and opportunity, and the difference between permanence and change. They are schematically represented as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Necessity</th>
<th>Opportunity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Permanent</td>
<td>Permanent Necessitarians</td>
<td>Permanent Opportunists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary</td>
<td>Temporary Necessitarians</td>
<td>Temporary Opportunists</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11 - Seeley's Classification of Slums

For many, the slum constitutes a set of opportunities for behavior, which they want to indulge in or to be permitted. For others, the slum constitutes a set of necessities, to which despite their wants, they have been reduced. Similarly, though changes are possible, some are in
the slum and feel they are in the slum on a temporary basis only and others are there and feel they are there to stay. It is these distinctions that establish the four types.

Hunter has identified an underlying harmony between the views of Stokes and Seeley, with each having a somewhat different perspective. However, Seeley's distinctions between "necessity" and "opportunity" and "permanent" and "temporary" tends to be largely subjective. A necessity welcomed with joy is often regarded as an opportunity; an opportunity accepted with necessity may be construed as a necessity. Even "permanent" and "temporary" refer largely subjectively to expectations and intentions, though they also partly refer objectively to probabilities of later behaviour. The time connotation in the definition of the two terms makes the distinction line hard to delineate.

There are innumerable ways of classifying a population so diverse as that of a slum. It is superficial if the classifications are only of pedagogical interest, and the dichotomy exhibits a tendency to overlap, and in the process, makes the categorisation controversial. The classification of Gans and Seeley display the weaknesses mentioned, and are not considered valid classifications.

General Conclusions

The identification of, and distinction between squatter settlements and slums has provided important insights into the very need for such distinction. The definitions have clearly illustrated that whereas squatter settlements involve legal problems, slums pertain to a socio-economic physical condition. In view of this difference, it requires no further emphasis to state that control measures for one type of settlement are not synonymous with those for the other.

The definition has further proved that slums and squatter settlements are not necessarily complementary. Slums and squatter settlements may occur together, and are termed as squatter slums, when they do.

The following schematic diagrams can illustrate the distinction.

(Ref. Figs. 1 and 2 overleaf)

The two abutting semicircles represent the total urban area, independently. Each expanding sector represents the percentage area of slums in the anti-clockwise direction, and squatted areas in the clockwise direction.

To illustrate, in Fig. 1, 'a' percent of the urban area is a slum, and 'b' percent of the urban area represents the squatted area.

At some point in time, some of the squatter settlements deteriorate into slums or qualify as slums at the time of their inception.
Fig. 1 - Diagram representing slums and squatted areas

Fig. 2 - Diagram representing slums, squatted areas and squatter slums
In Fig. 2 the slums have increased to 'e' percent and squatted areas to 'd' percent. Of these, 'c' percent represents the squatter slums.

Finally, slums and squatter settlements occur in various forms within the scope of the definitions. It is the classification however which provides the qualitative dimension by which the significant differentiating characteristics can be identified.

The recognition of such differences in each general type of settlements is evidence to justify that consistent approaches for the squatter settlements as well as for the control of slums is inadequate. Each settlement is unique in itself and it is these factors which will decide the type of approach that is most likely to succeed in dealing with the specific settlement.
This chapter gets into the specific problem of those areas which have been termed as slums and squatter settlements in the Bangkok Metropolis. The evolution of the settlements, their current status and sizes, are explored to identify the magnitude of the problems.

Typical settlements for which data is readily available have then been evaluated to identify their real status according to the definition adopted, and qualified according to the classification derived to verify their real characteristics and structure.

The identification and qualifications go to illustrate the assertion that consistent development programs for different settlements in the same city are unjustifiable and inadequate. It also illustrates that a consistent program for solving slum and squatter problems of the same settlement collectively, requires comprehensive coverage of both statuses to be valid and effective.

The Slums and Squatter Settlements in Bangkok

Historical Perspectives During World War II, many farmers in Bangkok (or what at that time was the outskirts of Bangkok) sold their land to speculators and moved away from the city which was endangered by Allied bombing. A few who did not sell their lands became landlords, while others who sold their lands, but continued to live there, eventually found themselves paying rent for their neighbours. People began to return to the area in great numbers after the War and the farmers were forced to take jobs in the surrounding areas of the city.

The Early Settlements

Among the early settlements that got located was the one referred to as Klong Prempracha or the Prempracha Market slum, at the northern outskirts of the city. The area was sparsely populated and primarily used for fruit gardening by Chinese tenants. The construction of the Siam Cement Company before World War II witnessed the area gaining some impetus for house construction. The nearness to the city attracted more migrants into the settlement which today accounts for a population of 2700 people as per MORELL and MORELL (1972).

The settlement at Klong Toey, Soi 22 Sukhumvit Road and Makkasan near Pratumwan Market are three other settlements which were founded immediately after the War. Klong Toey developed as a result of the development of the Bangkok port which provided numerous jobs and attracted
a large number of rural migrants who settled immediately around the harbour. Soi 22 Sukhumvit Road was also first occupied by settlers desirous of staying close to the Harbour, but it is mainly constituted of those former land owners who had sold their land before the War and returned only to re-occupy the land as tenants.

Employment opportunities in the railway yard and workshop, and the Pratumwan Market brought large numbers of people into the Makkasan area. The land was originally a swamp of little value and located far from what was then the centre of the city, unowned and untended until claimed by a high ranking Government official. Rural migrants from the Eastern Provinces, and later followed by evicted settlers from other settlements, now constitute the population in the area.

Later Settlements

The settlement at Wat Lad Bua Kao lane off Charoen Krung Road dates back to 1951, when it was first a fruit garden. By 1954, a mass influx of rural migrants together with people from other areas in Bangkok whose houses were destroyed by fire or were evicted from previous houses, filled up the area.

The Din Daeng settlement is located on a publicly owned property around the Bangkok Metropolitan Authority and to a great extent, accommodates rural migrants and evicted settlers from other settlements.

In 1966, the Department of Social Welfare listed 39 of these such areas in the limits of the municipality of Bangkok. Most of them are hidden from the casual observer by commercial buildings, shop houses or new hotels.

No attempt has been made to follow a definition of slums for Bangkok and the concept has been rather loosely used. The derived definition is proposed to be used here to define some of the settlements.

The Current Situation

Din Daeng settlement is located on land owned by the Bangkok Municipality, Manangkasila on land owned by the Treasury Department, and Klong Toey is located on land owned by the Port Authority. The other four settlements are occupying private lands.

The Municipality proposes to locate a stadium on the site occupied by the Din Daeng settlement, and issued eviction notices to the settlers organized themselves and after much pressurising, elicited an assurance from the Government in early 1973 to the effect that they would be permitted to stay on in the area until alternative accommodation is provided.

* Source: MORELL and MORELL (1972)
The Port Authority was granted a loan of 2.5 million Baht in 1972 to expand the harbour facilities in the Port. The scheme would require part of the area occupied by the settlements. But the efforts for eviction were strongly repelled by the settlers, backed by a sympathetic Press, and thus, the Port Authority was compelled to adopt a negotiable stand to resettle the settlers rather than evict them. The newly formed National Housing Authority is now entrusted with the authority to resettle the settlers on a priority project.

Managkasila, however, continues to remain on its present site with almost total complacency by the Treasury Department to evict them.

The other four settlements are all on private land. Unofficial reports from recent and reliable sources reveal that the settlers are negotiating with their respective landlords and accepting a cash compensation in return for vacating the land. The same sources also revealed that the vacating settlers are moving out to other settlements or forming new squatter colonies in other parts of the town.

It is relevant to mention here that all the settlers have developed a new sense of self-assurance and security in continuing to remain in their existing habitats after the fall of the Government in the "October Revolution" of 1973.

The current figures of population and area of three settlements are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlement</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Number of Households</th>
<th>Number of Houses</th>
<th>Area in Acres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Klong Toey 1/</td>
<td>37,002</td>
<td>6,027</td>
<td>5,026</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Din Daeng 2/</td>
<td>4,539</td>
<td>986</td>
<td>838</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managkasila 3/</td>
<td>1,695</td>
<td>485</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Identification of Squatter/Slum Status According to the Definition

The definitions that have been derived in Chapter IV are to be used for purposes of status identification.

Equal weightings are given for all inter-relationships to avoid subjectivity and controversy. A specific weighting system, however, does have some merit and it may be possible to arrive at a rational weighting system which, however, is not being attempted in these. Qualifying standards have been adopted on merits, and it is liable to some subjectivity which cannot be avoided.

Squatter Status

The following table gives the details of squatter status of the three settlements studied:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land Building</th>
<th>Owned</th>
<th>Rented</th>
<th>Unauthorized Occupation Without Rent</th>
<th>Lease Terminated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Owned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Din Daeng: Klong Toey</td>
<td>Manangkasila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rented</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lease Terminated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Din Daeng, Klong Toey and Manangkasila are all squatter settlements. Din Daeng and Klong Toey are first degree squatter settlements, and Manangkasila is a second degree squatter settlement.

Classification of Squatter Settlements

The three squatter settlements are classified according to the classification system worked out earlier, and are tabulated as follows:
Table 14 - Classification by Location and Land Ownership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Public</th>
<th>Private</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central Area</td>
<td>Din Daeng</td>
<td>Klong Toey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Klong Toey (II) Manangkasila</td>
<td>Din Daeng (III)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suburban Area</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All three settlements are Public Core squatter settlements.

Table 15 - Classification by Attitudes of Landlords and Squatters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Landlord Attitude</th>
<th>Squatter Attitude</th>
<th>Willing to Ignore</th>
<th>Willing to Negotiate</th>
<th>Intent on Eviction Without Negotiation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unwilling to</td>
<td>Klong Toey (I)</td>
<td>Klong Toey (III)</td>
<td>Din Daeng (II)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Willing to Move</td>
<td>Din Daeng (I)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Klong Toey (II)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Manangkasila</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Din Daeng (III)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. I, II, and III indicate phases of development of attitude.

The above table indicates some unique features. Klong Toey began its existence as a Permanent settlement, like Din Daeng and Manangkasila. The situation was transferred to a deadlock when the Port Authority decided to move them when they proposed to implement harbour improvements. Currently, however, it may be termed as an antagonistic squatter settlement according to the classification. Din Daeng follows more or less the same pattern in its first two stages. But following the assurances given by the Government to provide alternative accommodation, the settlement now exhibits a negotiable status, as per the classification.
Table 16 - Classification by Occupancy and Migrant Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Migrant Status</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Small Town</th>
<th>Big City (Primate City)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transitional</td>
<td>Din Daeng</td>
<td>Klong Toey</td>
<td>Manangkasila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evicted from Other Squatter Settlements</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the three settlements are rural transitional squatter settlements, even though all of them have a fair percentage of evicted squatter dwellers.
Weak Economic Base

Table 17 - Identifying Characteristics for Weak Economic Base

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic (Weightage)</th>
<th>Klong Toey</th>
<th>Managkasila</th>
<th>Din Daeng</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Low wages</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. No savings</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. High degree of indebtedness at usurious rates</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Regular incidence of external assistance</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Regular pawning of goods</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Chronic shortage of cash</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. No food reserves in home</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Irregular employment and high unemployment</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Use of second-hand clothing and furniture</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Supplementary occupation and child labour</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Score</td>
<td>3/8</td>
<td>4/9</td>
<td>4/9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adopting a qualification cutoff line at 40 percent *, for determining the weakness of the economic base, it can be observed that Manangkasila and Din Daeng possess a weak economic base.

* This evaluation is an exercise in factor analysis. Different attributes in the table deserve different weights as some factors such as "low wages" and "No savings" have more bearing on economic base than do "Regular pawning of goods" and "Use of second-hand clothing and furniture". Uneven weightings can distort the qualification cutoff line, and accepting a qualifying mark of 40 percent may be justifiable.

Vide Appendix C
Low Prospects of Economic Mobility

Table 18 - Low Economic Mobility

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Klong Toey</th>
<th>Manangkasila</th>
<th>Din Daeng</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Due to poor earning capacity</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Due to little prospect of salary increase</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Due to irregularity of employment/unemployment</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Due to permanent indebtedness</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Due to lack of or inadequacy of savings</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Predominance of unskilled labor</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Fatalistic attitude</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Score</td>
<td>3/6</td>
<td>0/7</td>
<td>5/7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Equal weightings have been applied for this, and the cutoff line adopted is proposed at 50 percent. It is revealed that Klong Toey and Din Daeng have low prospects of economic mobility.

* The above list appears to suggest equal weightage for each element and a 50 percent qualifying mark appears to be reasonable.

# Vide Appendix D
Social and Emotional Instability

Statistical data on instability is not available for any of the three settlements under investigation. The observations are based on interviews with residents which revealed that only Klong Toey displayed any signs of bonafide social and emotional instability considering the criteria enumerated for consideration.

Low Prospects of Social Mobility

Table 19 - Low Social Mobility

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Klong Toey</th>
<th>Manangkasila</th>
<th>Din Daeng</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low literacy</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restriction on receipt of social sanctions</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prejudices</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatalism</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Score</td>
<td>2/4</td>
<td>2/4</td>
<td>1/4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Assuming a qualifying score of 50 percent, Klong Toey and Manangkasila exhibit low prospects of social mobility.

* The above list appears to suggest equal weightage for each element, and a 50 percent qualifying marks appears to be justifiable.

# Vide Appendix E
The Slum Condition of each settlements is identified with reference to the definition made out earlier.

Table 20 - Identification of Slum Condition in Klong Toey Settlement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Physical Social</th>
<th>Economic</th>
<th>Land Unfit for human habitation</th>
<th>Over-crowding</th>
<th>Absence or Inadequacy of Service/Utilities</th>
<th>Inferior Materials &amp; Workmanship of Buildings</th>
<th>Deteriorated circulation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Weak Economic Base</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Prospects of Economic mobility</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table - 20 - (Cont'd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Physical Social</th>
<th>Economic</th>
<th>Rundown-housing</th>
<th>Health Problems</th>
<th>Lack of open Space</th>
<th>Lack of Privacy</th>
<th>Social &amp; Emotional Instability</th>
<th>Low prospect of social mobility</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Weak Economic Base</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Prospects of Economic mobility</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Klong Toey almost completely conforms to the definition of slum as per the matrix given on the previous.

Table 21 - Identification of Slum Conditions at Manangkasila Settlement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Physical</th>
<th>Social</th>
<th>Economic</th>
<th>Land Unfit for human habituation</th>
<th>Over-crowding</th>
<th>Absence or Inadequacy of Services/ Utilities</th>
<th>Inferior materials &amp; Workmanship of Buildings</th>
<th>Deteriorated circulation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Weak Economic Base</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Prospects of Economic mobility</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 21 - (Cont'd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Physical</th>
<th>Social</th>
<th>Economic</th>
<th>Rundown housing</th>
<th>Health Problems</th>
<th>Lack of open space</th>
<th>Lack of privacy</th>
<th>Social &amp; emotional instability</th>
<th>Low prospect of Social mobility</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Weak Economic Base</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low prospects of Economic Mobility</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Manangkasila also complies to the definition of the slum to a very great extent and may be termed so.
Table 22 - Identification of Slum Conditions in Din Daeng Settlement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Physical</th>
<th>Land Unfit for Human Habitation</th>
<th>Over-crowding</th>
<th>Absence or Inadequacy of Service or Utilities</th>
<th>Inferior Materials &amp; Workmanship of Building</th>
<th>Deteriorated Circulation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak Economic Base</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Prospects of Economic Mobility</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 22 - (Cont'd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Physical Social</th>
<th>Rundown Housing</th>
<th>Health Problems</th>
<th>Lack of open Space</th>
<th>Lack of Privacy</th>
<th>Social &amp; Emotional Instability</th>
<th>Low Prospects of Social Mobility</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak Economic Base</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Prospects of Economic Mobility</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above matrix reveals that Din Daeng cannot be considered a slum, on socio-economic factors but does reveal slum characteristics based on the physical/economic characteristics. But the socio-economic relationships only reveal the need for further dimensioning of the settlement identification (which follows). This is essential since the settlement does display a "weak economic base" in absolute terms.
Classification of Slums

Each Slum has been classified according to the classification system derived.

Table 23 - Classification of Klong Toey Slum by Location and Duration of Deterioration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Central City</th>
<th>Suburbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Squatter</td>
<td>Non Squatter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over a period of time</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From the start</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 24 - Classification of Klong Toey by Development Possibilities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land</th>
<th>Developable</th>
<th>Undevelopable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Duration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developable</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undevelopable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 25 - Classification of Klong Toey by Attitudes and Mobility

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mobility</th>
<th>Attitude</th>
<th>Hopeful</th>
<th>Fatalistic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Escalator</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Escalator</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conclusion

Klong Toey can be classified as a Central City Squatter slum. It was a slum from inception and is replacable. Further, it is a non-escalator slum of despair.
Table 26 - Classification of Manangkasila Slum by Location and Duration of Deterioration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Central City</th>
<th>Suburbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Squatter</td>
<td>Non Squatter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over a period of time</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From the start</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 27 - Classification of Manangkasila by Development Possibilities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land Building</th>
<th>Developable</th>
<th>Undevelopable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Developable</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undevelopable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 28 - Classification of Manangkasila by Attitudes and Mobility

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitude Mobility</th>
<th>Hopeful</th>
<th>Fatalistic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Escalator</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non Escalator</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conclusion

Manangkasila is a central city squatter slum which deteriorated over a period of time. It is a developable slum of despair.
Table 29 - Classification of Din Daeng by Location and Duration of Deterioration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Central City</th>
<th>Suburbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Squatter</td>
<td>Non-Squatter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over a period of time</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From the start</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. Only physical consideration are considered.

