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Title: The Importance of Going Beyond Financial Support: Assisted Self-Help as a Strategy to Consolidate Self-Sustained Community Organization. The Case Study of Tawanmai Community, Thailand

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The Importance of Going Beyond Financial Support: Assisted Self-Help as a Strategy to Consolidate Self-Sustained Community Organizations. The Case Study of Tawanmai Community, Thailand

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Summary

For poor people, securing housing has meant a lifetime investment. Traditionally, slum dwellers have -partially or completely- solved their housing needs by themselves. Mainly, by collective effort. With time, the role of the government and the poor communities has changed. The gradual enforcement of governance arrangements and a generalized pressure to horizontalize the relations among city stakeholders, has allowed to find common ground between these two actors and with its larger network.

In the case of Thailand, this rearrangement has led to a deep reflection of how housing provision should be solved and what is the role of the poor communities. The Baan Mankong Program has gone beyond financial and technical support. Furthermore, it has focused in building the dwellers' capacities for them to become the drivers of the process. This innovative approach has not come easy; it has been accompanied by an integral support system based on trust between the government, the communities and the other city stakeholders. For practical terms, it means that the government is willing to transfer part of its decision power in favor of a multi-stakeholder arrangement.

This thesis is structured in five chapters.

The first chapter, introduces the topic. (1) It refers to the challenges that one-side solution to address housing needs has had in the past; (2) introduces the current debate of the potential housing provision has in being a driver force in social transformation; and, (3) presents the aims of the thesis, which is, to understand how an integral support of the government ensure the long-term consolidation of community organization.

Chapter two, presents a theoretical review for this investigation. It situates the research as part of a historical discussion regarding the Self-Help School of Thought and, the contemporary concepts that that calls for a revaluation of this approach. Concepts such as: governance, network management, cooperative model, collaborative management and leadership are taken into consideration.

Chapter tree, refers to the research design. It is a single case study based on qualitative data three level interviews and focus group; government, network and community. It targets Tawanmai Community, one of the Baan Mankong Program pilot projects in the North-East Thai Region. The community signed up to the Program in 2004, finished its construction process on 2007, and will complete the repayment of the government loan by 2020. The span of time in this project allows the researcher to assess if, under this approach, is possible to consolidate community organization over time.

Chapter four, presents the findings of the research, divided in two main sections. The first one, the external factors, which accounts for the external support the communities received from the government and an extended network to consolidate the housing provision. The second one, internal factors, refers to the internal transformation that the community went through as they became the managers and responsible party for the success of the Program.

Finally, chapter five, accounts for the conclusions based on the findings and its reflection with the literature review. Namely, the importance of refocusing the strategies of housing provision from material outcomes to community capacity building.

Keywords

Self-Help, Assisted Self-Help, community upgrading, capacity building, network management, cooperative model, community organization, housing provision, Thailand, Khon Kaen, CODI, Baan Mankong, Tawanmai

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Lucía

Abbreviations

IHS	Institute for Housing and Urban Development
NHA	National Housing Authority
UCDO	Urban Community Development Office
CODI	Community Organization Development Institute
ACHR	Asian Coalition for Housing Rights
BMP	Baan Mankong Program
CSHO	Citizen Self-Help Organizations
KK	Khon Kaen
KKU	Khon Kaen University
SHST	Self-Help School of Thought

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background

In 2016, the Habitat III Conference held in Quito, it was decided that Housing would be at the centre of the New Urban Agenda. Under this framework it is acknowledged that housing is more than just bricks and walls. As Ortíz (Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung-Mexico 2016, p. 25) clearly frames;

“(...) housing [is] the conscious human act to inhabit, that builds up an affective relation with the place it occupies: as a living entity, closely related with cultural traits, dreams and decisions of its inhabitants”

Such an overwhelming definition presents both challenges and opportunities to innovate in the subject. Housing is, for once, the material solution for the basic need of securing shelter. Likewise, it has to be understood in a broader setting where housing is a fundamental part of the inhabitants' life. Therefore, it should be the home where they can feel secure to dream and make plans. Finally, at the same time, it is also the reflection of a larger set of interactions which occur within its context.

For low-income people, securing housing becomes a lifetime investment. It takes most of their time and resources. On this paradigm there have been a significant amount of approaches towards defining whose responsibility is securing the housing provision for the poor: *is it the governments' responsibility? Should it be left to the free market to regulate the provision? Is it up to the dwellers to solve it by their own means? Should it be addressed by a joint solution?*

In practice, it has been corroborated that in the Global South among 50-70% of the habitable spaces –houses and neighbourhoods–are built by the poor dwellers with little or any aid from the government (Zárate, 2011). This figure is the reflection of a very complex situation. The government cannot address in the needed scale to provide housing for the poor. Likewise, the large gap between the prices in the market and what people can afford, represents a significant setback that push poor dwellers into informality. Hence, *what can be done?*

With time it has been proved that a unilateral solution is not going to solve the housing paradigm. A little over twenty years ago, Habitat II made a first general plea regarding the importance of including people in the decision that concerns their habitable spaces (UN-Habitat 1996). Today, the request is still valid and it resonated again in Habitat III. In the New Urban Agenda (UN-Habitat 2016, P. 8), Article 15, indent c, paragraph II, it reads:

“(ii) Strengthening urban governance, with sound institutions and mechanisms that empower and include urban stakeholders, as well as appropriate checks and balances, providing predictability and coherence in urban development plans to enable social inclusion, sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth and environmental protection.”

In light of this guideline, it is important to be critical as to what does it mean. A governance approach implies a horizontalization of the decision making. However, it is highly circumstantial as who are the groups that are defined as “stakeholders”. In developing countries, poor dwellers have systematically been portrayed as part of the problem, rather as

part of the solution. Paradoxically, these inhabitants have been responsible of a large portion of the development within cities. Hence, *how to proceed about it?*

The traditional strategies for low-income housing provision have proved to be insufficient for the scale of the problem. Instead, governments should look into innovative solutions that consider the experience poor dwellers have on developing their own habitable spaces. In this scenario, Thailand presents an interesting case study as it has moved forward in including local communities in the deliberation of city-wide upgrading and fulfilment of housing programs.

1.2 Problem Statement

In the New Urban Agenda “Housing at the Centre” (UN-Habitat 2015, p. 5) “*aims to shift the focus from simply building houses to a holistic framework for housing development, orchestrated with urban planning practice and placing people and human rights at the forefront of urban sustainable development*”. For the purposes of this thesis, the most important element in this statement is the idea of “placing people at the forefront”.

Recently, for international organizations, putting “people at the forefront” has been accompanied with notion of horizontalize relations in order to allow communities to be part of the cities’ development. However, in practice, this idea is not new. Back in the sixties’ Henri Lefebvre was presenting the idea of self-managed societies in which people -and people’s actions-where at the centre of the development (Lefebvre, 1969). Furthermore, even before that, there was a whole school of thought led by John Turner, which claimed for the recognition of the poor dwellers’ efforts to build their own habitable spaces.

In most cases, governments’ recognition to communities’ participation in the urban plans has gone as far as implementing consultative measures, leaving them aside from the decision making. This limitation is deeply rooted in the prejudice surrounding community organization. For example, there is the idea that the organization is only going to last until the dwellers have solved their immediate needs (Rainwater 1968, Viratkapan and Perera 2004). Or, that with time, the new generation and new comers to the neighbourhoods are going to stop caring about the community organization (Viratkapan and Perera 2004).

The lack of certainty and the prejudice that surrounds the community organization have been the major setbacks these groups have faced in order to be considered in the deliberation process. However, nowadays there are some counterexamples that prove the reach that community organization can have if given the appropriate support.

As for the Thai experience, like most of the world in the nineties’, the country was enforcing the neoliberal model. As Kenna (2008) refers, for low-income dwellers in all latitudes, the benefits during this period were insignificant at best. Nonetheless, in Thailand -and what makes its case so intriguing-is that there was an early assessment and course of action to reduce the gap between the very poor and the “well off” people, regarding housing provision.