Table 30 - Classification of Din Daeng by Development Possibilities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land Building</th>
<th>Developable</th>
<th>Undevelopable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Developable</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undevelopable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 31 - Classification of Din Daeng by Attitudes and Mobility

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mobility</th>
<th>Attitude</th>
<th>Hopeful</th>
<th>Fatalistic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Escalator</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Escalator</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conclusion

Din Daeng is a Central City squatter settlement which has deteriorated from the start. The settlement is developable. In respect of slum conditions the most pessimistic level to which the settlement may be relegated, is to that of a non-escalator slum of hope (optimistic slum)
General Conclusions

The identification and classifications of the three settlements Klong Toey, Din Daeng, and Manangkasila have confirmed certain assumptions and blown open certain myths that have tended to be associated with these settlements. The differences in character that have conclusively surfaced, between the three settlements is sound evidence to confirm the conclusion made in the previous chapter that a consistent program to solve the squatter/slum problem that exists at Din Daeng, Klong Toey and Manangkasila is incomprehensive in scope and unjustifiable. This is so because the development prospects of each of the settlements studied are quite different and are not uniform in the first place.

It can be further concluded that the squatter status and the slum situation in the same settlement may exhibit development prospects that are not in conformity with one another. Hence the choice of any development approach to solve the problems collectively has to be made with due caution after confirming the comprehensive coverage of the chosen development approach to solve both the problems independently.
Fig. 3 - The settlements in Bangkok
VI REVIEW OF HOUSING POLICY AND PROGRAMS IN THAILAND

This chapter makes an evaluation of housing policy in Thailand. A short history of housing and town planning in Thailand is first reviewed to evaluate the past performances of Government in these fields. The policies, programs and projects of the Third National and Social Development Plan 1972-1976 are then discussed to provide an overview of the proposed trends for development in the two fields, with specific reference to Bangkok.

A study of the National Housing Authority (N.H.A.) and its policies, programs and projects follows; the performance of one of the rehabilitation projects in Bangkok is also appraised.

The study culminates in a critical evaluation of the policies and programs envisaged in the Third Plan and by the N.H.A.

The Policy in respect of housing as put forward by the Government of Thailand is reflected by the National Economic and Social Development Plans, and the policy statements of the Agencies in charge of housing in Thailand. Economic Development in Thailand is now passing through the third phase of Five Year Plans 1972-1976 is evaluated for purposes of this study.

Past Performances in Housing and Town Planning in Thailand up to 1972*

Since the beginning of the First Plan, the Government had built twenty housing projects for low income families in the Bangkok Metropolitan Area increased by 2736 units. The Government also has built houses for middle income families amounting to 621 units.

The administration of Government housing programs was divided among a large number of Government agencies and has lacked co-ordination and efficiency of operations.

Even at the end of the Second Plan period, there was still no officially accepted town plan for the Bangkok Metropolitan Area. The Town Plan prepared and revised by the Bangkok Municipality and the Town and Country planning Office of the Ministry of Interior, Government of Thailand, for Bangkok, in 1970 and 1971 differ in a number of important respects, such as the size of the Metropolitan Area, size of population and land use. The lack of an accepted town plan has led to a number of difficulties in respect of planning for water supply, drainage,

electricity, roads, telephones etc., and future growth of the city. Apart from this, there is at present, no authorization to implement any plan even if it were accepted. Absence of city plan and laws to enforce such plans presents a major obstacle to the orderly expansion of public utilities in the future.

Policy for Urban and Local Government Development During the Third Plan

"During the period, it is suggested that priority be given to the alleviation of the Bangkok Metropolitan Area problems and the problems of some important urban and local areas so as to reduce to the extent possible the burden borne by the whole population". (The Third National Economic and Social Development Plan 1972-1976; Government of Thailand)

Estimate for Housing Demand

It has been estimated in the Plan, that at the end of the Second Plan period, (1971), there was a housing shortage of 100,000 units. If the present trends of public and private housing construction programs were to continue, this shortage was expected to increase to 170,000 units in ten years time. In the Plan, it has been estimated that the shortage of houses for the low income families (those earning below $1500/- per month) will alone amount to 60,000 units.

Programs Envisaged in Metropolitan Planning and Housing During the Third Plan

1. As a basis for effective implementation of Town Planning activities, the City Planning Law was proposed to be promulgated during the early period of the Third Plan. The City Planning Act is to be a basic guideline for an orderly and efficient growth of cities, establishing basic principles of land use control and utilities expansion.

2. A Metropolitan Government is to be set up covering the area of four provinces: Bangkok, Thonburi, Nonthaburi and Samut Prakarn, for closer co-ordination among relative administrative units. Agencies for Electricity and Water Supply had already been set up at Metropolitan Area level. This agency, known as the Bangkok Metropolitan Authority has since been formed.

3. The implementation of the measures proposed in the Metropolitan Bangkok City Plan prepared by the Town and Country Planning Office of the Ministry of Interior during the Second Plan is proposed to be initiated. The revised city plan had set up basic principles for the growth of the Bangkok Metropolitan Area. Measures have been proposed to keep the size of population within manageable limits. These include
both control of the natural growth rate through family planning and 
reduction in the rate of migration from the provinces into Bangkok. 
The measures recommended in the Plan also include the development of 
other towns in the Bangkok Metropolitan region and in other regions.

4. In the field of housing, it is observed that the rate of population 
increase exceeded the rate of increase in the number of housing units 
built during the last ten years. During the period 150,000 housing units 
were built while the population increased by about 1.1 million.

Litchfield, Whiting Bovme and Associates had recommended that public 
housing facilities to the tune of 17,000 units annually should be built 
to satiate the demand for housing, according to the "Greater Bangkok 
Plan 1990".

Whereas the Third Plan accepted that construction of Public Housing 
particularly for low income families was the Government's responsibility, 
it conceded that no long range program for housing was possible so long 
as there was no Housing Policy accepted by the Government.

Policy Guidelines Recommended by the Government

A definite Policy on Housing, has been recommended by the Government, 
which is to serve as guideline for operating agencies. This, however, 
has still not been accepted officially.

"The Government will build and promote the construction of housing 
facilities to balance with the demand of the people, income level and 
also Government resources. The Government shall provide land and a 
Town Plan and shall promote investment in construction materials manufac-
turing. This will be done by an efficient agency".

Measures for Implementation of General Policy

Of sixteen measures that have been proposed to guide the implementa-
tion of the general policies, those relevant to low income group housing 
are listed below:

1. A National Housing program covering a period of thirty years (1972-
2002 A.D.) is to be formulated, with provision for revision and up-
dating from time to time.

2. The greater part of the Government Housing Program will be for low 
income families.

3. The private sector is to be encouraged to invest in housing.
4. Government is to assist and promote the establishment of financial institutions to extend housing credit at low rates of interest.

5. Fundings will be both domestic and externally mooted.

6. Housing problems in the densely populated urban areas will receive high priority.

7. Quality control on housing is to be enforced, with consideration for health, social and environmental aspects of housing programs.

8. The Government will provide and assist in the provision of land for housing construction particularly in the larger urban areas by first using public land.

9. Housing policies and their implementation shall be in accordance with general town planning principles.

The Housing Agency

The National Housing Authority (NHA) was established on February 12th., 1973 by the Executive Council Degree "to recognize agencies concerning with housing or welfare housing by combining the agencies concerning with housing or welfare housing, which are dispersed in various forms into an agency so that efficiency will become increased .......".

The NHA was invested with power to "provide housing for the public, to rent, hire-purchase or sale, to render financial assistance to the general public who wishes to have his own house or who wishes to provide housing and to conduct business in housing construction and land procurement".

The NHA was to be a state enterprise under the Ministry of Interior. It was formed by the amalgamation of the Public Welfare Department (Welfare Housing), Welfare Housing Office, Housing Projects Bank (Land and Housing business), and Community Improvement Office.

The Policy and Area of Responsibility of the NHA

The NHA is formed to:-

1. provide housing for low and middle income groups.

2. develop long term housing programs for low and middle income families with direct responsibility for low income groups.

* NATIONAL HOUSING AUTHORITY (1973)
3. to provide financial assistance to those who wish to have their own houses, or those who wish to provide housing for the public, particularly low income earners.

4. evict slum dwellers and build resettlement accommodation.

5. assist the private sector in undertaking feasible housing schemes for middle income group.

6. promote the manufacture of building materials.

7. increase the number of dwellings.

8. arrange for their distribution and repayment.

9. promote the training of skilled manpower for highly technical jobs.

10. Most of the buildings provided by the NHA are aimed towards complete ownership.

11. encourage private enterprises to invest on the development of satellite towns and self sufficient communities.

12. construct; and improve the housing situation in some provinces under Regional Development Plans to stop the growth of slum areas in Bangkok Metropolis to reduce in-migrants.

Programs of the NHA

1. The estimated number of housing units to be built over the period 1973-1983 is 170,000 units.

2. The NHA proposes to compile and enforce building codes.

3. Housing and environmental standards are proposed to be set up.

4. Housing censuses and surveys are proposed to be under-taken periodically.

Projects Proposed

The NHA proposes to carry on all spill-over works shouldered by the Department of Public Welfare. The top priority project to be undertaken by the NHA is that of the clearance and reaccommodation of slum dwellers from the Klong Toey settlement. The NHA also has proposed to involve itself in research on social attitudes of people towards low cost housing and high density living, evaluation of architectural function of house types and designs for houses.
At this stage it is necessary to probe into the NHA programs in respect of housing provision and ratio of housing for each income group.

The NHA has adopted the same ratio of income groups in Bangkok to set up housing policy. It proposes to build 40 percent of its houses for the low income group (ie. below ฿1500/- per month); 40 percent for the low-middle income group and 20 percent for the middle income group. As such the targets proposed for the period 1973-1983 are as follows:

Table 32 - Division of Income Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Group</th>
<th>Income Range (per month)</th>
<th>Number of houses proposed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lowest Income group</td>
<td>Less than ฿1000/-</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low income group</td>
<td>฿1,000/- to 1,500/-</td>
<td>58,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low middle income group</td>
<td>฿1,500/- to 2,500/-</td>
<td>68,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle income group</td>
<td>฿2,500/- to 4,000/-</td>
<td>34,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of houses to be built by 1983: 170,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: NATIONAL HOUSING AUTHORITY (1973)

It is relevant to state here that 4,000 houses are to be provided for reaccomodating the Klong Toey residents, and the NHA proposes to clear and reaccomodate the slum dwellers by 1976.

Funds of the NHA

The NHA derived its initial capital (figure not available) from the State Budget, funds transferred from the budgets of the Public Welfare Department's Welfare Housing Division - transferred to the NHA - and properties from the Welfare Housing office, Housing Project Bank and Community Improvement Office of the Metropolitan City Municipality.

The NHA is also entitled to raise loans from commercial banks and international financial institutions charging low interests, or by issuing bonds. The supplementary income after deducting expenses is to come from the allotted budget to the NHA by the Government.
Detailed Target of Number of Housing to be Built in Bangkok Metropolis (within ten years)

From the 170,000 units target in ten years and the ratio of various housing types, the target of each year is classified as follows:

Table 33 - Housing Targets 1974 to 1983

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Construction Year</th>
<th>Number (Total)</th>
<th>Lowest Income</th>
<th>Low Income</th>
<th>Low middle Income</th>
<th>Middle Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>2,200</td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>3,600</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>14,000</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>5,600</td>
<td>2,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>16,000</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>5,600</td>
<td>6,400</td>
<td>3,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>6,200</td>
<td>7,200</td>
<td>3,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 years</td>
<td>64,000</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>22,600</td>
<td>25,600</td>
<td>12,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>6,800</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>6,800</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>6,800</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>22,000</td>
<td>1,400</td>
<td>7,400</td>
<td>8,800</td>
<td>4,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>24,000</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>7,600</td>
<td>9,600</td>
<td>4,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second 5 years</td>
<td>106,000</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>35,400</td>
<td>42,400</td>
<td>21,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total 10 years</td>
<td>170,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>58,000</td>
<td>68,000</td>
<td>34,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: NATIONAL HOUSING AUTHORITY (1973)

This target is subject to change after NHA has been in operation for a period of time; the changes will be based on the number of public application.
The Framework for Analysis in Respect of Slums and Squatter Settlements

Policy on the squatter/slum problem deals with two "systems" or "structure of the human condition": the first is represented by the overall national framework of institutions and relationships - economic, social, cultural and political; the second is represented by the complex of slum life, the nature of its people and their livelihood. The two are fundamentally interrelated, but each has a coherence, an identifiable organic structure, in which social, economic, cultural and political realities are integrated into a working system.

However, these two systems of human life are each of a quite different order and magnitude and are characterised at two quite different levels of analysis.

If two systems can be identified, two systems of policy can be inferred - at the national level and at the squatter/slum level; with elements of the former tying in with those of the latter.

It is therefore essential to define the objectives of policy in respect of slums and squatter settlements and then critically evaluate the efficacy of the national and local policy.

Objectives of Policy for the Control of Slums and Squatter Settlements

The objectives of any policy for the control of slums and squatter settlements are:

1. to discourage the formation of new squatter colonies.
2. to progressively eliminate the existing squatter settlements.
3. to prevent the deterioration of existing settlements into slums.
4. to improve or replace existing slums.

Evaluation of the Third Plan

The problem of slums and squatter settlements in Bangkok has been misconstrued as a problem of the housing shortage alone. This is evident from the housing programs proposed, viz. the construction of 68,000 dwelling units for the low income groups, over the period 1973-1983 - of which 4,000 units are proposed for Klong Toey squatter slum - as the ready made solution of the problem.
1. Statistics have proved that immigration more than any other factor has contributed to the growth of squatter settlements and slums in the city. It is heartening to note that National Policy has recognized the necessity to control such influx. But whereas mention has been made of countering migration by regional development, and development of other towns, no concrete proposals have been made.

2. The National Plan does not recognize the priority for agricultural development and uplift of rural areas. The continued backwardness of rural areas can only relieve itself by further migration of low income migrants into the city, and the Government will be forced to cope with a squatter/slum problem of immense dimensions in the city, in years to come, as a direct outcome of this neglect.

3. Poverty and unemployment are the prime movers motivating the exodus of rural migrants from backward areas to flow into the city. Yet scarcely any mention has been made of the measures proposed to combat the significant phenomena in any material way.

4. It is curious to note that the keynote of the Third Plan is on the "alleviation of the Bangkok Metropolitan area problems and the problems of some important urban and local areas". The policy to continue to concentrate development investment in Bangkok, however, is in itself an indirect incentive for further in-migration and this is contradictory to the proposal to reduce in-migration.

5. High land values are a menace to the poor in-migrant in acquiring a piece of land to put up his shelter. Whereas the Government accepts the commitment to their welfare and survival, there is no mention whatsoever of controlling spiralling land values and land speculation with the continuance of this trend, low income earners have no other alternative but to seek refuge on public lands by illegally occupying them. In the process, the Government is actually sponsoring squatting inadvertently, while favouring the wealthy landlords in their speculative designs on the land market.

6. Government proposes to distribute land for house construction by using public lands in conformity with planning principles. Such distribution provides leverage for squatters already on public lands to press for their "quota" of land, and also moot other potential squatters to stake claims for the same. The magnitude of the squatter problem alone could result in quickly exhausting the supply of public land. No control measures exist for subsequent control of land speculation on these lands.

7. There is no Building Code at present; but quality control has gained undue importance in the National Policies in respect of housing. The Government tends to sacrifice the need for greater output to maintain unrealistic standards of housing and environment. Whereas,
the prime need for the low income earner is shelter and space, this preoccupation in standards can greatly aggravate the shortage of housing stock by preventing the construction of what may be classified "substandard dwellings".

8. Whereas, repeated mention has been made of the city planning law and its urgent need, the promulgation into law is not forthcoming. In its absence, Government can scarcely ever hope to control the haphazard uses of land.

Evaluation of NHA Policy

1. The NHA is preoccupied with resettlement in public housing as the sole measure of squatter/slum control and rehabilitation.

2. The NHA has proposed to evict and resettle squatters and slum dwellers. Whereas this is just one part of slum/squatter control operations, the fundamental issue of arresting the formation of new squatter settlements and the spread of slums appears to have been ignored. The absence of a Planning Law and control measures make any proposal to this effect, invalid.

3. The NHA strongly advocates the "clearance" of areas classified as slums without reckoning the fact that demolition adversely affects effective housing stock. Squatter settlements and slums play a vital role in respect of accommodating low income migrants and provides a potential take-off place in this regard, towards owner residence. The problem of slums and squatter settlements is one of legal tenure, environmental condition, housing and morale. The provision of appropriate housing amenities is certainly an essential step towards improving the outlook and aspirations level of slum/squatter dwellers. However, the morale problem cannot be cured merely by providing these physical amenities.

4. Enquiries have revealed that the NHA is accessible only to its own lands for any housing project. It is also understood that NHA is not entitled or legally equipped to acquire land without special laws being enacted.

The NHA is understood to possess no working capital of its own, as yet and the Government has provided no budget allocation for the fiscal year 1974 or 1975. It has been further estimated by the Governor of NHA that it would take five to six years to build flats for the 7,000 families that constitute the population affected by the Klong Toey Resettlement Project.
The NHA with its limitation of funding, manpower, and land availability cannot be expected to maintain a high volume of new constructions and adequate maintenance and upgrading of older units to keep pace with the actual demands.

5. The NHA is endowed with the provision of redistributing its own lands; self-help measures could prove to be speedy in terms of production of output, as well as cheap in respect of reduction of capital costs. Summary rejection of these measures in favour of public housing, by the NHA, is hasty and unreasonable.

6. It is essential to draw lessons from the past performance of public housing projects in Bangkok, before plumping exclusively for this choice of reaccommodation.

Lessons from the Din Daeng Rehabilitation Project

The Project in Perspective

The Project can be described briefly as follows: -

Total number of units in 1972 : 2155
Population served (approximately) : 23,000
Period of existence : 7 years
Details of buildings : 48 one roomed units of 40 square meters each.

Monthly rental : £ 100/- to £ 125/-

Other features : Play spaces for children; water and electricity provided free; public maintenance, garbage collection; no vehicular entry permitted; alteration to basic structure forbidden; no service or household industry or commercial activity permitted without permission from the Authority; transfer of right of ownership prohibited.

Appurtenant facilities : Day-care center; Youth center; Public Health center.

* MORELL AND MORELL (1972)
The Actual Working of the Project and Its Evaluation

1. The Din Daeng Rehabilitation Project did not reaccommodate all the evicted settlers who occupied its present site, despite the fact that they were slum dwellers. Most of them moved to, and still overcrowd other squatter slums or started new ones on their own.

2. Only one percent of slum residents are eager to change their lot in favour of a unit in high rise building, since the slum is seldom unpleasant to the slum dwellers, whereas high rise living in flats is alien to them.

3. Single room apartments are inappropriate to the need for space, which is currently constricted. Unofficial records** by a social worker of the Public Welfare Department identified even a record occupancy of nineteen persons. Forty square metres is a gross underestimation of space requirement for a median family of eight to eleven persons.

4. Limited space with a high rate of occupancy per unit tends to revert the rehabilitation unit to slum conditions. The Huay Kwang Public Housing Project of 1963 is an example.

5. The notice of eligibility of occupation not only entitles the slum dweller to possession of the unit, but also represents a negotiable commodity, worth:

   (i) between $7,000/- to 10,000/- as "pin-money" to let another family live in the allotted unit, paying the normal monthly rental;

   or (ii) a monthly rental of $600/- to 700/-, if the unit is sublet, implying an unearned windfall of $500/ - to 600/- per month.

   The priorities of low income people in respect of liquid cash ranks higher than more comfortable living. Return to the slum is not new to him. As such, there is a high incidence of illegal dwelling unit transfers followed by rightful tenants continuing to occupy slums.

   The result is that much of the public housing intended for the slum dwellers is occupied by the middle class. Unofficial estimates are as high as seventy percent.

6. Illegal transfers of ownership can be traced to either inadequacy of policing the tenancy and/or corrupt practices by Authorities.

7. The dwelling unit allotment system is suspect, and offers adequate avenues for further corrupt practices to hold sway.

* MORELL AND MORELL (1972) pp.132

** MORELL AND MORELL (1972) pp.133
8. The Housing Authority has revealed a paternalistic attitude towards squatter dwellers by putting up flats. As a result, the slum dwellers have lost much of their initiative and motivation to improve themselves. This thrusts a heavy burden on the Housing Authority to build reaccommodation facilities without any active participation by the beneficiaries themselves.

9. Public Housing has tended to attract opportunists in search of cheap accommodation without actually deserving it. They squat on land for the sole purpose of convincing the Authority of their eligibility for obtaining accommodation and only magnify the number of squatters and squatter communities in the City.

10. Slum dwellers and squatters are used to carry out supplementary activities in their dwellings, which is prohibited in the Rehabilitation apartments. This consequently restricts such supplementary earning capacity of this representative low income group.

11. The ground floors are under utilized or un-utilized. However, they are currently used for car parking by the middle income residents!

12. Staircases and fire exits are inadequate.

13. The repetitive design all along the road presents a monotonous street picture.

14. Maintenance efforts by the Authority are few and far between.

Summing up the observations of the Din Daeng Rehabilitation Flats, and the analysis of existing Policy, the following lessons are quite evident:

(a) The desirability of living in flats and in high rise does not appear to be appropriate to the personal choices of slums and squatter dwellers.

(b) Eviction policies must be reviewed. Demolition of slum dwellings should be restricted to those units beyond the state of "redemption", and should be followed by replacement.

(c) An optimum mix of conservation, redevelopment and rehabilitation involving as much community participation as is possible should be worked out. Public Housing may be the recommended approach for those incapable of physical or financial self improvement while building potential and investment of squatters should be harnessed for house building and rehabilitation of dwellings and environment.
(d) Relocation of squatter and slum accommodation should be advocated only where the land illegally occupied is required for other public uses as perceived in the Development Plan for the City.

(e) A sound rationale for sorting out the legal issues of squatting, its prevention and control requires to be worked out, to explore the possibility of in-site squatter settlement improvements and legislation.

(f) Any form of reaccommodation must be followed up by registration of bonafide dwellers and frequent verification and policing of tenancy, as the lasting measure of fulfilling the objectives of reaccommodation.

(g) Flexibility of design reflecting the life style of slum dwellers are important aspects that should determine the type of reaccommodation of squatters and slum dwellers. Architecture and site planning are to be made with more emphasis on utility, function and aesthetics.

(h) Social welfare activities should permeate into the rehabilitation areas as well as into squatter settlements and slums, as a first step to total social integration of underprivileged classes.
VII POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE

A cursive evaluation of the political problems is attempted in this chapter.

Political Problems

The most important problem that Thailand faces is the stability of its political system. The military regime under Field Marshall Kittikachorn fell in October 1973, and was replaced by a caretaker Government under Mr. Sanya Dharmasakdi. The present political situation in the Country may be considered to be in a state of flux. The present Government is currently preoccupied over its own security. The Government is concerned primarily with National "Economic" development. Government branches and agencies are compelled to compete for allocation of resources, which is determined by the power that is wielded by each agency. It is only obvious that new Organizations like the NHA have a hard fight to get resources allocated for their projects. Invariably these tend to be far below the required targets (vide page 24, Chapter III).

Public participation in the running and management of Government affairs is nominal due to the subsidiary role of the Parliament and the elected body. Decision making rests in the hands of a handful of people who do not democratically represent the interests of the people, and are guided by the bureaucracy which is greatly influenced by external pressures. It may be inferred from this analysis that the moral and ethical values of the decision makers impelled by the pressures of non-political groups such as the Press, alone determine the political roles played in respect of decision making.

At the other end of the scale are the low income group and squatters. These groups do not have any political representation at the decision making level, or in the bureaucracy. As such they are in no position to bargain for the implementation of their interests as they are neither well organized nor do they figure as a pressure group with any political representation. Being mainly of rural origin, the low income migrants in the city are acquiescent and accustomed to take things as they come, in the traditions of the rural Thai. There is a pervading feeling of helplessness among the squatters, as observed by their fatalistic attitudes, and it is improbable that these groups will ever take the initiative of pressing for their claims or making demands for their welfare.

The best example for this is in Klong Toey where 97.4 percent of the residents never complained about their problems to higher officials*. 62 percent of the residents at Manangkasila reported that they would not turn to anyone for help**. The only exception so far has been at Din Daeng

* HONGLADAROMP (1973)
** RAJATANON (1971)
where, compelled by circumstances of imminent eviction and houselessness, the community organized itself under the auspices of the VOMPOT organization, and exerted pressure on reversing the eviction orders. But it is curious to note that interviews with households in the same area revealed that the residents were not willing to commit themselves to membership in the community organization.

The VOMPOT organization has however not been able to make any headway in Klong Toey. Manangkasila has no record of community organization of any formal standing.

It may be concluded that only where some decisions immediately affect the squatter/slum dweller (as in the case of Din Daeng) that the settlers tend to organize themselves into a pressure group that can actually impede political decisions. It is this level of participation that will perhaps hold the key for future constructive efforts, provided it is in concert and sustained over a period. Since the opinions of the Press are in sympathy with the settlers, they have a formidable ally.
VIII ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVE

The theme of this chapter is an economic analysis of the housing sector in Thailand, with particular reference to the low income groups. This study is crucial in determining the prospective avenues along which Government Policy should be formulated.

General

The shortage of low income housing units is one of the most startling examples of the inability of the modern Thai society to provide "acceptable" levels of housing and services to "all" demand segments. The system presently discriminates against a permanent minority of poor, experiencing increasing relative deprivation, even though average per capita income and Gross National Product grow steadily.

Public programs are usually directed to a small minority, but those who have actually been reached eg. through Public Housing, are helped only meagrely, and exposed to living conditions which are alien to their normal life styles.

The Shortage of Low Income Housing

The shortage of low income urban housing units has resulted from the complex interaction of many factors: multiplication of population, migration of poor families into the central city, high land values, demolition, rebuilding and expansion of the CBD, high rentals, absence of incentives for the private sector to build, manage and maintain low income units, and the natural ageing of the housing stock. The unique nature of the housing market makes it difficult to precisely quantify the magnitude of the housing shortage, though official sources for Thailand cite it for Bangkok as 92,000 currently*.

The Economics of Housing

It is considered by many that the problem of the low income group is due to the malfunctioning of the housing market, per-se, but it can be shown that it really is part of the more general problem of income distribution in the Nation.

The actual intersection of the supply and demand curves for all types of housing approximates an equilibrium position. Given existing income levels, construction technology, operating and management costs, taxes and alternative investor opportunity rates, it is perfectly reasonable to examine the rent levels, which low income families can afford to pay, and to conclude that the market cannot satisfy the sector's demand without the injection of some form of direct or indirect assistance, or by controlling speculation.

* aroon (1988)
To illustrate this, the average cost per unit for a low income group housing unit similar to the one at Din Daeng Rehabilitation Area is £50,000/- and average operating expenses are approximately £2,000/- per year per unit. Assuming an amortisation period for capital and operating cost (without profit) of fifteen years, the minimum rent per month is £445/-. An average low income family pays ten percent of its income for shelter, and assuming this percentage as representative of rent paying capacity, the minimum income of the family capable of occupying this average unit is £4,450/- per month. Only seven percent of the settlers in Manangkasila, two percent in Din Daeng and one percent in Klong Toey earn this amount.

Squatter and slum dwellings are offered for accommodation for rentals between £90/- to £150/- per month, which is within the range of low income earners, (below £1,500/- per month). As such, the low income housing problem is not caused by the malfunctioning of the housing market, but that the housing, the market provides for low income earners, is unacceptable for legal, social, political and other ideological reasons. Further, society has not created the proper feedback mechanism in the form of profit for the private market to supply socially acceptable low income housing.

Graphically, this situation may be represented as in Fig. 4

The Housing Market mechanism functions as follows:

The demand curve represents the different quantities of a good that people will - at any time and with other things held equal - buy at each different price. The supply curve represents the relationship between the prices and the quantities of a good that producers will, all other things being equal, be willing to sell. Market equilibrium occurs only at a price higher than the equilibrium intersection of the supply and demand curves, the amount the producers will exceed the quantity consumers will go on demanding; downward pressure on price will result as some sellers undermine the going price. At prices lower than the equilibrium intersection, the producers will stop supplying the market (lack of adequate profit incentive) and consumer demand pressure will bid up the price of the good. Limited supply and relative high prices have forced the low income sector to seek alternative housing solutions; to move in with another family, seek deteriorated housing which offers affordable rents, squat on land and build shacks, or pay a higher percentage of income for shelter.

The foregoing discussion clearly indicates the need for "external assistance" for low income earners to be able to afford housing of "acceptable" standards as one alternative, or the review and acceptance of more modest standards of housing to reduce the gap between demand and supply. External assistance may be either by financial aid, control of prices or low cost housing. It can be concluded that an optimum mix of both the alternatives suggested viz. external assistance and review of standards would provide a more rational solution close to reality, for the efficient functioning of the housing market for low income groups.
Rent charged

Quantity of housing

Figure 4 - Graphic Illustration of the Malfunctioning Low Income Housing Market
The Problem of Housing Standards

The WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION (1961) used four criteria for a healthful residential environment:

1. Safety and structural soundness, adequate maintenance, separate and self-contained.

2. Sufficient number of rooms with usable floor area and volume for social and cultural habits.

3. Minimum level of privacy both between family members and outside factors.

4. Suitable separation of rooms within the structure to allow for segregation of members of the opposite sex of members of different ages and of parents from children.

It should keep family's livestock separate from the family living space. Other factors of primary importance are services, water supply, sewerage, ventilation and illumination.

The standards set up by the WHO suggests that these are requirements of all human beings and such factors as climate, culture and technology should not provide any difference. But such differences do exist, and cast some doubt on the validity of the standards. The squatter settlements and slums have revealed that in most cases, the requirements of structural soundness adequate floor space, privacy and number of rooms are all unattainable. The densities in the squatter slums are high with an average family numbering six living in one or two rooms. Yet, when asked whether their housing accommodations were poor or adequate, over seventy percent of the households felt satisfied with the adequacy of the dwelling units (eg. in Manangkasila only 18 percent felt it inadequate.)*

If the physical and service aspects of housing do not mean much to these low income people occupying squatter slums, the factors really considered important by them are:

(a) Security
(b) Location
(c) Ready availability of housing.

* RAJATANON (1971)
Security implies an apparent sense of needing a predictable future. Studies by TURNER (1966), TAYLOR (1973) and ABRAMS (1965) have found that a sense of security is necessary for people to be motivated into improving their houses and property. Any change the Government wishes to make in the lives of migrants must provide them with a feeling of permanence in their life style and residence. Job location is an important factor for any family in choosing its housing area. All squatter settlements studied are readily accessible to job locations or have been able to provide some employment internally.

Availability of housing is especially important to the newly arrived migrants. Initially the new migrants must move into the rental housing. But their ultimate goal is to own houses and it is this that prompts them to squat and build their own houses.

The reasons why low income migrants are not too concerned about the standards of their dwellings may be knowledge that what they can initially afford is adequate, and that they will be able to improve over time. TURNER (1968) asserts that minimum standards are unimportant, because housing is a process, not a product. The immediate problem is shelter, which he will be able to transform to suit his own demands. As such, a migrant does not deserve to be forced into debt just to "consume" at a rate higher than he can afford, merely to maintain some standard. The process of building a house and improving on it runs parallel to the process of his own improvement, and thus his level of satisfaction.

It has been observed with reference to Bangkok that the new migrant does not come to the city expecting to move into high-rise urban dwellings. He may do with what is available; sharing accommodation scavenging materials to build a house, once a place is found and gradually improving it as he gains access to skills, money or materials. This reflects ingenuity, skill capacity and willingness of the new entrant to invest in housing. This deserves special recognition by policy makers in dealing with the housing situation. Rather than curbing the construction of such dwellings for the formality of conforming to prescribed minimum standards, such initiatives and energies should be harnessed to clear the way for safe habitable and comfortable housing areas.

The Problem of Finance

People from low income groups do not possess sufficient capital or savings to buy their houses on their own. They are also denied the access to financing institutions to raise capital loans. Rentals for minimum standard private sector housing are more than what they can readily afford.
At the same time, Government has not made any serious attempts in long term investment and provided the necessary capital for housing. A few reasons for such benign neglect are:

1. Housing is considered as a service rather than as a "production good". The capital-output ratio for housing has been worked out by BURNS (1966)*, to be seven as against 1.8 for steel.

The benefits of housing, especially that for low income housing, are usually intangible and are seldom reflected in the Capital output ratios. As such, decision makers are biased in favour of investment in the production sector.

2. Housing for low income people involves a high degree of risk in respect of loan repayments, and Government does not consider itself equipped to bear losses, on investment beyond a certain limit.

3. The period of payback is slow, and return of investment takes longer periods than those from investment in 'Production'.

4. Inflation causes depreciation of loans which divert finances to more secure investments.

The eventual result is, that amounts which finally get provided for housing, fall far short of actual needs. An amount of ฿20 million per year has only been provided for housing in Bangkok, whereas the actual requirement is ฿ 708 million (vide chapter V).

In addition, there is a dearth of private entrepreneurs interested in public housing investments for low income earners, as such investments:

(i) offer very little profit;
(ii) are high risk;
(iii) bring very low returns and
(iv) bring returns over long terms

The resulting paradox is that the low income earner cannot do without financial assistance from the Government, and the Government has neither the Policy and motivation nor Programs to do so.

The Problem of Land

The availability, use and cost of land are central issues to the housing problem.

In Bangkok, whereas, space is available in the city its management is yet uncontrolled. Real estate is a favourite form of investment of the wealthy, and this has led to large assemblies of urban land.