In 1992, the creation of the Urban Community Development Office (UCDO), under the National Housing Authority (NHA), was the first milestone in an innovative path. Under this Office, the community-led processes were favoured and encouraged by providing financial support and technical assistance. Likewise, the organized communities were given the opportunity to engage with the government and other cities’ actors in the development of their habitable spaces, having as a side effect the improvement of the relations’ dynamics.

Given its success, in 2000, the Community Organization Development Institute (CODI) was established as an autonomous office to focus in rural and urban community-led development (Boonyabancha, 2005).

In 2003, acting within the framework of the “one million households in five years” the Baan Mankong Program (BMP), *secure housing*, was launched as an initiative addressed for the poorest. The strategy was to allocate government’s funds for infrastructure and housing subsidies, subjected to land tenure and the improvement of the management skills in the community’s organization (D’Cruz and Satterthwaite, 2004).

The importance of the Thai experience relies on the time window that it provides. Currently, the international debate revolves around in how to define community organization and participation. However, Thailand has over 25 years’ experience in working with community organizations in the provision of housing and city-wide upgrading.

Of course, there are retractors of the Baan Mankong. Pornchokchai (2010) makes a critic of how the Baan Mankong underestimates the poor’s possibilities, resulting in unjust situations for other actors in the city. Nonetheless, as there is no such thing as a perfect initiative, what it is important to highlight is that this program centred in providing solutions by negotiation and collective deliberation among all the involved actors.

In this realm, the learning curve that the government, communities and city actors have overcome to make this program a success can through guiding principles to be replicated in other places. As for now, the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR) plans to replicate the Baan Mankong system in other countries within the South-East Asian Region (Darabi, 2018). However, it is yet to be proved if this initiative can be successful under other conditions and if the community organization can stand the pass of time.

1.3 Research Objective

During the Baan Mankong Program the communities that are intervened receive an intensive capacity building and exposure to a larger network for them to be the frontrunners in the provision process. The purpose of this thesis is to explain how the community-led approach of Thailand has had an impact on community organizations for them to be self-sustained. To address this objective, this study focused in Tawanmai Community in Khon Kaen Municipality, Northeast of Thailand.

Accordingly, the objective of this research is to understand how an integral support of the government ensure the long-term existence of functional community organizations.

1.4 Research Question

How does the assisted self-help housing approach of going beyond financial aid and providing a holistic support to build capacity and networks in poor communities contributes to the consolidation of self-sustained community organization?

1.4.1 Sub-Questions

- How does the government facilitate the self-help approach in the Baan Mankong?
- Which kind of support is needed for the consolidation of a self-sustained community organization?

- How does financial and network support contribute to the consolidation of the community organization in the long term?
- How does capacity building contribute to the consolidation of the community organization in the long term?

1.5 Scope and limitations

The scope of this thesis was to bring attention to the gains achieved from partnering and empowering community organizations. As for now, the international community has turned their attention to participative models as an innovative approach to solve the housing paradigm. Thailand, and its Baan Mankong Program, presented an advanced case study of how this principle translated into action.

The research was conducted for one month in Khon Kaen, Thailand. Given the budget and the time limitations this study was focused only in Tawanmai Community, a community which signed up for the Baan Mankong in 2004, finished its construction process on 2007, and will complete the repayment of the government loan by 2020. It was anticipated that from the findings of this case study the researcher could be able to gather sufficient information that account for similar projects in Thailand.

The limitations this study faced were time, budget and the fact that the researcher was an outsider to the context. This means that she did not know the language, had not personal support network that could aid her and, that was not familiar with the cultural context. For this reason, she relied heavily on a translator and on the first contacts that were provided by IHS.

1.6 Significance of the study

Community organization is at the centre of international and local arenas. However, the definition of what does it entails is still not clear. The meaning of this concept is used loosely and allows the interpreter to model the concept in favour of their interest. A deeper understanding of how this term is operationalized on field can provide the needed guidelines for its clear definition and, hence, correct course of action for its success.

Academically, this work provides a fresh approach to one of the traditional schools of thought in housing; Self-Help. Traditionally this perspective has identified the dwellers as the builders of their houses and habitable spaces. Most of the time, denouncing the limited involvement of the government in providing the adequate conditions for the poor communities to consolidate (Turner *et. al.*, 1968). However, with the passage of time, due to international pressure and a general inclination for a horizontalization of the relations in the governance structures, the position of the government had to change. In this sense, the current Self-Help Approach is not the same as the one developed back in the sixties and seventies. Therefore, there must be a reconceptualization of the approach in relation with concepts that are having relevance today, such as: governance, networks and management. With its limitations, this study is a fresh insight that attempts to combine these terms.

In practice, this thesis attempts to build a case stressing on the importance of providing institutional and formal support for poor communities to thrive. In dealing with low-income inhabitants, the complexity of the problem calls for multidisciplinary approach and a comprehensive governance arrangement, in which there is a clear definition of roles and

responsibilities between providers and beneficiaries. In this realm, it is imperative to look beyond the affordable problem and understand poverty and access to housing as a result of a combination of challenges. The lack of faith in poor dwellers' capacities, from outsiders and from themselves, and the exclusion of this vulnerable groups from a larger support network are only some of them. In this context, studying the Baan Mankong Program in Thailand provides valuable insights of an alternative way to solve the paradigm of housing provision and to develop a principle which can be implemented in other regions.

As Somsook Boonyabancha pointed out in the interview presented in this work; *"The invisible structure is the one affecting the visible thing. And now we are going to change the visible and everybody accept that. (...) and you use that process to also change these invisibles. And this is the art, or the sign of upgrading; the sign of upgrading means that you need to understand how the system in the community works and now what are the things you want to adjust."* In a nutshell, what this work attempts to find out is, how providing a holistic support to poor communities can contribute to change its reality for the better and in the long term.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

According to Diana Mitlin (2003, p. 393) there are “*three strategies to enhance the asset base of the urban poor: strengthening grassroots organizations, transforming relations with the state and developing new alternatives to conventional urban development practices*”. This statement provides a general framework to grasp the complexity of housing provision. A one-way solution is not feasible, and in order to solve this problem, it is necessary to challenge how it has been addressed so far and embrace holistic solutions that take into considerations the capabilities of all the actors involved. As the task it is not easy, there is hope that things are changing and there are signs that governments are leaning for a more participative approach. As for this chapter, the intention is to portray a glance of how the theoretical discussion has been moving forward in the topic.

The structure of this chapter goes from the general to the specific. The first section provides a review of the Self-Help School of Thought in the sixties’ and seventies’, as it provides the theoretical base for further discussion. The second section, addresses the pro-poor policy approach to illustrate how it is in the best interest of the governments to support strategies that include the low-income dwellers in achieving their housing provision. Thirdly, the organization is discussed; capacity building, leadership and networking aspects, by which the poor commit in order to escalate and secure their efforts to fulfil their housing needs. Finally, these three elements are combined in the elaboration of an independent conceptual framework to be used in addressing the research question: *How does providing a holistic support to poor communities contribute to the consolidation of self-sustained community organization?*

2.1 The theoretical approach. The Self-Help School of Thought.

At the beginning of the second half of the twentieth century, the industrialization processes occurring in the Global South reshaped the compositions within the cities. On one hand, urban areas became attraction poles for people seeking employment. On the other hand, the farmers who could not compete with this new means of production migrated to cities in the hope of finding new opportunities (Castells, 1981).

The amount of people arriving to cities put pressure on the service provision -infrastructure, housing, mobility, etc.-for the new comers and the poorest of the population. During this time the government’s intervention was limited to sites-and-services schemes and upgrading programs. The land was served nonetheless, the construction and consolidation of the habitable spaces was left to the dwellers (Chiodelli, 2016). Due to the lack of an efficient and articulated response from the government, people became the constructors and managers of their own spaces with the limited resources they had at hand.