Land utilization follows the principles of "Laissez Faire". This has resulted in haphazard urban growth and sprawl. A city Plan has been prepared but is still in the process of enactment, so that no statutory control is currently possible.

Land values are so high, that the low income earner with his meagre resources is unable to acquire land, for his accommodation.

The Land Expropriation Law is very limited in its scope and has no provision for land acquisition by Public agencies for housing purposes. Also the procedure is long and time consuming.

Any control measure proposed, to facilitate the acquisition of land by the low income earner, must justifiably focus on land value. All decisions on land forced by private land ownership, have to be regulated as an effective means of equitable land distribution. Moreover, a rational distribution of land uses in the city will ensure adequate provision of land for residential purposes.

Conclusions and Policy Implications

Recapitulating the findings from the above analysis, the following conclusions are made with specific reference to Bangkok:-

1. The housing problem of low income groups is not due to the malfunctioning of the housing market, but is part of the more general problem of income distribution.

2. The formal housing market cannot satisfy the demand for low income group housing.

3. The low income group housing that the market does provide, is unacceptable for social, political, legal, physical and other ideological reasons.

4. Exhorbitant and escalating land prices are deterrents to low income people from acquiring urban land, legally, and is one of the factors that drives them to seek accommodation in the slums and squatter settlements.
5. The Government is not financially equipped to provide housing accommodation for the low income group to meet their total demand.

6. It is also not legally equipped to control the use and value of land, and is hence unable to provide even the land on which low income people can build their own houses, if called upon to do so.

7. The squatter dweller has displayed his readiness and willingness to invest his resources, time and energy for providing his own shelter, even under adverse circumstances. It is evident that Government action of house building is an elaborate duplication of a need of more fundamental nature.

8. The primary concern of the squatter is security, which he is unable to provide for himself. Site location in close proximity to jobs, and ready availability of land are the prospects that the squatter seeks in his quest for shelter. It is more appropriate if Government focuses its resources and efforts in providing the means to fulfil only the ardent requirement of the squatter, rather than launching grandiose programs of housing which duplicate the efforts of the squatter.

9. The main consideration for Government should be on benefitting the largest number of needy low income people, by providing them with land and finance, while conserving those resources which do not have to be expended on house constructions.

10. Supplementary financial assistance for house building may be offered to the beneficiaries of land distribution on merits.

11. Building construction will be done by the beneficiary himself. The process of building and improving the house will run parallel to his own improvement and level of satisfaction.

12. Controls on the use and pricing of land can make the supply of land for residential purposes, and for housing low income group people, more amenable.

In summary, the recommendation that emerges out of this analysis is that Government should restrict its activity in the field of low income group housing to the provision of land and finance, and leave house building to the beneficiaries.
IX. CURRENT APPROACHES TO SQUATTER CONTROL

Numerous approaches have been devised, adapted and adopted in different situations to solve the squatter problem in various cities of the Developed and Developing World. Each approach has certain distinct attributes and affinities that suit certain situations. But they also display some genuine weaknesses that limit their universal applicability. This chapter attempts a general overview of each of the different approaches.

Problem Perception

The problems of slums and squatter settlements have been perceived as mainly physical in nature, and as primarily a problem of housing, by most individuals and agencies concerned with them. Thus approaches devised to remedy the problem have been focussed on issues such as quality of housing, minimum housing standards, the additional need for housing stock arising out of the housing shortage, etc. Much emphasis has been given to the level of participation by the slum and squatter dwellers and the need for their involvement in housing programs, and projects. Much attention has also been focussed on specific settlements without either considering squatting as a phenomenon, or its dynamism.

The different approaches that have been devised therefore require to be evaluated in respect of:

1. their validity for adoption as a remedy for the squatter problem in Bangkok;
2. to verify their scope in solving the problem to ascertain whether any of these approaches could provide a lasting solution;
3. to provide the background from which a comprehensive approach can be devised as a lasting remedy for squatter problems in Bangkok.

Classification of Approaches

The Development Approaches can be classified in different ways based on different criteria. Among the more relevant criteria for classification of Development Approaches are the following:

1. Prime function - Prevention/Cure
2. Secondary function - Resettlement/Rehabilitation
3. Location - In-situ/New sites
4. Degree of public involvement - Total/Partial
5. Period - Short Term/Long Term.
Each classification is not exclusive as each one ties to another and have varying levels of generality as shown in the following schematic diagram - Fig. 5. Moreover the division between each class in one classification itself is not dichotomised but forms a continuum with flexibility in fixing differentiating boundaries.

The key objectives of all development approaches ought to be:-

(a) to halt the influx of population sponsoring the growth and formation of squatter settlements;
(b) to halt the growth and formation of new settlements and
(c) to progressively reduce the existing squatter settlements in the city.

The objectives are fixed with the sole purpose of eliminating the phenomenon of squatting from the city.

The Development Approaches in Respect of Fulfilment of Objectives

Different Development Approaches which have been divided fulfil the aforementioned objectives in different ways as is illustrated in the following Diagram, (Fig. 6). Further, each Development Approach is tuned to a different level of generality ranging from the National level, which deals with the halt of influx of population, sponsoring the growth and formation of squatter settlements; through the city level which deals with the halt of growth and formation of new settlements and, to the squatter settlement level which deals with the progressive reduction of existing squatter settlements in the city.

The distinctions made in the foregoing classification are also incorporated in the following diagram for illustrative purposes.
Fig. 5 - Schematic Diagram Showing the Classification of Different Development Approaches
Fig. 6 - Development Approaches in Fulfilment of Objectives
New Towns

Definition* New Towns refer to any new large-scale developments planned to provide housing, work places and related facilities within a more or less self contained environment. The New Towns Principle has gained prominence in the more Developed Nations as a way of achieving the better life and was being offered as a remedy for the problems of the swelling cities of the Developing World. In Thailand, the New Towns Principle has had some mention, as observed in the Third Plan 1972-1976.

Objectives The prime objectives behind the principle of dispersal of industry and the building of New Towns is to stem the descent of migrants from rural areas to the crowded metropolitan areas, to reduce the burden of employment creation, and cut down the cost of new transport and public facilities, in the cities. Simultaneously, the other objectives are to provide better accommodation and ensure better living conditions in the new areas, and bring the dynamic problems in the Metropolitan areas under control.

The Operation and Mechanics of the New Towns Approach After a period of political and legislative interplay, for the acceptance of the New Towns Principle, a site is selected, usually deep in the rural areas or in urban fringes of the Metropolitan city, with due consideration to the physical attributes of the site, location in respect of the Metropolitan City and the region to be served. Following the preparation and acceptance of a land use plan, based on population estimates and socio-economic profiles envisaged for the area, the land area is acquitted and developed in stages according to the Plan. Housing is provided by types, according to the expected family sizes and income groups. Land development may be by public or private agencies.

Dispersal of Industry

The dispersal of industry proceeds on the same premise of industrial decentralization, as that of New Towns, with the difference that, self contained communities, as in New Towns, are not implied in this project.

Objectives By the dispersal of industry from the city, it is proposed to disperse excessive concentration of population around the work centres, and distribute them over a wider area. The net objective of industrial decentralization is to reduce the pressure on land, services and infra-structure, to restore orderly distribution of population, and utilization of land.

* Definition from ABRAMS (1971)
Operation and Mechanics of Industrial Dispersal

The process of industrial dispersal is carried out through the advance acquisition and development of areas for industrial location, and by curbing the location of new industries in other congested areas. This is activated by a process of industrial licensing and development of industrial estates according to the principles of Zoning. By establishing the locations of industry in advance, and establishing measures of control on utilization and control of adjacent lands, those areas that constitute the targets for squatters to illegally invade the land, can be curbed. By choosing areas, appropriate for industrial location, the growth of a city can be reorganized along more rational lines.

Registration of All Dwellings and Policing of All Unauthorized Constructions

The two measures discussed previously, form the two basic approaches for the diversion of potential squatters in the city. But despite the efficiency of each of these measures, some migrants will still filter into the city, to form new squatter settlements or crowd into the existing settlements.

Registration of all dwellings in the city and policing all unauthorized construction is the measure by which the growth of squatters in the city can be checked.

Objectives

The objective of this approach appears to be:

1. to bring the illegal occupation of land to a standstill;

2. to take stock of the existing situation, in respect of legal status of dwellings in order to make an appropriate choice for progressive elimination of squatter settlements.

Operation and Mechanics of the Approach

The approach involves a process of physical survey of the area, house numbering and registration of the number of occupants. A socio economic survey of household profiles may also be conducted. A separate registration and numbering of houses may be adopted for squatter dwellings.

Policing of building construction is to be achieved by making registration of all new constructions mandatory. Illegal occupants on land are entitled to be evicted, and illegal constructions are entitled to be demolished. Such a curb on unauthorized occupation on land, and building construction can halt the growth and formation of squatter settlements in the city.
Urban Renewal

Definition Urban renewal refers to the improvement of urban environments through public initiatives and assistance in demolishing slums, rehabilitating and conserving existing structures, providing for better housing, commercial, industrial and public buildings, as well as greater amenities pursuant to comprehensive plans and workable programs.

For purposes of this study however, urban renewal is defined as the improvement of urban environments through public initiative and assistance in demolishing slums, and replacing them by non-residential uses and greater amenities pursuant to comprehensive plans and workable programs. Renewal programs refer more appropriately to "slum clearance".

Objectives The prime objective of this approach is to clear an area occupied by a squatter/slum, and replace such settlement with some other activity or use. The underlying reason for this reason is usually to recover the land from the illegal occupants, who by virtue of their occupation, either mar the city-scape, or hold up the speculative value of the land, or some development projects intended to be implemented on the area, or some more productive use of the land, which assures the landlord of better returns for investment.

Operation and Mechanics of the Schemes. Urban renewal schemes operate by a process of mass eviction of settlers from the area with or without compensation, after classifying the area as fit for urban renewal. Eviction is followed by demolition of existing structures, and reconstruction of new buildings in conformity with the proposals of the urban renewal project.

In some instances, assembly of land for an urban renewal scheme is done by a process of land acquisition, preceding the eviction of settlers.

Public Housing

Definition This is a term used to describe housing built and owned by a public agency for eligible low income families for whom private enterprise fails to provide. "Low rent housing", "Low cost housing", "Municipal housing", and "Council Housing" (in England) are other terms often used synonymously. Public housing has been the approach most commonly used in Thailand, and the current policy of the N.H.A. is centred on continuing with public housing projects, over the coming years. Public housing for squatter/slum resettlement is usually heavily subsidized, either in cost, but more usually in rentals.

Objectives The objective of public housing is to resettle squatters and slum dwellers, evicted by urban renewal schemes, or to increase the stock of low income houses in the city, and make them
available to them at rents or prices they can afford. The other objective of public housing is to provide security of occupation, legal status to land or building tenancy, and better living environments of minimum prescribed standards.

**Operation and Mechanics of the Approach**

The mechanics of a public housing program usually takes two forms of procedure:

(a) Eviction of squatter/slum dwellers, possession of the land, demolition and clearance of existing structures, site improvement, site planning and construction of public housing units, followed by assignment of units to evicted settlers from the area. Transit camps may or may not be provided during the intervening period between eviction and reaccommodation.

(b) Appropriation of land for the public housing project, site improvement, planning and construction of dwelling units, followed by eviction of squatter dwellers and reaccommodation into the new units based on assignments and allotments. Transit camps are not involved in this method. This procedure can also be followed for all low income earners, in which case eviction of squatters does not figure in the procedure.

The dwelling units may take the form of high rise apartments, as in Hong Kong, or Singapore, walk-up apartments as in Din Daeng in Bangkok, duplex buildings as in Huay Kwang in Bangkok, or independent bungalow type houses. The dwellings may be sold outright, or on a condominium basis (when the land ownership is retained by the housing agency), or rented out. The level of subsidisation varies from project to project. It is usual that once the dwelling units are allotted, the transfer of rights of occupation are usually restricted or prohibited altogether. Maintenance of the dwelling units are the responsibility of the owner if the unit is sold, and that of the public agency if the units are rented. Maintenance and upkeep are the responsibility of the public agency.

**Sites and Services**

Definition "Sites and Services" programs refer to those which provide urban land on which low income groups can construct their own dwellings, often with organized technical assistance. Considerable variety exists within the program, as in space allocated per family, provision of utility services, the assistance given in the type of tenure (sale or rent), stipulated standards of construction of dwellings, and the participation of private development enterprises. The schemes may or may not be subsidised, though any subsidy is likely to be much less per family than public low cost housing. For purposes of this study, 'Sites and Services' refer to projects on new sites only.
Objectives

The main objective of sites and services is to mobilise involvement of the population concerned in taking responsibility for and working productively towards their own welfare and rehabilitation, and thereby reduce the financial burden and responsibility of the development agency. Sites and services approaches were primarily devised to reduce the cost of squatter resettlement to the barest minimum. The principle is based on the premise that squatters will, if provided with serviced land, provide the initiative and energy to build their own houses on the sites to their own choices and tastes, while retaining an organized and more rational form of development, layout, environment and building. The squatters will generate their own resources and utilize their own skills in house building and these would lead to considerable savings to the public agency.

Operation and Mechanics of the Approach

Sites and Services operates through a process of extensive land acquisition, followed by developing and improving the site planning and laying out the network of streets and infrastructure, and allotting subdivided developed plots to tenants, evicted from the squatter settlements, either on outright sale, hire-purchase or subsidised rental basis. Allotment of sites are also made to low income families, other than squatters or slum dwellers, in some instances.

The settlers on the sites and services projects will mobilise their resources and seek technical assistance from the development agency to put up shelters according to their own requirements. Additions and modifications to the dwellings can be made as and when resources permit dwellers to do so.

In some instances, financial assistance for house building is offered on mortgage or loan schemes, but these are discussed later, under 'Instalment Construction'.

Instalment Construction

Definition

Instalment Construction refers to piece-meal, progressive construction of a dwelling as the resources of the owner occupant permit. It is common where the general income level inhabits extensive house building, where the climate permits occupancy in an unfurnished dwelling, where methods of shelter construction can employ the skills of the average family, and where financial institutions have not yet developed mortgages on other forms of time payments for housing. Where mortgage systems exist, housing is built complete and paid for in instalments; in less developed economies, housing is built in instalments as earnings accrue.

When mortgage financing is unavailable and house building is dependent wholly or partly on money, a house can still be built, serially. Only a small loan is required to get the building work started, and once the basic
framework for shelter is up, the instalment builder can actually stay in the dwelling while progressively improving his house, during occupation over a period of time, as earnings accrue.

Instalment construction in some cases functions as an extension of sites and services projects but is not necessarily so. In some instances, only the sites are provided to the instalment builder and servicing and dwelling improvements form part of the builder's responsibilities.

Instalment construction normally takes two common adaptations which are:

(a) Core Housing
(b) Roof Loans.

(a) Core Housing

Definition The term core house refers to the central or basic part of a dwelling to which further improvements can be added by the owner. A core house program is a low cost strategy particularly suited to meeting housing problems in underdeveloped countries. Core houses are built either by the Government or the owners and expanded as earnings permit. Experience has shown that ownership is essential to encourage extension of the core.

Core houses are of varying sizes and patterns as for example, the one room core for small families, a two room core for growing families, a core that can be added to, vertically; the row-house core, the front and rear of which are expandable, and the core built as part of a compound.

Objectives The prime objective of core housing is to provide an added incentive for house construction and improvement by actually starting the work and providing the basic essentials. In respect of squatter reaccommodation, the pioneers of core housing, ABRAMS, BODANSKY AND KOENIGSBERGER (1956) claim that the provision of sites alone is insufficient to induce squatters to move into new project area. There is no inducement for them to build houses on these sites, unless at least a 'core house' is provided for a start. If this is true, core housing is definitely endowed with an advantage over sites and services.

By providing an incomplete house to the occupant, he is compelled to utilize his own energies, resources and efforts to improve the house, and this can be done conveniently as his income permits. This fulfils the second objective that investment in housing by the occupant is to be kept to the minimum and should be staged according to his capabilities, without denying him the right to basic shelter.
Operation and Mechanics of Core Housing

After land is acquired, developed, and serviced according to a preset plan, core houses are built in each plot and then each core is assigned to the squatters, individually. Assignment is usually followed up by a mortgage agreement for the value of core house and plot. The owner of the core then moves into the core and improves the house as resources and time permit. The mortgage loan is repayed with low rate of interest over a period of time.

The cores constitute different levels at which construction is stopped. In some instances, only the foundation and paved basement are provided; in some others only the columns and the roof are provided, with walls to be built in by the occupant. Sizes, shapes, and number of rooms depend on the design.

(b) The Roof Loan

Definition

This approach refers to loans made to persons putting up four walls of a house to cover the cost of their roof. The roof loan may be made as cash payment or in the form of loan of building materials. Exactly as in core housing, roof loans programs are a low cost strategy suited to meeting housing problems in underdeveloped countries.

Objectives

The objective of this approach is the same as that of core housing with the exception that instead of building the core house, loan amounts, which would suffice to build the core, either in the form of cash or materials would be made available to the future occupants. The loan is intended to induce house construction on the sites with or without services.

Operation and Mechanics of the Approach

Loans would be made for roofs, doors and windows, repayable over a fixed period. Usually the loan amount would be drawn for about one fourth to one third the cost of the completed dwelling. No loans are provided for walls and partitions. Loans are channelised through a central agency, to the housing agency of councils which would be responsible for distribution and repayment. Local societies or councils formed out of squatter communities would in turn make smaller loans available to individual borrowers at interest rates sufficient to cover expenses and to provide reserves for losses.

The financing agencies may also undertake the responsibilities of supervising the construction offering technical assistance and providing facilities for the purchase of materials as a safeguard against misuse of loan amounts. The roof loans are recovered over a period of time after the construction is finished. Improvements to the unit are made over time by the occupant.

In some instances, material loans are preferred to cash loans.
Housing Allowances or Rent Supplements

Definition
Housing Allowances provide monthly cash payments to needy families who find and rent decent housing units in the private sector market. Assistance in this case is in the form of cash.

Objectives
The prime objective of this scheme is to supplement the resource allocation of a low income household for house rent, so as to enable him to find and occupy better accommodation, instead of illegally occupying land, or living in a slum. It aims at redistribution of available housing stocks and involvement of the private sector in accommodating low income people, with little external assistance.

Operation and Mechanics of the Approach
This scheme was first developed by the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development in Kansas City.

Low income families who are compelled to live in squatted areas or slums are identified and are offered a monthly subsidy, towards rent, payable in cash. These families may purchase a rent certificate (voucher) for less than its full value and use this certificate to obtain housing in the private market. The rent subsidy is fixed after verifying the amount which the low income earner can afford to pay, by way of rent for the improved housing, and the rent demanded by the landlord. The house selected has to be approved by the subsidising authority prior to the issue of housing allowances.

The subsidy will operate for a period of two years (usually) during which time, it is expected that the occupant would have accumulated savings and resources to provide good accommodation for himself on his own. Housing allowances paid, may or may not be recoverable.

Community Development

Definitions
The term "Community Development" has come into international usage to connote the processes by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of Government Authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of countries, to integrate these communities into the life of the Nation, and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress. This complex of processes is then made up of two essential elements: the participation by the people themselves in efforts to improve their level of living with as much reliance as possible on their own initiative and resources; and the provisions of technical and other service in ways which encourage initiative, self help and mutual help and make these more effective. *(CLINARD (1966)).*
Community Development is functional and process oriented. ROSS (1955) states "it initiates a people directed process that is based upon their own perception of their needs". Community development therefore exhibits a strong overstone of self help and community organization.

The 'community' referred to in this study pertains to the squatter/slum community.

Objectives The four main objectives of urban community development, applicable to slums and squatter settlements are the development, community feeling, self help, indigenous leadership and co-operation between the Government and the people in the use of services, to promote change and self improvements.

Operation and Mechanics of Community Development The operations can be briefly enumerated as follows:­

1. Creation of a sense of social cohesion on a neighbourhood basis and strengthening of group inter-relationships.
2. Encouragement and stimulation of self help, through the initiative of the individuals in the community.
3. Stimulation by outside agencies when initiative for self help is lacking.
4. Reliance upon persuasion rather than upon compulsion to produce change through the efforts of the people.
5. Identification and development of local leadership.
7. Use of professional and technical assistance to support the efforts of the people involved.
8. Co-ordination of city services to meet neighbourhood needs and problems.
9. Provision of training in democratic procedures that may result in decentralization of some Government function.

With reference to squatter settlements, the central issue involved is the illegal occupation of the land by the squatters. This illegal occupation is brought about by a host of factors, such as abject poverty, unemployment, inadequate resources, non-availability of cheap land, large tracts of untenanted and untended urban land, absentee landlords, a huge wave of rural migrants in search of shelter, etc. Under the given circumstances, they are compelled to occupy land and commit a legal offence in the process.
Nondenial of shelter to one who cannot afford to get it, manifests itself as a moral issue. But this is in direct conflict with the legal issue of illegally taking possession of land, and taking shelter on it.

The role of community development in respect of squatters is to bring about a revision in Government attitude on their eviction and reaccommodation, and to impress the forces-that-be, the moral responsibility of providing shelter to the poor and the needy, who are unable to provide for themselves by force of circumstance. In addition, the role of community development is to organize the squatters, to mobilise their resources and energies, and help them to help themselves in the process of personal and community welfare. Moreover, community development strives for popular participation by the squatters in the decision making process which affects them.

Repatriation

Definition The term refers to the process whereby the residents of squatter settlements in the city are returned to rural areas and resettled there. Repatriation can also be conducted to other urban areas.

Objectives Squatter communities in most countries, by and large are constituted of rural immigrants to a very great extent. These new entrants are exposed to a hostile and alien atmosphere and subjected to hardships and deprivations, in the process. The objective of repatriation is to return these new entrants to an environment or habitat which is more congenial to their known life styles and conducive to the development of their skills and personal attributes. Repatriation aims at providing the new entrants in squatter settlements, a new start in an environment more familiar to them.

Operation and Mechanics of the Approach The process involves a procedure of advance acquisition of land, in rural areas, subdividing the area into lots and assigning them to squatter families resident in the cities. The squatter families resident in the city, are then induced to vacate their urban dwellings and resettle themselves in these plots in the countryside. Resettlement may take the form of aided or total self help measures of reaccommodation. Subsidies and external financial aid will vary according to the terms of inducement for vacating the urban settlements. Resettlement is usually followed up by community welfare programs whereby resettled families are trained in various rural skills of agriculture and agrobased, or service industry, to stabilise the economic base of the resettled families and make them capable of looking after themselves.

Repatriation from the city, may also be conducted on the same lines to other urban areas.
The process of repatriation to rural areas has been adopted, and is currently in vogue in Bangkok.

General Comments of All Approaches The approaches which have been mentioned and studied above, form only a very small part of the approaches actually in practice. Each approach has numerous variations and different approaches can be combined in various permutations and combinations.

It is neither possible to enumerate all the permutations of the different approaches, and the variations possible in each approach nor to evaluate each one of them as this would itself involve a lengthy and elaborate study.
XI CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF DEVELOPMENT APPROACHES

A general review and critical appraisal of the performance of the Approaches enumerated in Chapter X, is attempted in this chapter. The appraisal is made in respect of their applicability in Bangkok, with their prospects and limitations being exposed. Possible adaptations to each approach are also suggested.

The general appraisal is made by examining the application and performances of each approach in situations, elsewhere, where they have been actually tried out. No specific references however, are made except for illustrative purposes.

Critical Appraisal of the Current Approaches in Respect of Squatter Control

New Towns The New Towns Principle is focussed on the diversion of migrants bound for congested metropolitan cities. If the New Towns are planned as self contained entities, with their own employment and services, the town can alleviate the national problem of unemployment, divert migrants and reduce the burden of providing services and community facilities by the metropolitan city. Since control of land use is mandatory, illegal occupation on land can be stemmed from the very start, and rational utilization of land can be preserved.

Provision of utilities and services in the New towns are sometimes found to be more economical than extending them in a congested city, where the urban infrastructure has been strained to the peak. As such, a more favourable distribution of services and facilities in the New Town among its inhabitants is possible.

The grave limitation of New Towns in respect of squatter settlements is its total inadequacy to bring about any control on those that are already in existence in the cities. The magnitude of development in these new urban complexes does not provide sufficient incentive to counteract the 'pull' of the metropolis and progressively extract such dwellers from the city.

As the New Town grows, the Administration gets more involved in administrative matters and upkeep of services and infrastructure, and gradually loosens its control on the maintenance of legal occupation of land; eg. Faridabad and Bhubaneswar New Towns in India. In the process, squatter settlements spring up, sooner or later, and pose a new threat to urban administration, in a new habitat.

The New Towns Principle works on the premise that provision of employment opportunity can divert migrants from the city. It must be stated that a sizeable component of migrants do not go to the city for
employment along, e.g. Klong Toey; 17 percent of the squatters came to Bangkok for reasons other than for employment\(^*\)). "Other attractions in the city supercede those offered by the New Towns and will continue to attract migrants into them. This problem is further aggravated by the fact that New Towns involve a considerable amount of risk. Potential squatters and low income migrants may not necessarily stake their future in a New Town without any known prospect of self improvement, and may still prefer to proceed to the city. This is perhaps the most glaring weakness of New Towns in solving squatter problems in a city.

New Towns are capital intensive projects with a very huge initial investment which decision makers at national level are hesitant to make. Even if such huge capital is spent, the prospects of subsidising for squatter accommodation, further, seems a remote prospect. New Towns are extremely costly projects and Developing Countries seldom or never have enough resources to divert such colossal amounts, and even if they do, would scarcely do so, as a solution for squatter problems.

Many advantages and disadvantages exist which support or discount the efficacy of New Towns, all of which have not been mentioned. But the net effect remains that New Towns have very limited prospects, to be used as a tool to control squatter settlement formation, by themselves, and whatever is done, is achieved at a commensurately high cost.

**Industrial Dispersal**. Since Industrial Dispersal more or less follows the premises on which the New Towns Principle is based most of what has been stated earlier is applicable in this evaluation as well.

Industrial Dispersal is another preventive method to counter new squatter settlement formation, but can make little headway in contributing to the progressive elimination of existing squatter settlements. Industrial decentralization is a much less expensive measure than New Towns, since self contained entities are not in prospect.

But the success of Industrial Dispersal in respect of ever preventing squatter settlement formation however will depend entirely on the efficiency of the controlling administration, and the maintenance of Zoning Regulations.

Entrepreneurs may be sceptical of the future of new locations and shy away from locating their industries in new areas in difference to existing known prospective sites. Other factors including land speculation, high cost of providing services, and facilities in the area, and attitudes of migrants and entrepreneurs can determine the efficacy of this approach in providing a solution for controlling the formation of new squatter settlements.

\(^*\) HONGLADAROMP (1973)
Registration of Dwellings and Policing of Unauthorized Construction

This approach is logical as a first step towards bringing squatter settlements growth to a halt and formulating development programs for their progressive elimination. The approach offers the vital data base for making choice of development options. This also offers itself for enforcing the Zoning Regulations and Development Plans in force. By bringing squatting under control, an intensive program for their rehabilitation and resettlement can be initiated.

The limitations in this approach are mainly in respect of eliciting an honest response from the dwellers, and voluntary support in identifying illegal occupants who may infiltrate into the area, and this defeats the very purpose of registration and keeping count. Also, it is difficult and time consuming to register all the houses and keep track of dwellings in a city of the dimensions of Bangkok. It will require very high overhead expenditure, and the scrupulous honesty of the officials in policing the dwellings, for the success of the approach.

But, by far the greatest limitation of this approach is that no restrictive measures can counter the wave of immigrants over-running the city and defeating the purpose of the scheme. The approach does not provide any positive measure of accommodating those in need of housing, and this boosts up the pressure on the available housing stock, thereby tending to escalate rents and building costs. In the process, it subjects the low income dweller to severe hardships in trying to find housing within his limited budget.

It can however be stated that the approach offers definite promise for holding the squatter settlement situation, stationery, as a prerequisite to initiate a rehabilitation program. If this approach can be substantiated by a program for new house construction, to keep pace with the growth of population, the composite program can afford a lasting solution to the problem of squatters in metropolitan cities.

Urban Renewal

Urban renewal schemes have the potentials of restoring spatial order, legal status and aesthetic appeal to the city environment, and literally removes the 'eyesore' of the squatter-slum. Moreover, valuable urban property is ensured of more remunerative returns commensurate to its price. Urban renewal brings back the use of land to the prescribed use as per the Development Plan for the city (where such plans are in force). Finally urban renewal integrates a deteriorated area with its surrounding environment in an effective manner in respect of architectural form, land utilization and environmental quality, and summarily removes any social stigmas attached to the area by virtue of its association with squatters and slum dwellers. By far, its greatest achievement in respect of slums and squatter settlements is that legal sanctity of property rights is regained on the renewed sites.
But, urban renewal has a number of critics leveled against it. Anderson (1965) likens urban renewal to the bulldozer with its ruthless eviction of poor people from their dwellings, and demolition of their houses, thereby rendering them homeless. The effective housing stock thus decimated, is replaced by uses which benefit only the select elite and affluent section of urban society. Where urban renewal incorporates the replacement of low income houses by high rise apartments it actually benefits that section of society whose housing conditions were best in the first place. Seldom do any of the displaced persons ever return to the renewed site. Anderson (1965) further contends that urban renewal particularly in central areas is intended to attract the wealthy suburbanities, who can afford to commute, back to the city, while throwing the poor and the needy who cannot afford long and expensive commutation, out into the suburbs. Anderson (1965) goes to the limit of stressing that areas are cleared not because they were occupied by the worst slums and squatted settlements - but because they had the best sites for other luxury uses and speculative interests.

In sum, however, one cannot summarily discard urban renewal as a prospective approach for control of squatter settlements. As Abrams (1965-2) writes - Renewal has virtue as vices, and vices exist largely because the measure is actually only a half measure. With proper amplification and enlargement of its basic concept in respect of replacing, rather than clearing squatter dwellings, the approach can display some positive merit.

In the instance of Bangkok, urban renewal does offer some prospects for the reclamation of land from squatters for public purposes, such as in the Klong Toey area where squatted land is urgently required for pushing through port developments. But urban renewal will have to consider alternative measures for the reaccommodation of evicted settlers. If this is not pursued, the port development has to encounter stiff opposition from the settlers affected by eviction, and this may scuttle all port improvements. In those areas where no development activity is being held up by squatting, urban renewal for the purpose of reclamation of land from squatters appears to be an inappropriate choice, as there is no logical justification to evict squatters, other than the mere legal issue. In short, any urban renewal scheme must provide for complete resettlement, to be of any worthy merit.

Public Housing Public housing implies the provision of large quantities of houses at relatively low costs (mass production) and rents (subsidisation) as a measure of improving the residential environment. By resorting to high rise apartments, it is possible to increase densities and put expensive land to intensive use. By building bungalow type and duplex type houses, it is possible to provide housing appropriate to the tastes and living styles of squatters, with plots of land for subsidiary activity.

Public housing represents spatial order and aesthetic beauty to a tardy environment. Squatters are alienated from shabby dwellings and reaccommodated in self contained dwelling units of superior standards,
endowed with all services and amenities at low costs. Better accommodation has its effects on the improvement of health and morale of the residents and the community.

The advantages of public housing are however, discounted by some serious drawbacks.

Public housing is one of the costliest methods of reaccommodation, and experiences in Hong Kong* and Tanzania# have revealed that in spite of cost reductions per unit by adopting advanced technologies the cost of identical units put up by private individuals is far less costly.

As a measure to economise on costs, living space in the dwelling units is usually the first item to be sacrificed. By sacrificing space for economy, the public housing dwelling unit always tends to be over-crowded and unliveable. E.g. The Din Daeng Rehabilitation apartments have an average occupancy of eight to ten persons and are provided only 40 square meters in a single room apartment; the squatter dwellings in Din Daeng, on the other hand have an average area of 35 square meters and the public housing facility, materially does not provide any significant spatial improvement. Economy grounds also tend to reduce the number of wall openings and the eventual result is that the dwelling unit is in no way an improvement over the squatter dwelling.

Even if speedy constructions by improved technologies are adopted, the pace at which the squatters can put up their shelters can never be maintained. Since time is vital in squatter resettlement, this drawback is very significant.

It has been said that public housing can pull people out of the slum, but cannot pull the 'slum' out of the people. When the slum dwellers are moved without any radical improvement in their overall economic circumstances, neither tenant nor household is viable in the new setting, and considerable social and economic maladjustments reappear in the new environs. It is further contended, in respect of squatters, that relocated tenants are subjected to the discipline of the regulations and the impress of legislation in its daily life, which clearly and directly clashes with the spontaneous expression of socio economic reality of squatterdom. The coherent personality of the squatter settlement/slum is transformed into something with a "split personality". This partially explains why squatters are willing to dispose their rights to tenancy in public housing, in addition to the lucrative returns, that are attained by such transfer.

MITCHELL (1972)

Public housing accommodation represents a negotiable commodity (vide Chapter V) to the squatter. It must be understood from this that the quality of the house does not figure as top priority, if compared with the prospects of liquid cash. The performance of the Din Daeng flats in which most of the tenants currently occupying the units are middle income families, is evidence to prove that public housing in Bangkok is a failure, as a method of reaccommodating squatters.

MITCHELL (1972) states that if public housing is to be judged on the basis of the amount of satisfaction, people obtain from the housing and the neighbourhood, it is interesting to note that housing by itself does not rank high on the list of things that are important to people in South East Asia. MITCHELL (1972) gives evidence that only four percent of squatters indicate their satisfaction in low cost public housing estates in Hong Kong.

High densities in high rise public apartments tend to adversely affect privacy and create emotional strain, and emotional health problems. High rise is said to affect parent-child relationships and discourages interactions among neighbours and friends. (Ref. MITCHELL (1972).

Standards of building and building services being relatively high in public housing, the output of dwelling units for a given monetary input is considerably less.

In Bangkok, public housing takes the form of walk-up apartments in Din Daeng and two-storeyed duplex and row houses at Huay Kwang. These dwelling types do not reflect the choices of the squatter inmates. 78 percent and 73 percent of the squatters at Klong Toey and Manangkasila respectively expressed their preference to live in single detached buildings as opposed to flats.*

One of the reasons for this is the 'land bound heritage' with which the squatters from rural extract are acculturated. High rise living is neither appealing, nor in conformity with a known life style.