Under these circumstances John Turner, Gino Gemaní, Paulo Freire (and many others) were the front runners of a vision that could come up with alternative solutions to face the social crisis generated by urbanization (Castells, 1981). In their standpoint, the social organization was a transformative force that was generating their own common resources to improve their conditions as a whole. And with that, reshaping the landscape and social relations in cities.

For these scholars, the *Citizen Self-Help Organizations* (CSHO) were the first respondents in times of emergency to solve social, physical and economic needs. Likewise, the

neighbourhood, was the main field in which the inhabitants knew exactly what the needs were and how to provide better solutions to their problems (Turner *et. al.*, 1968).

For Bredenoord and van Lindert (2009), the self-help school rejected turn-key housing solutions and plead for the reduction of the regulatory systems that limited the actions of the self-constructed housing. However, only self-construction was not the complete answer. As Chiodelli (2016) points out, in the “Aided Self-Help Season” the government tried to aid the poor communities by providing site-and-services schemes. However, the lack of understanding of how the poor finance and construct their homes, limited the reaches of such programs and did not solve the problem of providing housing provision for the poor.

As a response of this outcome, from the eighties’ onwards, governments decided to take a secondary role. In this time, known as the neoliberal era, the private sector was highly encouraged to present an available and affordable solution which could solve the housing paradigm. For Kenna (2008), the outcomes of this path for the low-income dwellers were insignificant at best. The gap between the supply prices and what the poor could afford grew wider and limited the possibilities to access housing in the formal market even more.

The implementation of neoliberal policies which permitted a larger involvement of the private sector at the cost of the other actors, forced the base communities to change its strategy. For Parra (2011) this resulted in the communities starting to look for its counterparts, both in the national and international spheres, to work in parallel with the formal institutions to build a platform which could address their needs.

The neoliberal policies have had severe outcomes for poor dwellers. However, the relative openness and internationalization of that period had facilitated the sharing of common experiences. In this sense, the community organization networks and its allies pushed for a revisit of the Self-Help School of Thought. Indeed, there was the original demand to recognize the participation of poor dwellers in the construction of cities. Nonetheless, it was also included the acknowledgement that, in order to escalate their actions, they needed the government’s support.

There are plenty of critics confronting the Self-Help approach, particularly on how sustainable the model is and whom the responsibility should be laid on. For example, Rainwater (1968) addresses the fact that such participation commitment cannot last over time; people have different agendas and once they have solved their individual needs there is no incentive to participate. Likewise, D’Cruz and Satterthwaite (2005) touch the topic as some detractors argue that Self-Help may undertake some of the government’s responsibilities, liberating them from their duty to their citizens.

Despite the critics the Self-Help movement has proved its value as a consistent solution by which poor dwellers solve their housing needs. As Chiodelli (2016, p. 799) phrases, “*assisted self-help housing is the most affordable and intelligent way of providing sustainable shelter. Furthermore, even policies aimed at legalization informal settlements-a pivotal ingredient of the enablement season-apply to the existing fabric*”.

Nowadays, the interpretation of some governments has been to integrate the poor’s strategies for fulfilling housing needs into their development plans. For example, in Indonesia, the PNPM-Urban provides grants to the urban poor to trigger small scale infrastructure projects and programs for social and economic development (PNPM-Urban, 2013). Likewise, in Uruguay, the *Federación Uruguaya de Cooperativas de Vivienda por Ayuda Mutua*

(FUCVAM) has managed to transcend the housing needs and build cooperatives that provide transversal livelihood solutions. (FUCVAM, 2018).

What both examples have in common is that the government changed their direction into an approach that took into consideration the social component that poor people place in solving their immediate needs. By entering into a co-responsible agreement, the relation cycle changes and then it is not only the duty of one actor to provide the entire solution, but rather a sum of its parts.

In this sense, the more important change in the definition of self-help is the role that the government has to assume. To summarize, the following table (Table 1) displays the transition this term has had over time.

Table 1 Self-Help

Self-Help	
Turner (1968, p. 14)	<i>"Any problem within the entire range of social, physical and economic needs may become the focus of program for Citizen Self- Help Organizations (CSHO) (...) CSHO seek results that are concrete and immediate and that satisfy to some extent both organizational maintenance and program needs (...) Because of urgency is hard to evolve into long term plans that can achieve the ultimate objectives."</i>
Castells (1981)	<i>A vision that combined theory with practice to find reconcile alternative solutions to face the crisis that the urbanization had generated.</i> <i>Identification of the social organization as the key actor to trigger change in urban realities.</i>
Bredenoord and van Lindert (2009, p. 279)	<i>"Self-help housing pioneers like Charles Abrams, William Mangin and John Tuner rejected the expensive standard solution of turn- key housing projects and made a convincing plea for an approach in which direct governmental involvement would be drastically reduced."</i>
Assisted Self-Help	
Bredenoord and van Lindert (2009, p. 278)	<i>"Assisted self- help housing means that households will receive outside support in building their homes. Such outside support may take various forms, ranging from the provision of land or plots with basic services or core houses on plots within sites- and-services scheme, to technical assistance with self- help and housing microfinance schemes."</i>
Chiodelli (2016, p. 799)	<i>"Assisted self- help housing is the most affordable and intelligent way of providing sustainable shelter. Furthermore, even policies aimed at legalization informal settlements- a pivotal ingredient of the enablement season- apply to the existing fabric".</i>

The Self-Help School of Thought emerged with two main goals: (1) to report the insufficient attention that the governments were paying to the provision of low-income housing; (2) to advocate in favour of the parallel processes that poor dwellers were engaging in to secure their housing needs. With time, the realization that the government could not remain oblivious to the people's efforts changed this perspective into a more integral solution based on co-responsibility. Given these conditions, in the literature, a more contemporary approaches that demand a change in the government-communities relation into a more horizontal approach was found.

2.2 Pro-poor policies. Creating co-responsible relations.

Considering the literature review, it can be concluded that there is not a clear definition of what it is a "pro-poor approach". In a broad sense, it is an intervention strategy that a

government takes in order to improve the conditions of its poorest inhabitants. However, given the looseness of the term, it has been used time after time to justify a wide range of governments' interventions. In other words, "pro-poor approach" has been a highly contextualized term that heavily depends on the time and place in which it has been used.

As there is no clear definition, the references to similar processes that were found in the literature are compiled in Table 2:

Table 2 Contemporary pro-poor approach

<i>Contemporary pro-poor approach</i>	
Enhance the asset base of the urban poor Mitlin (2003, p. 393)	"there are three strategies to enhance the asset base of the urban poor: strengthening grassroots organizations, transforming relations with the state and developing new alternatives to conventional urban development practices".
Labels of assistance Bredenoord and van Lindert (2009, p.	"Assistance related to self- help housing can be labeled as: 285 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Basic. (1) Plots in adequate urban land developments, at affordable price and pay-off conditions. (2) Legal titles. (3) access to road and main infrastructure. • Additional. (1) technical assistance, (2) provision of good quality materials, (3) promotion of micro-fiancé solutions, (4) the support of housing cooperatives. "
Differentiation of actors Pal and van Vliet (2012, p. 510)	"Two dimensions categorize the wide variety of housing institutions in developing countries. One is based on the categories of actors (state, market, or civil society) that help shape the access to housing. The other dimension relates to the components that together make up the process of housing provision."
Sustainable development	Three key points for a sustainable development: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The substantive. Referring to the physical assets, normative framework and access to credit 2. The procedural. How the government is going to intervene. 3. The whom. To whom the policies are addressed.

Considering these definitions, it can be noted that pro-poor policies are strongly inclined towards collaboration and co-responsibility among actors as their milestones. For the purposes of this thesis, pro-poor policies will be defined at two levels:

1. **Governance framework**, meaning the political will and institutional frameworks which allow horizontal relations between citizens and government.
2. **Understanding of conditions**, referring to the formalization and inclusion of the means, strategies, and organization used by the poor to formalise their housing needs into housing policies and programs.