The squatters are subjected to considerable hardships by not being permitted to continue their subsidiary occupations in the rehabilitation apartments, as in Din Daeng. Squatters are also not permitted to add rooms to their dwellings when the need arises, as they would normally have done in the squatter settlement.

All these points clearly indicate that Public housing is not the right approach to be adopted in Bangkok to resettle squatters. Past performances have provided sufficient evidence to support this contention. The policy of the NHA to continue with the construction of public housing units, appears to be hasty and unjustifiable, if inferences can be drawn from what has gone before.

* HONGALADAROM (1973) and RAJATANON (1971)
Sites and Services. The greatest advantage of sites and services projects lies in the fact that they are much cheaper than the conventional public housing projects, so far as house building is concerned. A sites and services project in Dakar, Senegal was estimated to cost only about U.S. $300/- (excluding land costs) as against U.S. $4,000/- for public housing in the same city. It is fair that the beneficiaries of housing projects deserve to involve themselves in working out their own welfare both physically and financially, as they are the best judges of what they really need.

Sites and Services projects are able to provide serviced land with legal tenure at prices that low income earners and squatters will find attractive and feasible, and thereby eliminates the possibility of illegally occupying land.

The main contention behind the deterioration of buildings and environment has been identified as the absence of initiative and motivation by the residents, who by virtue of their illegal occupation are aware of imminent eviction, and have nothing at stake to promote improvement of dwellings and environment, and expend meagre resources under risk of total loss. These projects, by providing the dweller with the "stake" of land ownership, or legal occupation rights, equips him with the motivation for self improvement.

Sites and services stimulate savings and provide a boost to low cost building trade.

Location of such projects can be so arranged as to redistribute population concentrations in urban areas and at the same time keep them as close to work places as is reasonably possible.

Since cost of sites and services projects is much lower that that for public housing, it is possible to benefit more people for a given input of capital.

The fundamental limitation of this type of projects centres on the issue of land. Such projects usually get recommended due to the savings that are possible in house building costs. But in Developing Countries, the cost of land by itself is an expensive proposition, and developing agencies have to incur heavy capital expenditure on land acquisition alone. Since these projects imply spread out development and extensive utilization of land, savings on land cost cannot be effected by increasing densities by resorting to high rise building.

Another drawback is that whereas squatters are staying on land without paying for it, sites and service projects offer land to them for a price (whatever the subsidy may be) and the response of squatters to pay for something, for which they do not pay currently, tends to be marginal.

* WORLD BANK (1972)
Squatter settlements are located in locations spontaneous to the work place where vacant land is available. This feature of land provision cannot be duplicated by the developing agency; land that can be offered to squatters is either inadequate to resettle all of them, or are not locationaly attractive to the squatters.

Sites and services requires efficient policing to ensure that the rightful tenants do not dispose of their rights and return to squatter settlements. Policing is also required to maintain consistent development throughout the area. A sincere and noncorruptible organization mechanism is required for efficient supervision and control.

In the Bangkok perspective, the biggest hurdle is presented by the inadequacy of the housing agency to expropriate land for housing purposes, as has been mentioned in Chapter VII. Land costs in the city require a large amount of money.

To illustrate; the total amount of land required to resettle 162,000 squatters, which represents the entire squatter population of Bangkok (vide Chapter IV), assuming an average area of 0.04 acre per family of six (on an average) will amount to

\[
\frac{162,000}{6} \times 0.04 = 1080\text{ acres.}
\]

With current prices of land varying from 0.5 to 1.0 million Baht per acre, in the city, a colossal amount of between ฿600 million to ฿1000 million may be required at the very beginning, for land acquisition, alone. In addition, additional land has to be provided for the new entrants who will continue to pour into the city. The only solution to this can be found if land values can be brought down to facilitate acquisition, expropriation laws are revised to permit acquisition by the housing authorities for housing for the public, and area for acquisition can be kept to the bare minimum, by attempting to resettle the minimum number of squatters.

Of all the approaches discussed, this approach appears to possess some merits which have definite prospects for applicability in Bangkok. Adaptations and modifications may be required, and the applicability may be restricted to the curative facet of squatter control operations.

In conclusion, it may be stated that rejection of sites and services by the NHA on the grounds that it is as yet untried in Thailand* and successes are not guaranteed appears to be a hasty and unjustifiable decision.

Core Housing Among the greatest advantages of core housing are the speed at which houses become ready for occupation for the squatters, and the flexibility of building design that is possible within the core.

* Based on a statement by the Governor of NHA in an interview with Tammassat University students, reported in THE NATION (1973), Bangkok, 22nd. March.
Cores and plot sizes are flexible, and will depend upon the purchasing capacity of the prospective occupant.

The core improvement provides a source of employment for the family which has little additional work.

Core housing can be mass produced on the site at a considerable saving to the developing agency, and very little supervision is required.

In spite of core housing having some distinct advantages, ABRAMS (1965) warns that unless a core housing project is well planned from the beginning, the project may well deteriorate into a slum. It is further contended that a core house is no substitute for high rise buildings in dense areas. Its greater use is linked to the development of transportation and opening up of land areas on the outskirts of the cities. It faces the hurdle where land costs are high.

Another important insight is to measure the cost of the core and of the house as ultimately completed as there is little point in building cores when only a small further outlay would have built the additions as well. Conversely, the core requires to be actually designed as to induce further construction. If not, the results could be ludicrous, as in Quezon City, in the Philippines where the core consisted only of toilet units which failed to inspire the squatter families to invest their time and effort to add to the land and toilets given to them*.

In Bangkok, core housing methods do have a distinct advantage, in that squatter families with varying household composition and sizes are not compelled to stay in single room dwellings, as in public housing. Additional space can be enclosed, while the basic shelter is already available for occupation. The 'land boundedness' of the project is congenial to the aspirations of squatters, while there are no restrictions on use or composite use.

The major problem in Bangkok however, arises in respect of the shortage of extensive tracts of land, and the absence of mortgaging and financing institutions, without which such a program cannot lift off the ground. Climatic conditions, especially during the monsoons, make core houses inadequate as shelters.

Roof Loans The advantages and disadvantages of roof loans are more or less identical to those of core housing, as both schemes operate on the same principle. It is difficult to evaluate whether 'cash' or 'material' loans are more advantageous than 'core houses' as methods of inducement for house construction, as it is relative to the community served. Cash loans offer more flexibility than the core houses, but carry the risk of misuse, and misappropriation. Roof loans require a

* ABRAMS (1965) pp. 179
frequent review of rise in prices in building materials, as fluctuations in costs adversely affect the cost of construction of the basic unit by the beneficiary. As such roof loans cannot be maintained constant, even in the same city. The roof loan cannot effectively guarantee in advance, the type of construction or the form of building that is to be erected, unlike the case of core housing, where a minimum quality is ensured. Yet, roof loans are more flexible, and modest shelters can be tailored within the loan amounts, to provide sufficient protection from the elements, and suit the requirements of the eventual occupant.

The same pre-requisites as in core housing viz. adequate extents of urban land, financing and mortgaging institutions, and coverage over risk, limit the applicability of roof loans in Bangkok.

Summing up the two approaches under instalment construction, both the approaches reviewed, suggest cheap remedies for house construction, but where the fundamental issue centers on land availability, both these measures offer prospects secondary to sites and services.

The real benefit of instalment construction in Bangkok, is in its potential to provide new migrants with a sound start before they find their way into squatter settlements (assuming that land will be made available to them, on arrival). It becomes possible to channelise the energies and efforts of the new migrant to focus on sound construction of buildings at the start, when his initiative and motivation are at its peak. This, however, may require some degree of organization and management.

Housing Allowances The housing allowance approach is unique in that it provides added impetus to moving out of squatter settlements and slums, and thereby re-establishes legal tenure of occupation. This is made possible, since squatters themselves, have to find better accommodation, for themselves, and are assisted to occupy them.

It exposes squatters to living in better environments, without the threat of being evicted, instantaneously. Savings for future self support are also generated.

Initial capital input required by the developing agency is very limited, which makes this approach among the cheapest methods of squatter resettlement. It utilizes the potential of tapping private sector housing stock, and indirectly involves private sector participation in accommodation low income people, and resettling squatters.

Over a period of time, the housing market would respond to the increase in demand for providing dwelling units, and this in turn boosts the construction of houses, and addition of existing stock.

Recurring costs of maintenance and upkeep of building and services can be saved by the public agency, as well as by the occupant.
A fundamental prerequisite for the success of this approach is the adequacy of private sector rental housing, at the time when resettlement operations commence. The approach has no built-in mechanism for the addition of housing stock, particularly of the low income group. The operation of the scheme comes to a standstill when the existing stock of rental housing is exhausted. The purpose of the scheme is also defeated with unco-operative landlords who are unwilling to rent houses to low income people or persons with a past repute of squatting or slum dwelling.

There is no guarantee that the residents in "approved housing" will generate adequate savings to be capable of living in good accommodation, once their allowances are terminated. There is high degree of paternalism implied in the approach, which tends to affect the initiative and motivation of the occupant, to provide himself with housing of good quality, later on. The probability of his returning to squatter settlements, after his term of receiving allowances is therefore quite high.

The issue over 'standards' which determine the acceptability of a rental dwelling unit, by the authority, as eligible for housing allowance payment, narrows down the field of choice of housing units considerably, and only a few persons may ultimately benefit from this scheme.

In Bangkok, there is a known shortage of 92,000 houses already. Housing does not appear to figure as a sound investment by private individuals except for self occupation, or for rent for the high income groups. This is evident from the high incidence of owner occupied dwellings, and apartment buildings in the city, occupied by upper income people. It is unlikely that there will be a change in house construction trends to favour the low income groups, in the near future, unless entrepreneurs are offered some incentive for building for low income people.

The system of housing allowances, however, does offer itself as a reasonable short-range program particularly as a method of absorbing evicted squatters during the transit period, preceding resettlement, or for new migrants immediately on arrival. This may require the advance provision of a 'buffer stock' of rental housing to serve the intermediary role while easing the squatter problem.

Community Development ABRAMS (1971) states that Community Development has proved successful in the progressive elimination of squatter slums in many parts of the Developing World: in Asia, Africa and Latin America, particularly. These performances, themselves, speak for the efficiency of their applicability. In Bangkok, community development is in vogue in the settlement at Din Daeng, and has scored a moral victory in gaining amnesty over an eviction order. The VOMPOT organization operating in Din Daeng successfully stayed an eviction order and elicited an assurance of reaccommodation before eviction was enforced.
Community development presents certain unique and signal advantages:

1. By making the community aware of its own problems, unity of purpose can be forged in a heterogeneous community. Such unity can be instrumental in achieving solutions to problems by internal motivation, without depending on external aid and interference to get things done.

2. The community is by far the best judge of its own requirements and priorities. A more spontaneous effort of self improvement is therefore very much in prospect.

3. The community utilizes its own energies and generates its own leadership, which is respected by the members of the community. There is less chance of conflict in pushing through with development from within the community.

4. By depending considerably on internal financial resources, of the community, the approach considerably reduces the financial burden of the public development agencies.

5. Subsequent maintenance of public services and infrastructure together with the policing of the settlement can be effected in a more lasting manner, in a less informal way, by the local leadership, and initiative.

6. Community development, more than any other approach discussed so far can directly influence social change, in addition to physical improvement of the settlement.

Community development, in-situ (as defined), in spite of its signal attributes, however does display some crucial limitations, in respect of applicability to squatter control.

1. The most severe limitation pertains to the legal status of the land occupied by the squatters:

   (a) If the squatters organize themselves into a powerful pressure group, and are capable of staying all eviction orders, this represents a threat to social order, legal justice, and legal sanctity of land ownership;

   (b) An initial success could serve as precedence for squatters to press for their 'rights', in other settlements as well;

   (c) Continued occupation of land by squatters could cry halt to all development works, for which the occupied land is required.
2. The success of community development depends entirely on community organization and efficient leadership. Squatter settlements are composed of heterogeneous communities, and represent multiple interests, which are difficult to organize and secure under a single leadership; eg. Klong Toey, in Bangkok.

Total success requires a sustained and consistent effort of all squatters. It is understood, that some members of squatter communities tend to dissociate themselves from community participation, once their own ends are achieved. Effectiveness of community organization can greatly be reduced by such reduction in strength of the organization.

3. It is observed that dedication and purpose are imbibed in the squatter community only when crisis situations are reached, eg. Din Daeng.

Squatter dwellers are mainly preoccupied with their daily chores and employment, and other subsidiary income earning operations, and have little or no time to spare on community organization and community development. As such community response is difficult to mobilise, and energise.

Community development in Bangkok has had differential levels of success and failure, eg. the organization in Din Daeng met with signal success while at Klong Toey, residents can still not be considered to be united under a single leadership, based on most recent unofficial reports*.

In sum, however, it may be said that community development has a significantly lesser role to play in respect of squatters, than in the rehabilitation of slum dwellers. The former is restricted to the creation of an awareness, of the moral responsibility of accommodating the under-privileged, in the attitude of the Government, and thereafter promoting community efforts for common welfare, in terms of solutions to common problems such as provision of services and facilities, etc.

Community development helps to integrate the members of an under-privileged community, induces the realisation of common problems and common goals, emphasises the need for a combined and co-ordinated effort, and promotes internally motivated improvements that are congenial to, and true reflections of the aspirations and real needs of the community.

Repatriation The evaluation made here, refers to repatriation to rural areas only, as practiced currently in Thailand. The approach displays some unique advantages.

* This refers to incidents in Klong Toey where land distribution by the Port Authority in December 1973 witnessed differential levels of response and factionalism - Personal observation by author
1. By resettling the squatters in rural areas, the site in the city occupied by them can be restored to the legal owner.

2. Squatter resettlement by repatriation, not only provides them with land with legal status, but also accommodates them in an environment which is familiar and favourable to their established ways of life. Community welfare programs tend to stabilise and improve their living standards.

3. Resettlement in the rural areas is a cheaper proposition than that in urban areas where land prices are exorbitantly high.

4. More extensive residential area development and construction of single detached buildings is made possible in rural areas. This is in conformity with the desired choices of the squatters. (Surveys in Klong Toey have shown that 79.2 percent of the settlers preferred single detached buildings - Source: HONGLADAROMP (1973)). Extensive land holdings permit the residents to perform subsidiary activities in their own plots and supplement their income.

5. Repatriation, if effected on a large scale, has numerous other side effects, in respect of decentralization, decongestion of a crowded city, reduction in the pressures on employment creation, community facilities and services, and most of all on urban land; etc.

However, repatriation has met with very marginal success in Thailand. Some of the reasons are enumerated below:

1. The flow of rural migrants to urban area is motivated by a 'push' factor, as much as by a 'pull' factor mainly reflect the inadequacy of rural areas to absorb the overspill of population, and thereby induces migration. On the other hand, the 'pull' factors are not merely for employment purposes alone, but also for partaking of facilities that only the only the urban areas can offer. Further, frustrations have failed to dislodge the new entrant from the city and provoke his voluntary return to his original habitat. As such, no inducement is adequate to force his return to the rural areas or retain him, once he does return.

2. The magnitude of in-migration is far in excess of the 'trickle' of repatriation that can ever be effected successfully, even with high levels of optimism. As such, any effect on decongestion and decentralization, that is hoped to be achieved by repatriation is insignificant.

3. The possibilities of repatriates returning to the city over a period of time is relatively great, according to TAYLOR (1973). It is further iterated that this return of repatriates is directed towards squatter settlements and slums in the city.
4. The approach requires an inordinate amount of cajoling and persuasion together with other incentives (mainly monetary), if squatters are to find life in rural areas more attractive than cities. A more appropriate measure would be to hold them up in the rural areas, before they embark to the city, rather than try to repatriate them, once they have arrived.

5. Areas chosen for resettlement of repatriates will have to be located sufficiently distant from the cities, to hinder their re-entry, and eventual desertion of the repatriated settlements.

It deserves mention that repatriation as envisaged in this study, and practiced in Thailand is biased as a curative measure. The preceding discussion has revealed the practical limitations of the approach in attempting resettlement of squatters. Retention of migrants in the rural areas, or diversion of migrants to other urban centres as a preventive measure to squatter formation in the city appears to be a more logical start for squatter control, than attempting to repatriate seasoned squatters to rural areas to an area, from where they originated. Such retention or diversion, may be possible, only if a forceful strategy of rural development and regional urbanization is adopted and implemented.

Summing up this evaluation, it has to be stated that many more positive and negative criticisms can be levelled on each approach, and all of them have not been enumerated. The purpose of this evaluation is, however, not merely to make the detailed criticism of each approach, but to reveal the limited applicability of each approach to the squatter problem as it exists in Bangkok.
XII. CONSOLIDATED EVALUATION AND PROBLEM DEFINITION

The preceding evaluations of the individual development approaches brings out the potentials and limitations of each approach for application to specific situations in Bangkok. But it is quite evident that any approach lacks comprehensive coverage in dealing with all the elements that combine to define the squatter problem. The existence of such missing links can be inferred to have arisen but of inadequate definition of the total problem of squatting.