Nowadays, the experience has shown that government and community together can provide integral and complete solutions. The intention of this section is to assess the two sides of the balance.

2.2.1 Governance and institutions. Building on solid ground

In order to enforce an efficient network model, it is necessary that the government will be willing to transfer part of its decision-making power to the other actors that integrate its

sphere of action. This arrangement is better known as “*governance*”. In the literature review two different approaches have been taken into consideration, as shown in Table 3:

Table 3 Governance

<i>Governance</i>	
Related to governance and local government responsibilities. Pal and van Vliet (2012, p. 516)	<i>“The process of decentralization of state responsibilities to local and regional levels has meant that the local government is increasingly seen as a significant housing actor.”</i>
Governance Klijn and Koppenjan (2012, p. 594)	<i>“(….) to the horizontal interactions by which various public and private actors at various levels of government coordinate their interdependencies in order to realize public policies and deliver public services (….) governance is also used to refer to strategies of governments and non-governmental organizations aimed at initiating, facilitating and mediating network processes, that is: network management”</i>

To contextualize this concept in the research it is important to clarify that it is assumed at the beginning of the process, the government takes a leading role and works as a network manager. Meanwhile, the community acquires the much needed trainings to subsequently step in and become their own managers in the pursue of future interests.

In theory, Governance Network Theory (GNT) is based on a multi-actor process by people who trust each other and operate at a horizontal level (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2012). In practice, as D’Cruz and Satterthwaite (2005) point out, two of the main challenges in taking a pro-poor approach is: (1) the prejudice that governments may have to look at poor organizations as key partners and, (2) the delegation of power that comes with it. Therefore, in order to address these setbacks, there must be a political will to change the policies and practices of local and national governments.

As noted by Pal and van Vliet (2012, p. 509), “*housing provision runs from finance through land development, design and construction, and maintenance of management*”. This entails the complexity and time consuming of the housing value chain, especially for the poor. In order to complete this cycle, it is necessary to tackle the problem at different fronts; it is not only about giving financial aid. Rather, this also has to be accompanied by support which secures the correct management of funds and its accuracy in providing a solution that reflects the people’s needs. Going further with Pal and van Vliet (2012, p. 509) definition, housing institutions are more than the set of norms, rules and regulations, but “*the entire body of mechanisms and structures of social order and cooperation that govern the behaviour of a set of individuals*”. Additional elaboration and considering Hawtrey’s (2012) work, it is not enough to have in place the proper mechanisms, but they have to be in turn culturally adequate and able to respond to the challenges of each place.

In the case of Thailand, there was an early assessment of the unjust distribution of benefits provided by the free market. The formation of UCDO in 1992 was the first step towards the enforcement of pro-poor policies. However, it was not until 2000 with the formalization of CODI, that Thailand made important further steps (Boonyabancha, 2005). The creation of a decentralized and independent financial institution allowed the Thai government not only to

provide a housing program, but to improve the management skills of the beneficiaries and include them in a larger network.

For Czischke (2017, p. 10) a multi-stakeholder approach entails a relation based on trust that is legitimized by *“a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions”*. In the Thai context, the community organizations are included into a larger network. Concordantly, CODI takes the place of a network manager in concordance with the definition of Klijn and Koppenjan (2012), which works to connect the community’s organizations (and networks) with specific actors that can escalate their actions.

Currently the term governance is considered trendy. Nonetheless, in order to work, governments need to understand its true meaning and generate the legal and institutional framework to enforce it. With respect to the pro-poor approach, D’Cruz and Satterthwaite (2005, p. 40) clearly state, *“poor people know what their problems are and generally have good ideas regarding what solutions they want. But they lack the resources or capacities to demonstrate that they can produce a solution”*. In this sense, it is the task of the government to engage in dialogue with its inhabitants and facilitate the path to achieve a joint solution. This subject will be treated in the next sub-section.

2.2.2 Stability as a precondition to dream big. The Cooperative Model

Previously the importance of having a political framework in order to enforce pro-poor policies was reviewed. In this sub-section the importance of the *“mechanisms”* (or instruments) that were referred by Pal and van Vliet (2012) will be addressed. According to Chiquier and Lea (2009), a one size solution is not enough. It is required to have a whole range of housing finance instruments that can account for the different needs of different households. In addition, Bredenoord and van Lindert (2009) elaborate on the importance of the dwellers to have security of tenure and services in order to invest in the development of their home.

In the literature review it was established that security of tenure and affordable financial schemes are the two main conditions the poor seek to consolidate their homes. In developing countries, the access to finance and land tenure goes hand in hand, as the tenure in many cases is defined by the free market rules (Chiquier and Lea, 2009). Paradoxically, as Hoek-Smit (2015) points out, the lack of range of financial products that can provide progressive loans for the poorest is one of the most significant challenges in the housing market. To face this situation, different authors such as Boonyabancha (2005), Lang and Novy (2014) and Davis and Worthington (1993) have constructed an important case as to how different governments have been looking into the cooperative model as a way to solve the affordability and accessibility to land and housing construction.

Taking this into consideration, the following definitions for the cooperative model have been found in the literature, as tabulated in Table 4 below:

Table 4 Cooperative Model

<i>Cooperative Model</i>	
Cooperative Values Davis and Worthington (1993, p. 849)	<i>“Cooperative practice is pragmatic and gradual, based on the principles of voluntary associations, self-help and mutuality”</i>
Underlying principle of cooperative management Boonyabancha (2005, p. 46)	<i>“Once a community has the ability to manage its own internal finance, and to tap and manage external finance as well, it means they have increased power to do whatever they want”</i>
Housing Cooperatives Lang and Novy (2014, p. 1744)	<i>“Housing cooperatives represent a crucial intermediate level between residents and urban housing policy, thus providing opportunities for bottom – linked citizen participation. (...) Professional housing cooperatives have a potential to give residents a voice beyond the neighbourhood. Their strong linkages with public decision-makers at different scales can help leverage ideas and resources of residents”</i>

Certainly, the configuration of such organizations changed based on the context and the governance arrangements of each place (Lang and Novy, 2014). However, referring to the previous definitions, there can be identified universal underlying principles that need to be present in the analysis of this research: (1) cooperatives are a collective activity that bond people that seek the same interest but that they cannot do it by themselves; (2) by the management of collective funds the poor dwellers gain skills that they can use to develop formal structures of organization; (3) it becomes an intermediary level between government and residents.

It cannot be avoided that the state has a responsibility with its dwellers in its provision of housing not only providing turn-key solutions, but rather by formalizing the traditional ways by which poor people acquire housing.

The cooperative model is an alternative that formalizes the traditional way by which poor people have secured housing. In the case of Thailand, before approving any project, the government works with the communities in order to develop their financial management skills for the acquisition of land, favouring the cooperative schemes (Boonyabancha, 2005). This provides the needed stability to let people consolidate their homes. And, in the process, realize the reaches the collective organization can have in fulfilling further individual and collective needs.

The partnership between government and community is not only cost effective, but it goes deeper and can trigger a change in how the assessment and provision of needs can be understood. In *How urban poor community leaders define and measure poverty*, Somsook Boonyabancha and Thomas Kerr (2015) presents the results of the efforts of ACHR in working with community leaders to find the poor's own definition of poverty. The most important insight of this study it may be that poverty is not a fact of income and expenditure, but that it's a multi-factor problem that needs comprehensive and integral solutions. Hence, the cooperatives are not only a financial solution, but rather the initial step of a more complex process of building bridges between the government and residents and, to make them aware of their own capacities.

In pro-poor policies, there is a close linkage between the horizontalization of relations and the instrumentalization of such commitment. The political will has to recognize the cooperative models and, therefore, change the relations into a co-responsible agreement. Under these circumstances, the low-income dwellers can determine the conditions by which they are bound and thereby enable plans and processes to better suit their needs and capacities (D'Cruz and Satterthwaite, 2005). Of how community's schemes allow these pro-poor policies to escalate will be addressed in the next section.

2.3 Capacity Building, Leadership and Networks. Going to scale and into consolidation.

In the previous section it was addressed how the governments take in pro-poor policies. On one hand, the government has to be willing to engage in a more horizontal relation with its constituency and back it up with the pertinent institutions. On the other hand, it is important to recognize and formalize the process by which the poor solve their housing provision.

As noted earlier, the traditional path by which the poor people acquire housing is incrementally and heavily relying on the community's mutual help. Even in its very early stage the Self-Help School recognized the limitations the state had in compelling solution tailored to low-income possibilities. Therefore, the community organization would emerge as a mean to achieve goals that they could not do by its own (Rainwater, 1968). With time, what seemed to appear spontaneously as a mean to reach an end, evolved into more complex organizations and networks. Together, they understood that there were common places within the different organizations that they could unify in order to present a stronger front in their claims towards the government. This evolution is what Manuel Castells (1981) identifies as the transition from "*urban movements*" to "*social urban movements*", the second one inferring a more complex organization, leadership and agenda with sights in the middle and long term.

Nowadays, under the governance perspective, one of the key questions for the government is how to develop a realistic supply chain that can account for the different financial possibilities of the poor. As stated earlier, for Chiodelli (2016, p. 799) "*assisted self-help housing is the most affordable and intelligent way of providing sustainable shelter. Furthermore, even policies aimed at legalization informal settlements-a pivotal ingredient of the enablement season-apply to the existing fabric*". For once, there is the political will to undertake this approach. However, the other half that is equally important is to understand how community organization work, escalate and network. This section focus on: (1) the particular skills that the people develop to manage and sustain their own housing process, (2) the leadership that emanates from this improvement of its capacities and, finally, (3) the networks they build in order to integrate to a larger spectre.

2.3.1 Strengthen Communities: Capacity building

In the decade of the sixties, the Self-Help School of Thought was using the citizen self-help organizations (CSHO) to define the communities' groups that got together to solve urgent problems that concern their safety and livelihood. In this perspective, it was the residents whom knew exactly what was missing and hence, the ones that could solve the communities' problems (Turner *et. al.*, 1968).

As the literature states, there are strong points of view that remain sceptic as if the community organization can endure after the immediate necessity is solved. However, there are found other counterexamples that trust that the processes of learning new management skills. Hence, the solidification of trust can have deeper implication for the communities. Under this assumption, the communities' organization transcend the immediate needs and becomes the basis by which self-awareness and integration to a larger network are built. Following, in Table 5, are some definitions found in the literature about the importance of developing community management skills.

Table 5 Community management and social capital

Community management and social capital	
Community Management D'Cruz and Satterthwaite (2005, p.p. 31, 40)	<p><i>“Community- based savings and loans activities are crucial because they build community capacity to determine priorities collectively, transparently manage finance, negotiate with other powerful local groups, and plan and reformulate their own strategies.”</i></p> <p><i>“This collective management of money, and the trust it builds, also increases community organizations' capacity to work together, to address problems and to manage or resolve conflicts.”</i></p>
Trust in Social Capital Meehan and Bryde (2014, p.p. 2- 3)	<p><i>“Social capital is contextually defined, in the case to the goal of sustainable development, although it is broadly acknowledged as a valuable resource made available through the established of relationships. (...) The trust implicit in these social ties can play a critical role in stimulating collaborative behaviours, yet the risk of over- embedding buyer- seller relationships emphasizes the potential for constraining social capital rather than enabling it.”</i></p>
Collaborative Management Czischke (2017, p. 9)	<p><i>“The process of facilitating and operating in multi- organizational arrangements to solve problems that cannot be solved or solved easily by single organizations”</i></p>

Throughout the years this process has been known by different names and the participation of the government has been varied. As Czischke (2017) presents, the names by which the initiatives related with mutual help, solidarity and collaboration among residents has been changing over time. In 1973 Elionor Ostrom was defining *“co-production”* as the initiatives by which public servants and citizens engaged to provide public services. Most recently *“habitat participatif”*, was the term appointed for the small projects that considered the participation of residents in the design and management of their housing. And, likewise, throughout the years the term *“community driven”* has remain more or less constant an in line with what D'Cruz and Satterthwaite (2005, p. 11) define as a *“shorthand of initiatives and actions undertaken by slum dwellers in which representative organizations formed by slum dwellers have the dominant role”*.

For low-income communities the first incentive for organize is to pull material and financial resources as a group to satisfy individual needs. As for how endurable such relations are, the literature is still in contest. For Czischke (2017) such ties reinforce the collaborative and “neighbouring” spirit of the involved, making the relations evolved to cover a broader spectre of needs. Contrastingly, for Sheng (2014), since the presumed solidarity is based in individual needs, it may not survive economic downturns that affect them as a collective.

For whatever the reason, pulling of savings towards a common goal makes the community to organize among themselves and triggers a learning process of collaboration, management and negotiation. Community-based savings and loans activities are the first step for the

communities to prioritize, manage and implement development as a collective. This joint management of money has as return that the people involved start to rely among one another and constructing trust relations (D'Cruz and Satterthwaite 2005). Likewise, the realization of what it can be achieved as a whole, triggers self-awareness within the communities and, opens a new path of relation between the other actors that are part of the city. What may start as a spontaneous organization to solve a punctual need, has then the potential to trigger the change into a larger platform that understands its power and identifies itself as part of a broader network.

For Boonyabancha (2005) the realization of such power translates into a change in the relations with the local authorities and hence, opens the possibility for the inclusion of the communities in the decision making of the city-wide programs. In a more formal way, as stated by Czischke (2017, p. 9) refers to such kind of actions as "*collaborative management*" by which the process is arranged by a multi-organizational approach "*to solve problems that cannot be solved or solved easily by single organizations*".

Back in the sixties, the governments' aid was mainly limited to sites-and-services schemes and upgrading programs (Chiodelli, 2016). These restrictions were some of the main setbacks that did not allowed the self-help to go beyond "the good practice experience". In the case of Thailand, the recognition of the participatory models to support low-income people has been one of the key factors that has helped relief the housing provision paradigm. The intensive work with the communities to improve their networks and management capacities has had its returns. Under this scheme the government has succeeded in making the accountable for its internal organization and the dissemination of funds. Which allows the government to get to more people and in a more effective manner (D'Cruz and Satterthwaite 2005).

Currently, there is a strong trend of scholars and literature that are leaning to favour the participative approaches that are so closely related with governance and collaboration. However, it is also important to state its limitations as communities cannot be categorized as a homogeneous sample. It must be kept on mind that, as early as in the sixties, Rainwater (1968) was raising the issue that in some cases the CSHO only lasts as long as there is a common interest. This does not mean that community organization cannot last, it just proves that as for any case in social studies, there are counter examples. As for the case of Thailand, what is truly interesting is that is that they are both recognizing and improving such groups. Taking it into context, Thailand's case can add in the importance of the government's partnership to increase the probabilities for such organizations to endure the pass of time.

2.3.2 Leadership: the ingredient for consolidation

In the traditional Self-Help School of Thought there is a special emphasis for the group; how the collective group can get be empowered and take ownership of the process. However, in reality, there is always some kind of leadership that pushes the process into its consolidation. Traditionally, "leadership" has been related to a set of skills of a person who has a specific character. Nonetheless, more recent theories are moving forward with the term and moving from a personalistic approach into a more normative and activity-determined perspective. Following in Table 6 are the definitions found in the literature.