The evaluation helps to provide the vital feedback information required to fill in the missing links of the overall problem perspective, and thereby assists in comprehensively defining the squatter problem. This is done by integrating the conclusions arising out of the appraisal with the inferences of preceding analyses.

Consolidated Evaluation of Development Approaches

1. Almost all the approaches that have been reviewed focus primarily at one element of the total problem, viz. housing. Squatting has been perceived primarily as a problem resulting from the housing shortage alone. As a result, the approaches are all aimed at providing, improving or controlling housing in the cities. Much attention has been focussed on the legal violation issue that defines squatting and all the approaches have been intent on preserving the legal sanctity of private property ownership.

2. Squatter problems manifest themselves in physical form in the cities. But it is relevant to identify the sources from where "pressure" is built up, rather than to tackle the problems where the pressure is dissipated.

3. No single approach can be universally successful even if past performances in some situations have proved to be meritorious. Whereas, some approaches have attributes in some situations, they reveal some gross limitations in others. Making a consistent policy of public housing adoption as the curative remedy for the housing problem of squatters in Bangkok, is unjustifiable as each settlement is unique in itself, and displays affinities for different approaches.

4. The most important missing link in all the approaches is the lack of recognition of the disparities in income distribution, between income groups, between cities and rural areas, and between regions, as one of the contributory factors for squatter formation.

5. Other contributory factors are poverty, high urban land values, shortage of housing, etc. Squatting is virtually the effect of the complex interaction between these various elements on the housing market. Since each approach, reviewed, concentrates exclusively on the problem of
housing shortage, and overall problem with implications on the settlement, the city and the nation, in different levels of generality, has been overtly suboptimised.

Suboptimisation has been inferred from the following characteristics of squatter control policy:

(a) strong emphasis only on house building or land allocation to low income earners;

(b) undue emphasis on standards of accommodation and environment, which supercede the dire need of shelter, and tend to warp the fundamental dimension of squatting;

(c) debate on the level of participation between public agencies and community participants, without sufficient emphasis on land availability, land procurement and legal status;

(d) a host of short range projects being promoted without getting to the roots of an explosive situation;

(e) financial and economic biases superceding social development and public welfare;

(f) one sided policies which favour the landlord, without equal interest in the welfare of the squatter; whereas considerable attention is focussed on the return of the land to the rightful owner, little attention is paid to the real needs and aspirations of the squatter, while attempting to resettle him;

(g) social development programs do not form part of squatter control and rehabilitation, but are segregated from the overall perspective. Those social development programs that are carried on, are only superficial surface dressing of the pervading problem of poverty and unemployment.

Suboptimisation in understanding and perceiving the problem explain the suboptimised solutions. Such solutions cannot be expected to cure a problem with much deeper implications and dimensions. This assertion can be substantiated by the continued recurrence of the squatter problem, despite all the attempts made in solving them.

6. The squatter problem, by and large requires both preventive and curative measures. The former are to be devoted to the control of causal elements such as poverty, unemployment, high land values, etc., while the latter should concentrate on the constructive elements, such as housing, resettlement, etc.
7. The time spectrum of present, past and future must be considered to comprehensively cover the entire scope of the squatting phenomenon.

Summing up, it may be concluded that the reason why none of the approaches discussed display possibilities of effectively solving the problems of squatter settlements, is because the problem that has to be solved is not comprehensively defined.

The squatter problem is one of complexity and diversity, comprising many significant problem forces. It is brought about by the interaction of these forces, that eventually manifests itself physically in the form of illegal occupation of land in the city.

If a comprehensive strategy for solving squatter problems is to be devised, the preliminary step is the identification of the problem elements in their entire complexity and diversity, and identifying the hierarchial levels at which each of them occurs.

The Definition of the Squatter Problem in Bangkok

The various problem elements that interact and collectively translate themselves in the form of squatter settlements in the Metropolitan City are outlined below:

(1) Uncontrolled growth of population in the city by:

   (a) natural increase

   (b) migration from rural areas and other urban centres, provoked by

       (i) high incidence of unemployment in the rural areas and other urban centres;

       (ii) wide income disparities that exist between people in the city, between the city and rural areas, and between rural areas;

       (iii) relative poverty of potential rural migrants;

(2) Absolute poverty of the migrants and high incidence of unemployment in the city;

(3) High land values, irrational distribution of land among the different uses or activities, and among the different income groups
(4) The acute shortage of housing in the city;

(5) Inadequate public action in providing land or housing to low income groups, due to inadequacy of financial resources and the adverse market condition;

(6) Conservative attitude of public agencies towards low income groups in providing financial aid for housing.

It is evident from the above enumeration, that any control policy should touch all the problem areas individually and collectively if any lasting effect is desired.

The 'lasting effect' refers to the attainment of a long term ideal condition which necessitates successful attainment of three developments:

1. Control of influx of population into squatter settlements;
2. Control of physical expansion of illegal land occupancy in the city;
3. Restoration of legal status of land tenure to the existing squatters.

The three developments correspond to three hierarchical levels at which control policy has to be formulated and implemented.

The first development corresponds to the National level at which the various problem elements that contribute to squatter settlement formation are operative. These include the pervading forces of population growth, migration, unemployment, absolute and relative poverty and wide income disparities, high urban land values, and irrational distribution among different income groups.

The second development corresponds to the City level at which a set of second order problem elements are operative such as irrational distribution of land among different land uses, the acute shortage of housing, and inadequate Government action.

The third development corresponds to the localised level of the individual squatter settlement at which the process of interaction between the forces operating at the National and the City level takes place, and emerges in the physical manifestation of the squatter settlement.

The recognition of these three hierarchical levels is central to the formulation of any comprehensive squatter control policy.
XIII PRINCIPLES FOR THE CONTROL OF SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS IN BANGKOK

The preceding studies have provided the base on which the principles for the control of squatter settlements in Bangkok can be formulated.

This chapter outlines the objectives and principles for squatter control policy formulation together with guidelines for devising programs and projects that may be required to effectively solve the problem of squatters in the Metropolitan city.

The merits and limitations of the squatter control program recommended for Bangkok are also discussed.

The Objectives of Squatter Control Policy

Squatter control policy aims at the prevention of squatter formation and proliferation, on the land, together with the progressive elimination of those that already exist.

Principles for Policy Formulation

Squatter Control Policy is required to be formulated and implemented at the three hierarchial levels, aforementioned*, to attain the desired objectives.

National Level No comprehensive program on squatter control can be formulated at the national level. Here programs are focussed on the alleviation of independent problematic elements. The effects of these programs are instrumental in contributing directly or indirectly to squatter control at the city level or settlement level.

Foremost among the programs is that focussed on the control of population growth in cities.

Population Programs Two factors are responsible for population growth in cities:

a) Natural Increase

b) Net migration from rural areas and other urban area into the city.

* Vide Chapter XII
The objective of policy on the reduction of population growth in cities is to reduce the pressure on urban land, services and infrastructure. Control on Population Growth by natural increase can be affected by controlling fertility. Fertility Control programs encompass not only the provisions of family planning services but also includes information and educational activities research on the determinents of fertility and family size decisions, adjustments in the social and welfare legislation affecting the age of marriage or size of families, improvement of vital statistics and training in demography, nutrition and related activities +.

Four techniques are open to control or divert migration into the city:-

(1) Encourage people to stay where they are
(2) Discourage people moving to the city
(3) Attract people to move to rural areas
(4) Attract people to move to smaller urban areas.

The programs that conform to each technique may be briefly described as follows:-

Technique (1) These include increased crop production, social justice programs such as land reforms and community development and public services such as rural credit, rural health, and sanitation, water supply, education and others to keep people in rural areas.

To keep people in towns, such approaches as improved services (health, education, housing, water, protective services, and welfare) and creation of better social and economic opportunities in the alternative urban places is required. Economic opportunities in towns are sometimes increased through schemes such as industrial estates, free port zones, housing estates and encouragement of manufacturing and service industries.

Technique (2) Direct control measures include those where regulation prohibit the stay of a non-native urban dweller in a metropolitan area for a period exceeding a specified duration. Less direct control measures exist such as the requirement of resident status for enjoyment of certain urban services.

Technique (3) & (4) These measures attempt to steer the flow of migrants to the cities by redirecting migrant streams away from the large cities towards rural frontier areas or colonisation sites. If alternative job opportunities can be made available in other areas, people would go

there rather than to the large cities. Location of manufacturing and industrial plants in specific places, the creation of industrial estates, the setting up of new towns, the construction of whole cities in virgin areas and the integrated planning and development of specific subnational regions are the prospective possibilities in this area of development.

Any of the above program options constitute part of national urbanization policy and policy on industrialization. It is not the purpose of this study to define the most effective method as this requires careful study and analysis. However, any of these methods or their combinations suggest guidelines towards achieving the desired effect of reducing city bound migration.

Reduction of Unemployment The objective of reducing unemployment by job generation and mobilising total participation of the effective working force is to provide better opportunities for economic mobilities and to strengthen the economic base of the low income people.

Employment generation is vested in programs of industrialization, agricultural development, development of trade, commerce, construction and other sectors of employment, which from integral parts of urbanization policy. Labour intensive industries and local processing of raw materials are two common measures that are adopted for generating employment. The economic mobility can be achieved by programs of education, vocational training and training in professional skills.

Alleviation of Absolute Poverty and Reducing Income Disparities The objective of poverty alleviation is to uplift the economies of those people who are forced to lead a life below the subsistence level, in a state of total deprivation. This may be achieved by direct means of redistribution of financial and capital resources.

The objective of reducing income disparities is to reduce the relative poverty that prevails between different income groups, between cities and rural areas and between regions and to increase vertical economic mobility.

Poverty alleviation may be achieved by welfare programs or by self-help. Participation in employment and other economic activities, Educational and professional training programs are some of the other measures commonly employed.

The redistribution of financial and capital resources in a free economy may be achieved by a suitable taxation policy on personal income, capital gains, estate and gift tax and by manipulating the pricing system. Increasing literacy and training in professional skills are some of the other measures that may be adopted.
It must be borne in mind, however, that redistribution of wealth alone is insufficient. It is essential that redistribution of wealth must be followed up in good measure by the redistribution of the facilities goods and services, such as education and health and increase of access to them all. The latter measure has been implied in the control measures suggested in the population programs with specific reference to migration.

Control and Distribution of Urban Land  
The prime objective of land policy and land reform is to ensure that a plot of land where basic facilities are provided is to be made available to all families.

In a free economy, as in Thailand, the land market operates under the principles of "Laissez Faire". Land speculation and high land values in the city create a hostile land market for low income earners, which results in an irrational distribution of land among the different income groups. Urban land reform is the tool by which land distributions can be ordered among the different income groups.

Urban land reform is required to:-

(1) bring about public control over the supply of urban land
(2) to control land speculation and resulting land pricing
(3) to facilitate speedy expropriation of land for public purposes including housing
(4) to rationalise the distribution of land among different income groups for housing.

The functions of urban land reform can respectively be achieved by:-

(1) Public ownership of land; promulgating law to alienate private decisions on the use of private property
(2) Public ownership, taxation on capital value of land, land ceilings and taxation on sale and registration of property ownership.
(3) Revision of existing Land Acquisition Act to incorporate comprehensive coverage of expropriation functions.
(4) Land ceilings coupled with compulsory public acquisition of excess land, redistribution of excess land among low income groups.

It may be clarified that the policy implications are long term in scope and the desired effects enumerated above may not be fully achieved in totality. There is a distinct possibility that a "residual population" may still find its way into squatter settlements. The succeeding stage of control policy is proposed to safeguard against this possibility.
The City Level

Distribution of Land Uses. The objective of policy for the distribution of land uses is to restore order to the spatial utilization of urban land and to ensure against haphazard urban development and sprawl.

Land utilization patterns in Bangkok are organic and unplanned. There is no Statutory Development Plan for the city and haphazard urban growth is quite evident. Non-conforming uses and mixed land uses have given rise to an irrational distribution of land. The restoration of spatial order and optimum use of land in respect of maximum utility and function is vital. Metropolitan Development Planning supported by sound implementation is the instrument by which this goal may be attained.

The functions of the Development Plan for the metropolis may be fulfilled by:-

(1) Enactment of the Development Plan to provide it with statutory backing
(2) Substantiative zoning and subdivision regulation
(3) Adequate administrative and executive machinery for implementation.

Alleviation of the Housing Shortage. Bangkok is posed with a problem of housing shortage. The private sector has been incapable or unwilling to cope with the backlog of housing stock and it is left to the government to substantiate this backlog of undertaking an intensive program of house construction.

The objective of City Housing Policy is to make up the backlog of housing shortage and to assure accommodation of reasonable standards to every houseless family.

Housing policy may be able to fulfil its function by any or all of the following features:-

(1) Supply of low cost housing.
(2) Encourage self help methods to build houses.
(3) Financing for private sector housing.
(4) Acquisition and Distribution of land for low income housing.
(5) Technical assistance in low cost building.
(6) Servicing and infrastructure.
Provision has also to be made for the following ancillary functions of administration:

(i) Registration of all dwelling units, irrespective of current legal status.

(ii) Policing of all new constructions.

(iii) Housing estate management.

The Squatter Settlement Level Action programs are initiated and implemented at this level. The programs envisaged at the city level are instrumental in isolating each squatter settlement as individual cases for localised development action. The action programs for the development of squatter settlements should take advantage of the prospects for such developments as have been revealed from preceding studies and this is done below.

Development Prospects and Limitations The key issue that is centered on squatting is that of the definition of illegal occupation of land. The objective of squatter settlement development programs is therefore to restore legal status to such occupation. The development options that fulfill this objective are as follows:

(1) Eviction without resettlement

(2) Eviction and resettlement

(3) Regularisation of land title in site

Recapitulating from the preceding studies, the situation in Bangkok has exposed certain features which should assist in making the choice of options mentioned:

1. There is an existing housing shortage of 92,000 houses that currently prevails in Bangkok Metropolis. Current trends of private sector construction display very limited prospect for ever maintaining a sufficient pace of construction to cover this backlog.

2. The N.H.A. has only very recently come into operation and proposed a target of 170,000 houses to be built over the next ten years out of these 68,000 houses have been proposed for accommodating families carrying less than £ 1500/- per month. However, the N.H.A. is not yet financially equipped to undertake this program and will not be for the next two years.

3. The N.H.A. is accessible only to lands, presently under its custody for house buildings. Whereas current land availability at the N.H.A's disposal is not known, enquiries have shown that, they would run short
of land before the target of house building is reached. Conservation of land can only be effected by resorting to high rise construction. Earlier studies have illustrated that squatters are not amenable to high rise living and as such the housing option made by the N.H.A is inappropriate.

4. Appropriation of land for housing is a tortuous process, and currently untenable. Financial incapacibilities restrict the opportunities of the low income people to acquire land. But yet, the squatters display their willingness to invest and to devote their time and energy to house construction.

5. There are no housing financing agencies operative in Bangkok which cater to the needs of poor people. Low income people are 'shut' off from receiving financial aid; whereas this reduces financial viability of constructing adequate dwellings, it does not hinder the low income people from putting up basic shelters on their own.

It is clear from the above discussion that house construction by public agencies to resettle squatter is a duplication of what squatters can do themselves and such programs are out of focus. There is high propensity for undeterred house building by squatters despite any intimidation or alienation from financial assistance by public agencies. It may be concluded that government does not necessarily have to involve itself in house construction to solve the problem of squatters in Bangkok.

Land and financing are the two key elements that play a crucial role in the squatter problem in Bangkok. Government agencies need limit their action to the adequate provision of serviced land, and financial aid for house construction.

House construction by public agencies need be resorted to only for the indigent poor, destitutes, aged and the sick, who are physically incapable of putting up their own houses. House construction for middle income and upper income groups on a profit basis is another possibility. Both these aspects however have no direct bearing on housing policy for squatter settlements, and hence not elaborated.

The policy guidelines for the development of squatter settlements should be framed on the aforementioned principles.

Policy for Squatter Settlement Development in Bangkok The objective of policy on squatter settlement is to restore legal status to all occupation of land in the city and thereby eliminate the phenomenon of squatting.

Programs for Squatter Settlement Development Two parallel programs are recommended for squatter settlement development.

(1) Programs for the acquisition, servicing and distribution of land for squatter resettlement.
(2) Programs for the supply of financial aid for house construction or land acquisition.

The Mechanis of Land Development Projects Land development projects are intended to provide developed and serviced plots to low income earners desirous of constructing their own houses, with a view to provide them with legal occupation rights and security of tenure.

The operational features of the projects may be enumerated as follows:-

1. Advance acquisition of land zoned for residential purposes by the Housing Authority.

2. Site Planning and subdivision of plots according to prescribed subdivision regulations.

3. Provision of services, infra-structure and community facilities.

4. Selection of tenants for allotment of serviced plots and distribution of plots.

5. Organization of financial aid, financing and mortaging arrangements for land purchase.

6. Arrangements for collection of repayment of loans and recycling of financial reserves for land purchase and development.

7. Issue of legal title deeds and registration.

Emphasis in land development programs is to be placed on selecting sites close to job location, and assuring ready availability of developed land.