Table 6 Leadership

Leadership	
Leadership as source of progress Williams (2005, p. 8)	<i>"Real leadership mobilizes people to face reality and progress (...). Leadership that targets authentic progress must gauge success by the degree to which people engage the real problem- versus symptoms, decoy, concern, or false tasks".</i>
Leadership Ganz (2008, p.p. 1-2)	<i>"Leadership is accepting responsibility to create conditions that enable others to achieve shared purpose in the face of uncertainty. Leaders accept responsibility not only for the individual "part" of the work, but also for the collective "whole". Leaders can create conditions interpersonally, structurally and/or procedurally."</i>
Leadership as an activity Heifetz and Heifetz (1994, p.p. 18, 20)	<i>"Leadership in many cultures is a normative idea, it represents a set of orienting values, as do words like "hero" and "champion. (...) Rather than define leadership either as a position of authority in a social structure or as a personal set of characteristics, we may find a great deal more useful to define leadership as an activity."</i>

In these definitions it can be appreciated that *leadership* is not something inherit to a person, but rather a position that entails responsibilities to fulfil specific activities. This approach gained track in the analysis of this research as leadership is understood as something that is constructed. Concordantly, the self-awareness that D'Cruz and Satterthwaite (2005) were referring in the previous section, gets a deeper meaning as it is not only a collective realization, but also the foundation for the development of leadership skills. Therefore, in the capacity building of the community, any member has the opportunity to acquire the knowledge to take fully the responsibilities of a leader. Hence, providing the community its independence from the government and its sustainability over time.

As Ganz (2008) refers, it is important to move away from the heroic individual and understand leadership as a set of skills to be developed in a particular context and in a collaborative manner. Likewise, as Heifetz and Heifetz (1994) points out, this has to be in concordance with the cultural demands in order to be a concept relatable by the people.

In the Thai experience, it is presumed that the capacity building of organization, management and negotiation that the dwellers get from the government and other actors transforms the collective and individual awareness of the community. Recovering Boonyabancha's (2005, p. 46) underlying principle of cooperative management; *"once a community has the ability to manage its own internal finance, and to tap and manage external finance as well, it means they have increased power to do whatever they want"*. And, this is the basis by which the organizations of the communities can sustain the pass of time.

2.3.3 Communities' Networks: escalating efforts

In the literature review, when looking into networks, there were identified three main approaches: the multi-stakeholder arrangement, the responsibilities of the network manager and, the importance of the organizations' networks. Table 7 presents these findings.

Table 7 Networks

Networks	
Importance of the Organizations' Networks Boonyabancha (2005, p. 23)	<i>"The emergence of a large- scale community network brought immense change to community- led development processes in general. These networks became increasingly the means through which UCDO and CODI could increase scale and make loan available for low income groups."</i>
On the importance of Federations D'Cruz and Satterthwaite (2005, pp. 11-12)	<i>"The emergence of representative organizations and federations formed by the urban poor and homeless, specifically to seek to work with (local and national) governments to address their needs, is one of the most significant developments for significantly improving the lives of slum dwellers."</i>
Responsibilities of the Network Manager Klijn and Koppenjan (2012, p. 592)	<i>"The managers concentrate on specific connections depending on their ambitions. They also conclude that it is not always networking in general (i.e. simply increasing one's number of connections) that is beneficial but rather the development of specific connections with specific actors."</i>

The distinction of such concepts is important because it defines the parameters by which the negotiation relations are going to take place. As for the broader networks, the definition of “whom the actors are” can meaningfully lean the balance for a specific outcome. In many cases, the disarticulation of communities who are perusing similar outcomes, but in different arenas, can work against them and lose their battles against sectors that are better organized. To this unjust game is what Wet (2009) defined as “*victims of development*”.

Dislocation and lack of recognition are two of the main challenges that the community-driven initiatives have had to face in order to escalate in numbers. Gradually, these efforts to articulate in local and international arenas turned into what Parra (2011) defined as a “*new kind of internationalism*” by which different actors of the civil society have found the frameworks to share ideas and consolidate. For D'Cruz and Satterthwaite (2005, p. 7) this phenomenon was particularly important in Asia and Africa, where the urban poor and the homeless federations came together to address “*urban poverty both in terms of what they have achieved and in terms of what they could achieve, given appropriate support*”.

The communities' networks allow the low-income groups to have a stronger platform in its interlocution with the government. Likewise, it provides them sufficient legitimacy to address the issues “on behalf of the poor”, influencing on the city and national policies and practices (D'Cruz and Satterthwaite, 2005). As Boonyabancha (2005) states, the inclusion of such groups not only in the securing of their houses, but also in the city-wide upgrading, has become the new frontier for urban management and decentralization.

Under this perspective, when the low-income groups are included in the decision making, there is a parallel process of empowerment and reduction of stigmatization (recognition) they acquire from the other stakeholders, jumping one step further towards social justice. At the same time, the change in perception from the governments side from “*doing it for*” to “*doing it with*” impacts in the efficiency by which their administrations are handled. D'Cruz and Satterthwaite (2005) propose five reasons by which the partnership between federations and government can have a positive impact for slum dwellers:

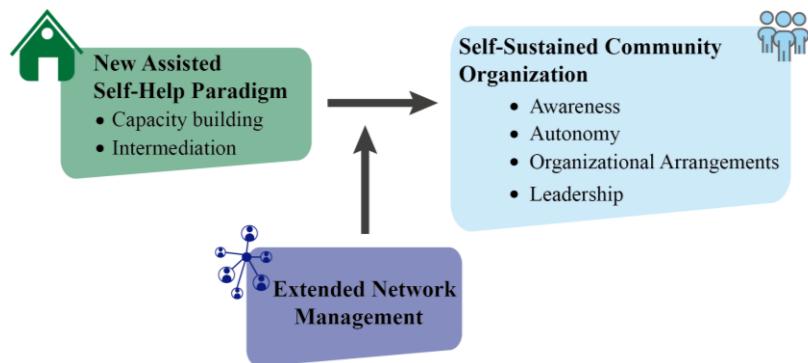
1. Scale. By working in partnership there is a dissemination of responsibilities and hence a larger sphere of influence.
2. Knowledge. Constant dialogue with the federations adds into a better understanding of the challenges the poor dwellers face. Influencing the way policies and programs are designed in order to make them more accurate.
3. Participation. They set higher standards of levels of participation and inclusion, legitimizing the process.
4. Cost effective. Better use of resources.
5. Co-responsibility. The work of federations does not replace the responsibility of the government, but rather it makes its intervention more effective.

What became evident from the UCDO and CODI experience is how far the community organization can go if it is given the proper support. The significant effort that the Thai government has made into improving the management capacities for the participants of the Baan Mankong Program its perhaps the most important legacy. As D'Cruz and Satterthwaite (2005, p. 54), accurately points out, *“an investment in strengthening democratic organizations within low-income communities have many long-term implications and, if undertaken with care and patience, is the most powerful legacy of any developmental intervention”*. What this thesis addresses are precisely if such commitment can be held over time.

2.4 Conceptual Framework

The literature reviewed in this chapter allows to develop this pertinent framework presented in Figure 1:

Figure 1 Conceptual Framework



The Assisted Self-Help School of Thought is the base that recognizes the effort that the people put into developing their own habitable spaces. As Bredenoord and van Lindert (2009) refer, in order for this approach to escalate it has to be a government's involvement to provide basic and additional assistance. In the case of the former one, it is necessary to work in close relation with the poor dwellers' communities. This implies that there must be a political and institutional arrangement that recognizes the strategies the low-income dwellers have traditionally use to secure their housing needs.

With the creation of CODI, Thailand has move one step forward into the consolidation of schemes that recognizes the efforts of the poor and how to escalate them. In the implantation

of the Baan Mankong Program there is a heavy investment in strengthening the capacities (financial, management and organization) of the target communities, which is regarded in the Independent Variable as “New Assisted Self- Help Paradigm”. Which entails a more complex arrangement that provides a holistic support. In this scenario, the traditional financial and material support that the government gives to self-help transcends and is accompanied with capacity building. This plays a crucial role in two main aspects: (1) the capacity building provided during the workshops and trainings that help paint a broader picture of the reaches they can get as a community and at a personal level if they work together. (2) the intermediation with other actors opens the gate to be included on a larger network with government, professionals and other communities.