The housing authority is currently in an advantageous position having custody of some public land which may be utilized for the purpose, at the start. More land may be acquired in course of time as succeeding projects are undertaken. If the land expropriation laws are amended and compulsory acquisition of excess land following the fixation of land ceilings as recommended earlier are implemented, in course of time, vast extents of land can be assembled. Controls recommended on land pricing can make the acquisition of extensive land parcels for housing projects feasible.

Presently there are large extents of public lands which are occupied by squatters. In the instance of these areas not being required for other non-residential uses, as prescribed by the development plan for the metropolis one of the most prospective method is to transfer the ownership of such public lands to the Housing Authority by whom the status of occupation may be formalised and regularised. Servicing, site improvement and registration may follow.
In the instance of squatted lands being required for nonresidential purposes, evicted squatters can avail of the facility of land distribution from the Housing Authority.

Eligibility for availing of the facility of developed land is restricted to squatters and to low income group people only. Fixation of terms, and loan period of repayment, of land purchase costs, are to be fixed on individual merits.

All such transactions are to be registered and securities will comprise of the land holdings itself.

The Mechanics of Financing Projects. Financing projects provide financial aid for house purchase or construction only. Only low income earners and squatters come under the scope of these programs. Financing of land comes under the purview of land development programs.

The objective of financing programs is to provide supplementary aid for house construction to low income earners who are unable to provide adequate financial arrangements by themselves.

The operational features of the program are to be:-

(1) Acquisition of bulk financial resources from Government budgets, loans from commercial banks, insurance companies and other financing agencies, international loans, bonds and debentures raised from public etc.

(2) Institution building for the redistribution of finance among eligible clients.

(3) Selection of eligible clients from among low income groups.

(4) Fixation of amounts, terms and periods of loans.

(5) Aiding and mortaging. Aiding may be either in the form of capital or building materials.

(6) Arrangements for the collection of loan repayment and allied activities.

(7) House registration.

The Agency for Land Development and Financing Programs. The Housing Authority is to be the agency in charge of handling land development and financing programs. Authority to execute each function is to be vested in two departments viz. the Land Development and the Financing Department.
The Overall Perspective

At National Level The implementation of national policies formulated on the basis of the above mentioned guidelines may be expected to culminate in the following effects, congenial to squatter control.

1. Reduction of population growth in cities by mutual increase reduced the pressure on land, services and infrastructure. This will be reflected in the reduced demand for urban land and housing.

2. Reduction of migration into the city reduces the number of potential squatters.

3. Increasing employment opportunity leads to vertical economic mobility and improves the financial status of the low income earners. In the process, he becomes equipped to acquire and take legal possession of land and/or housing by utilizing his own finances. This tends to further reduce the possibility of his reverting to squatting for personal accommodation.

4. Alleviation of poverty and reduction of income disparities are long time measures to bring about vertical economic mobility.

5. Control and distribution of land among various income groups provides the low income earner with better access to acquiring urban land for dwelling purposes and tends to eliminate the necessity of his having to illegally occupy land.

Summing up the overall effects, it is evident that the policies that may be recommended are instrumental in reducing the magnitude of potential squatters.

In spite of the policy scope at the national level, it is not possible to completely disregard the possibility of low income personnel infiltrating into squatter settlements or illegally occupying new areas of land. Some developments at the National level may even attract more potential squatter to the cities. Programs for the control of such unauthorised developments are therefore a fundamental necessity.

Development Programs are required at the city level to focus on the rational distribution of land uses and on the acute shortage of housing stock.

At City Level The implementation of policies formulated at the City Level, on the basis of the aforementioned guidelines may be expected to culminate in the following effects, conducive to squatter control.

1. The distribution of land uses in the cities will ensure the adequate provision of land for residential purposes. Zoning
Regulations effectively curb the alienation of such land for non-residential purposes. Sub-division regulations guarantee minimum spatial requirements for healthful living and maintenance of environmental quality.

2. Housing programs provide a range of housing requirement choices by way of offering accommodation, financing, land, or services depending on actual needs. This is beneficial to low income earners since they may avail of the appropriate facility, according to their budget. By incorporating this flexibility of choice, it is assured that low income earners do not have to indulge in illegal practices of squatting to provide accommodation for themselves. House Construction in the private sector is to be promoted. This will contribute to reducing the overall housing shortage. Self-help efforts have to be harnessed and encouraged for house building wherever possible. By recognising the potential for independent house construction, a considerable financial burden of building houses, can be reduced. Technical assistance to low cost housing will stimulate improved building design and generate cost saving. Improved technologies facilitate maximising outputs without sacrificing building quality for a given investment. Provision of services and infrastructure even at a minimum level will increase the habitability, and motivate house construction.

Registration of dwelling units will facilitate the identification of violation of legal tenure. Policing of all new constructions will curb all illicit practices. Estate management will maintain the quality of housing services and environment.

The overall effect of policies founded on the principles suggested help to prevent the formation of new settlements and expansion of existing squatter areas, and simultaneously bestows the potential squatter with land, endowed with legal tenure. The result of this measure is to render the existing squatter settlements as static and localised phenomena in the city and facilitate direct action towards the squatter resettlement or rehabilitation at the third level of the hierarchy.

The programs at City Level tend to isolate and localise the squatter settlements in the city. The objective of these programs is to arrest the physical expansion of existing settlements and to curb the growth of squatter population and formation of new settlements in the city. The programs at Settlement Level come into operation at this stage.

At Settlement Level The land development programs provide the potential and seasoned squatters with legal status of occupation on land that is developed and equipped with services and facilities. This eliminates the possibility of the low income potential squatter of having to resort to illegal occupation, on the one hand, and restores the legal tenure to the land, on which the squatter was originally settled, and on which he is to be resettled.
The financing programs are independent of, or supplementary to the land development programs. They provide the new occupant of land with monetary assistance or building materials to supplement his own resources for house building. This is a coercive measure to ensure that he stabilizes his occupation on the land allotted to him, and puts up his dwelling unit there.

Sustained action on these lines eventually leads to squatter settlements in the city becoming extinct.

In general it must be stated that the squatter problem is one of diversity and complexity, and any development project must take cognizance of the unique features in each settlement, individually. Projects should be adapted to take maximum advantage of such features.

The Time Spectrum

All preventive measures recommended for the control of squatter settlements are long term. All the curative measures recommended are in the form of projects and are the short term phases of a long term program.

A fair generalization of this could be made. The programs and policies envisaged at the National Level and City Level are long term, while the programs and projects at the settlement level are short term, within the long term perspective of squatter settlement extinction in the city.

Conclusions

The Merits of the Policy

The Policy proposed for the development of squatter settlements takes the most advantage of development prospects within the given set-up in Bangkok.

The Housing Authority provides the land in conformity with the attributes desired by the prospective occupants, viz. security and legal tenure. The squatters provide the manpower, organization and their full share of available resources for house construction. Both these potential development features are integrated by the housing finance, which provides the linkage.

The main merits of the policy proposed are:

1. Action programs provide the maximum leverage for Government action within its financial limitations, and is flexible enough to permit squatters and low income people to utilize their own potentials for house building. In the process, the Government is not looked upon to do more than what is called for
2. Government is able to conserve considerable resources by not having to build housing units. This implies the high propensity for benefitting a larger magnitude of squatters and low income people, than would have been possible. Considerable savings can be effected on overheads.

3. By incorporating the regularization of squatted areas insitu, additional savings in resettlement programs are effected. At the same time, a sizeable number of squatters are not subjected to mass eviction and spatial dislocation.

4. By advance provision of land, development of residential areas automatically comply with zoning regulations with little or no possibility of alienation. This is conducive to maintaining city growth in conformity with projected growth patterns in the Metropolis.

5. The program is congenial to constructive addition to housing stocks with very little or no demolition.

6. By not meticulously stipulating and maintaining housing standards, emphasis on maximising output within the limitations of scarce financial resources is restored.

7. The squatters are provided with security and supplementary financial grants required as incentives for house building. This eliminates the barriers which impede construction.

8. The houses represent the embodiment of vested interests to the squatter, which coerce him to maintain the buildings and prevent its deterioration into slum conditions.

9. The squatter community is organized and equipped to carry on the informal policing of the new colonies which is more effective than the formal procedure by the Government.

Limitations The success of the policy will depend upon the successful formulation and implementation of policy at the two higher order levels of hierarchy.

The main limitations of the policy proposed, are:

1. The actual availability of urban lands in the city that fulfil the conditions of proximity to job locations, and acceptable to squatters, is limited. It is however expected that with the improvement of transportation facilities, and with the improvement of economic mobility of the low income residents, this may not pose such a major problem. This can further be alleviated by incorporating the distribution of urban work centers, into the Development Plan for the Metropolitan City.
2. The quantum of finance that may be raised for redistribution is relatively inadequate. However, since the Housing Authority in Thailand is endowed with the authority to raise their own finances from local or foreign sources directly, without having to exclusively depend on Government grants; this problem may not be acute.

3. The risk factor involved in recovering loans from benefited squatters may be relatively high. This is a delicate issue, as any stringent means for loan recovery such as confiscation of security (which are usually the land and building occupied and mortgaged by them) will only witness the return of the occupant to illegal occupation, and the resurgence of squatter settlements. It is possible, however, to incorporate financial provision for such losses while working out the loan repayment terms, as a means of reducing such risks. It may be stated that such losses may at most be small, and Government may be able to absorb such losses, if the progress of programs on all other counts is favourable.

4. The most crucial factor for the success of the programs recommended, however, is delay. In practice, numerous delays occur: in policy formulation, enactment, fund raising, land acquisition and distribution, etc. During this period, the dynamic squatter problem continues to swell in magnitude and dimension. The need for prompt action is vital for the success of such programs.

It is possible to provide a safety factor to absorb the impact on the problem arising out of such delays. This may be in the form of Interim Transit Camps to absorb the potential squatters in advance, before land and finance are offered to them under the regular program provisions. Such interim camps should be maintained as "buffers" to accommodate for any unforeseen circumstances that could sabotage the success of the recommended programs.
Concluding Remarks

The squatter problem is brought about by the interaction of various forces, which eventually manifests itself, physically, in the form of illegal occupation of land in the city.

The various forces which contribute to squatter settlement formation can be traced at three levels of spatial hierarchy viz. the Nation, the City, and the Settlement itself.

Policies for the control of squatter settlements must therefore be formulated and their implementation carried through consistently at each level of the hierarchy.

The squatter problem is one which has its foundations enmeshed in the socio-economic fabric of the whole Nation. Socio-economic welfare and change can be effected by long range deliberative measures, and this implies that squatter control itself is a long process.

It may be finally concluded that the control of squatter settlements can contribute much to orderly spatial growth in cities and the general well-being of low income groups as a whole.

Utility of the Study

The major contributions of this study are in its providing:

1. a rationale for the proper identification of, and distinction between slums and squatter settlements;

2. a comprehensive identification of the squatter problem in the Bangkok Metropolis with its entire ramifications;

3. guidelines for a comprehensive policy for the control of squatter settlements in Bangkok;

4. recommendation of outline programs for the successful implementation of such policy.

The first contribution has universal applicability and clarifies the ambiguity that surrounds the definition of the two terms. The latter three, provide the administrators in Thailand with a more practical insight of how the problem of squatters should be perceived, and how its control should be manipulated.
Subjects for Further Research

The preceding study has attempted to work out logical and rational principles based on which squatter control policy can be formulated. There are various specialized fields in which more intensive research can be carried out to substantiate the findings or recommendations. A few of these are mentioned below:

1. Quantitative techniques may be applied for identifying the slum settlement. A method for the quantification of the various parameters that compose a slum settlement may be perfected, so as to provide a scientific base for identification.

2. A Cost-Benefit study for comparing the various development approaches discussed in Chapter VIII is another topic for extended research. Such a study could explore the prospects and affinities of each approach and relate them to situations where each would be most successful. A study of this nature could prove to be extremely useful to planners in making a rational choice of development approaches in the practical field.

3. A useful study to planners and administrators would be that on financing for the control of squatter settlements as worked out in this study. A working model for raising finance, distribution, recovery could provide administrators with the key to the implementation of squatter control policy.

4. Much controversy can be avoided by making an intensive study on the effects of regularising the tenure of squatters in-situ as has been recommended in this study. Regularising settlements has been stated to be the cheapest and "instant" method of squatter control. In a case study, if a cost-benefit analysis of resettlement-versus-regularisation of squatters should be conducted to substantiate the efficacy or invalidity of such a measure to control squatters.

Numerous other subjects of research in various fields of science, arts and engineering may be conducted as extensions to the study, but are not being enumerated here. Detailed studies into each element of policy can generate a comprehensive working mechanism for practical application in conclusively solving the problem of squatters.
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RAJATANON, T (Mrs.) AND OTHERS (1971), Survey of Housing and Related Problems in the Slum Area Behind Manangkasila Government Guest House, Tammassat University, Bangkok.


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YEMKLINFUNG, P. (1973), The Needs and Problems of Children and Youth in Four Slums in Bangkok, Chulalongkorn University Social Science Research Institute, Bangkok.
ABRAMS (1965) Classification of Squatter Settlements

1. The owner squatter : own building on squatted land.
2. The squatter tenant : rented building on squatted land.
3. The squatter holdover : no rent payment with building and rent not owned.
4. The squatter landlord : squatter who rents dwellings on squatted land.
5. The speculator squatter : squatter who organises squatting as a business venture.
6. Occupational Squatter : squatting for business purpose only.
7. The semi-squatter : squatter tenant who comes to terms with the landlord.
8. The floating squatter : squatters in boats
9. Squatter co-operater : part of the group that shares the common foothold and protects it against intruders, public and private.
10. The mobile squatter : pavement dweller with no fixed location.
Table C - Compilation of data regarding Weak Economic Base for the three settlements, Klong Toey, Manangkasila, and Din Daeng.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>Qualifying percentage</th>
<th>Klong Toey</th>
<th>Manangkasila</th>
<th>Din Daeng</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Low wages</td>
<td>Income less than $1000 per month</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>96.1</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>37.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. No savings</td>
<td></td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Indebtedness</td>
<td></td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>42.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. External assistance</td>
<td></td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>42.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Regular pawning of goods*</td>
<td></td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Chronic shortage of cash*</td>
<td></td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. No food reserves*</td>
<td></td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Unemployment</td>
<td></td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Second hand clothing</td>
<td></td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>N.A</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Supplementary income</td>
<td></td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>less than 50%</td>
<td>more than 50%</td>
<td>more than 50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All figures given for settlements are percentages.

Sources of Information

1. Klong Toey : MORELL AND MORELL (1972) and HONGLADAROMP (1973)

* Information from personal interviews with random residents in December 1973.
### APPENDIX C

Table D - Compilation of data regarding Low Prospects of Economic Mobility in the three Settlements, Klong Toey, Manangkasila and Din Daeng

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>Qualifying percentage</th>
<th>Klong Toey</th>
<th>Manangkasila</th>
<th>Din Daeng</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Poor earning capacity</td>
<td>Income less than 1000 per month</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>96.1</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Little prospect of salary increase</td>
<td>Non escalating jobs*</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>71.0</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>59.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Unemployment/Under employment</td>
<td></td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Inadequate savings</td>
<td></td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Unskilled labour</td>
<td></td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>33.4</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>56.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Fatalistic attitude</td>
<td></td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>Yes#</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All figures for the three settlements are percentages, of squatter population.

**Sources of Information:**

1. Klong Toey: MORELL AND MORELL (1972), and HONGLADAROMP (1973)
2. Manangkasila: RAJATANON (1971) and MORELL AND MORELL (1972)
3. Din Daeng: NATIONAL HOUSING AUTHORITY (1973)

# Finding from personal interviews with random residents - Residents feel they are not financially competent to improve themselves.

* Non escalating jobs include: manual labourers, dock workers, samlor workers, garbage collectors, last grade Government servants, etc.
Table E - Compilation of data regarding Low Prospects of Social Mobility in the three Settlements, Klong Toey, Manangkasila and Din Daeng

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Qualifying percentage</th>
<th>Klong Toey</th>
<th>Manangkasila</th>
<th>Din Daeng</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Low literacy</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>52.2</td>
<td>82.0</td>
<td>81.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Restrictions on social sanctions</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Prejudices</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Fatalism</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes*</td>
<td>yes#</td>
<td>no+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All figures for the three settlements are percentages of the squatter population, in each settlement.

Sources of Information

1. Klong Toey: MORELL AND MORELL (1972) and HONGLADAROMP (1973)
2. Manangkasila: RAJATANON (1971) and MORELL AND MORELL (1972)
3. Din Daeng: NATIONAL HOUSING AUTHORITY (1973)

* It is informed by Father J. Maier, one of the Community Organizers in Klong Toey, that if the settlers in Klong Toey are asked to vacate the slum, the majority will leave without question. This is considered as an index of fatalism, in this case.

# RAJATANON (1971) states that most of the dwellers in Manangkasila do not want to venture in any change' which might 'lead to serious damage for their life'. (Ref. pp. 62). This is taken as the index of fatalism, in this case.

+ The residents in Din Daeng have vehemently expressed their desire to leave the slum, and to live in flats. They are also very concerned on improving their own lot. (Information from personal interviews with random residents in Din Daeng in December 1973)