During this process the communities start developing independent relations with external actors, which is reflected in the intermediate variable “Extended Network Management”. These actors can be other communities or professionals that can advise and train them in significant skills that they need to consolidate. Such as financial management, construction monitoring and organization skills.

In this sense, this communities make a transition from depending of the government towards the creation of their own networks, by being part of an “Assisted Self-Help” program. In this framework, “Self-Sustained Community Organization” refers to the transformation the community has as a result of the skills that they learned and the creation and management of its own structures of organization. This “self-sustained” aspect will be reflected in three main conditions; (1) the individual and collective awareness that the community has regarding its capacities and leadership arrangements; (2) the autonomy the community gains to engage in relations with other networks and actors without the government’s tutorial; (3) the consolidation of organizational structures that responds to their specific needs; and (4), the formalization of leaders emanated from the capacity building process. Which is aligned Heifetz and Heifetz (1994) definition of the term, understood as an activity rather than on a personalistic position of power.

The hypothesis of this work is that such an integral support for communities to develop their own habitable spaces and its own organizational structures have changed the levels of organization within the local groups. Furthermore, it has been sustainable in the long-term. Retaking D’Cruz and Satterthwaite (2005, p. 54) standpoint, *“an investment in strengthening democratic organizations within low-income communities have many long-term implications and, if undertaken with care and patience, is the most powerful legacy of any developmental intervention”*. What this thesis is intend to grasp is if such statement holds to be true under the Thai conditions.

2.5 Conclusion

Self-help is not new. People have always have looked for means to solve their housing needs. However, with time, both the definitions of housing and the means to secure it have changed. Seventy years ago, the large waves of migrants from rural to urban environments generated an overwhelming situation that the governments could not account for. And, even more, as noted earlier with Lorena Zárate’s (2011) statement, it continues to be a persistent problem as 50-70% of the poor dwellers in the Global South have to solve their housing provision with limited or nonexistent support from the government.

Nowadays, the premises by which John Turner, Manuel Castells and so many other founded the self-help school of thought are still valid. There has been a constant exclusion for low-income to access the formal housing markets, coercing them into informality. This situation not only limits the material aspects of securing tenure and having affordable financial schemes, but it runs deeper as it determines the perception by which these communities are considered in the development of their neighbourhoods and cities. Under these circumstances, a change of mindset is needed.

The pro-poor policies imply a restructuration in the governments' relation with its citizens and the creation of institutions that can support this particular political will. In this work, it is particularly stressed out the importance of the authorities' action and the responsibility they have towards its inhabitants. This by no means that they have to do it alone, but that they have to ensure an accessible range of options that can account for each sector possibilities.

Low-income dwellers solve their housing provision differently. They rely heavily on collective support to, gradually, improve their conditions. What makes CODI's experience, and later the implementation of the Baan Mankong, so interesting is that they succeeded in capitalizing from the communities' organization efforts. In this case, the government becomes a network manager and works to improve the communities' financial, managerial and organizational skills, and in the procurement of an extended support network with different actors.

One of the main premises of the Baan Mankong Program is that it is designed with such flexibility that is possible for each community to own its own process (Boonyabancha 2005). Still, for the purpose of this thesis it is important to highlight three underlying principles:

- 1. Security.** A precondition to acquire the government's funds is that the community has to organize by themselves and secure collective land tenure. Particularly, it stresses the importance of forming a cooperative that can be in charge of the financial management.
- 2. Integration.** The multi-stakeholder approach taken by the Program enables the open discussion among actors to share knowledge and work together towards a common goal. The hypothesis is that this works in two ways. For once, it empowers and capacitates the low-income communities as it increases its self-esteem to participate within and outside its community. Secondly, it helps to dissipate the prejudice that the other actors may (or may not) have towards slum dwellers, integrating them into the city's fabric.
- 3. Consolidation.** For the duration of the Baan Mankong the communities are encouraged to build-up their own network systems among each other and with the other actors of the city. This has the underlying possibility to maintain these relations long after the government intervention is finished and be managed to secure further needs.

In a nutshell, what this thesis will address is how an integral support of the government ensures the long-term existence of functional community organization.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methods

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will operationalize the definitions discussed in Chapter Two in order to find explanations that contribute to answer the research question. The chapter is structured in three segments. In the first part, the Research Design and the Operationalization, will provide an outline of how the concepts discussed in Chapter Two can turn into indicators that can be used in field. In the second part, the Data Collection and Data Analysis Method segments, will give a practical guidance of how the research will be conducted in field. In the last part, the section of Validity and Reliability, will present the precautions the researcher needs to take to develop a significant investigation.

3.2 Revisited Research Question(s)

How does the assisted self-help housing approach of going beyond financial aid and providing a holistic support to build capacity and networks in poor communities contributes to the consolidation of self-sustained community organization?

3.2 Sub-Questions (Revisited)

- How does the government facilitate the self-help approach in the Baan Mankong?
- Which kind of support is needed for the consolidation of a self-sustained community organization?
- How does financial and network support contribute to the consolidation of the community organization in the long term?
- How does capacity building contribute to the consolidation of the community organization in the long term?

3.3 Research Strategy

The aim of this thesis is to explain the importance of providing the adequate support for communities in order for them to solve their housing needs and, consolidate their own organizational structures. This query requires consideration of a significant number of variables and in-depth research. Therefore, the Case Study strategy was.

The design of the research is divided in three main units of analysis: Government, Networks and Community. Each one of these actors have an important role in the success or failure of the self-sustained community organizations. However, its perception about how the process went through can be significantly different. Theoretically, by segmenting the respondents into these three sub-units, the researcher can compare their response and analyses the level of consistency, providing internal validity to the research. (Van Thiel, 2014).

As for the selection of the community, the selected community should have been a part of the Baan Mankong within a desirable time frame of ten or more years prior to the research. This is with the intention of measuring the functional consolidation of the community organization with the passage of time.

3.4 Operationalization: Concepts, Variables and Indicators

For every variable there is an underlying concept that supports the development of sub-variables and operationalization. Therefore, in this section first the concept will be defined, then the meaning of the sub-variables, and lastly, the operationalization of the conceptual framework.

3.4.1 INDEPENDENT VARIABLE. New Assisted Self-Help Paradigm

In the case of Thailand, their pro-poor approach has been significantly influenced by the revisited version of the Self-Help School of Thought. There is an understanding that the poor dwellers have developed their houses and habitable spaces with their own means and strategies. However, there are a number of factors limiting them if they do it on their own. Hence, the government has to take an active role to facilitate the conditions for low-income dwellers to consolidate their efforts.

This thesis suggests the following definition:

A pro-poor approach will be the one that has the pertinent governance and institutional framework that enables the access of the poor dwellers to solve their material housing needs such as: land, legal titles, and construction in available and accessible locations. Likewise, it will recognize and support the strategies that poor dwellers have used over time. This, with the goal of coming up with adequate and affordable solutions for them to solve their housing needs in acceptable conditions. (Miltin 2002, Bredenoord and van Lindert 2009, Pal and van Vilet 2012, Chiodelli 2016)

3.4.1.1 Sub-Variables of the Independent Variable

Capacity Building. This sub-variable takes into consideration Boonyabancha (2005), D'Cruz and Satterthwaite (2005), and Miltin's (2012) thoughts of the importance of going beyond the financial support and provide specialized workshops and trainings for the community to become the drivers of their housing consolidation. Therefore, this variable will measure the trainings and capacity building from the government's side to develop the skills within the community.

Intermediation. This sub-variable will take into consideration the definition provided by Bredenoord and van Lindert (2009) mentioning assisted self-help and Klijn and Koppenjan's (2012) definition of Network Management. Consequently, it will measure the efforts that the government made to link the community with other stakeholders to integrate them into an extended network support system. This support can be, for example, to construct the houses, access to better services or share information with other upgraded communities.

The operationalization of such variables can be found in Table 8

3.4.2 INTERMEDIATE VARIABLE. Support from actors outside the community

The main concept for this variable is “networks”. This thesis suggests the following definition for networks:

“The effective actions that one actor takes to create linkage for targeted interactions with one or more actors to achieve a win-win outcome. Such connections have to be negotiated at a horizontal level, recognizing the capacities and limitations that each entity has and acknowledging that they are involving in a co-responsible relation.” (Boonyabancha 2005, Klijn and Koppenjan 2012, Czische 2017)

3.4.2.1 Sub-Variable of the intermediate variable

Extended Network Management. It will take into consideration the previous definition and it will be measured from the community’s aspect. Who is a part of their network and how are they participating in the said networks.

The operationalization of such variable can be found in Table 9.

3.4.3 DEPENDENT VARIABLE. Self-Sustained Organization

The *Self-Sustained Organization* variable relates to the changes within the community after they have received the government’s management training in the Baan Mankong Program.

For this thesis the underlying principle of collective collaboration taken by Czischke(2017) is sincerely considered. Nonetheless, it adds to this definition that it is more than an arrangement made by organizations, but also contemplates the organization of a group of individuals that belong to a community, the kind of leadership that they have, and how they engage in a collaborative management.

Consequently, “*Collaborative management*” will be defined as:

The process based of self-awareness by which the communities realize that by strengthening their management skills they can solve future problems. Parallelly, it is also the acknowledgement of the importance of building meaningful relations among each other and with external organizations with whom they can cooperate to get better returns. (D’Cruz and Satterthwaite 2005, Meehan and Bryde 2014, Czische 2017)

3.4.3.1 Sub-Variables for the dependent variable

Awareness. This sub-variable measures the transformation of the people in the community as they become aware of their responsibility and new-found role as the drivers of the housing process. Likewise, it also highlights the gained knowledge that the community has to access outside support and how to effectively use it. In other words, awareness is an internal transformation that derives from new-found roles of rights and responsibilities, and how to capitalize on this position to improve their livelihood conditions. (Heifetz and Heifetz 1994, D’Cruz and Satterthwaite 2005, Boonyabancha 2005, Ganz 2008, Czischke 2017)

Autonomy. This variable reflects if the community could manage to become its own “network manager”. This means if they can develop relations with other actors without the government’s tutorial (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2012).

Consolidation. This sub-variable measures the community ability to develop their own organizational arrangements according to their needs. This sub-variable reflects Boonyabancha's (2005, p. 46) inference directly; "*Once a community has the ability to manage its own internal finance, and to tap and manage external finance as well, it means they have increased power to do whatever they want.*"

Leadership. The person/organization who has the moral credibility and the required interpersonal and management capacities to fulfill three main purposes; (1) to organize and mobilize the community's human and material resources (2) to uphold the harmony within the community. (3) to represent the community outside its circle (Heifetz and Heifetz 1994, Ganz, 2008).

The operationalization of such variables can be found in Table 10 and Table 11

3.4.4 Operationalization of Variables

Table 8 Operationalization of Independent Variable

	Variable	Concept	Sub-variable	Indicators	Methods	Sources
Independent Variable	New Assisted Self-Help Paradigm	Pro- poor approach	Capacity Building	Funds provided for BMP (CODI) Training in financial management (CODI) Training in community organization (CODI) Training in construction management (CODI) Funds/ programs for community development (Municipality)	Secondary Data and Sem- Structured Interviews	CODI National Office, CODI Regional Office, Cooperative regulations for Khon Kaen Province, semi- structure interviews.

Table 9 Operationalization of Intermediate Variable

	Variable	Concept	Sub-variable	Indicators	Methods	Sources
Intermediate Variable	Extended Network Management	Network Management	Extended Network Management	Relation with CODI Relation with Municipal intervention Relation with Khon Kaen University. Relation with other communities. City Network. Existence and participation of deliberative processes with other actors (Co- responsibility) Organization support Construction support Financial support Sharing knowledge support	Observation and Semi- Structured Interviews with key actors.	National CODI, Regional CODI, Network Manager, Khon Kaen University, Experts in the field

Table 10 Operationalization of Dependent Variable I

	<i>Variable</i>	<i>Concept</i>	<i>Sub-variable</i>	<i>Indicators</i>	<i>Methods</i>	<i>Sources</i>
Dependent Variable	Self- Sustained Community Organization	Collaborative Management	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>Awareness</p> <p>Existence of clear definition of roles within the community organization</p> <p>Existence of open meetings to take collective decisions.</p> <p>Inclusion of the members in the decision process of collective topics</p> <p>Existence of collective activities for health</p> <p>Existence of collective activities involving children</p> <p>Existence of community participation in life events of its members.</p> <p>Management of the money for BMP loan payment.</p> <p>Existence of alternative loans and funds for community members.</p> <p>Working groups within the community to resolve personal problems.</p> </div> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>Autonomy</p> <p>Contact with CODI</p> <p>Contact with Municipality</p> <p>Contact with other communities of the BMP</p> <p>Contact with experts in organization</p> <p>Contact with experts in financial management</p> <p>Contact with experts in construction</p> </div> </div>	Semi- Structured Interviews, Focus Group Discussion	Observation, Semi- Structured Interviews, Focus Group Discussion	

Table 11 Operationalization of Dependent Variable II

	<i>Variable</i>	<i>Concept</i>	<i>Sub-variable</i>	<i>Indicators</i>	<i>Methods</i>	<i>Sources</i>
Dependent Variable II	Self- Sustained Community Organization	Collaborative Management	Consolidation	Alternative loans and funds for community members Existence of conflict resolution mechanisms Management of money for BMP loan repayment Existence of auditors in organizations Existence of alternative organizational arrangements	Semi- Structured Interviews, Focus Group Discussion	Observation, Semi- Structured Interviews, Focus Group Discussion
			Leadership	Existence of accountability measures Number of years a leader can serve. Number of times a leader can serve Existence of mechanisms to remove the leader Qualifications and inter- personal skills of the leader		

3.4 Data Collection

As this thesis intends to explain the factors that ensure the self-sustained community organization through the lenses of each unit of analysis. Therefore, it relied mainly on qualitative data through primary collection, supported by secondary data when needed.

The two collection methods that will be used and the justification for its selection are presented below (Van Thiel 2014):

- *Semi-Structured Interviews*. The researcher developed an interview manual for each level of analysis. This will facilitate a topic list of the points that are to be covered based on the operationalization. However, it also allows the research to attain a certain level of flexibility and simultaneous reaction with the respondent.
- *Focus Group*. Used as a way to round up the findings in the interviews with the three levels of organization. By gathering the people of the community and initializing the discussion about their involvement in the Baan Mankong process, the researcher will be able to assess how deep-rooted the organizational changes are within the community.

3.4.1 Selection of Respondents and Size of the Sample

Given the research strategy, this study used stratified method of respondents. Meaning that they will be selected from different levels of organization (Van Thiel, 2014). Alongside, given the limitations of this study, the researcher used informants and the snowball effect as the strategies to go more in-depth and meet the respondents who have been part of the consolidation process.

Table 12 shows the list of respondents. In total 10 semi-structured interviews were conducted (see Annex 1) and one focus group (see Annex 2) with the following respondents:

Table 12 List of Respondents

<i>Government (2)</i>	
Governance	National CODI Office
CODI Khon Kaen	Regional CODI Office (Khon Kaen)
<i>Network (5)</i>	
Noi	Network Community Manager
Monsicha Bejrananda	Faculty of Architecture, Khon Kaen University
Sakkarin Sapu	Expert Consultant in Tawanmai development
PhD Kitapatr Dhabhalabutr (PhD Kit)	PhD with research in Baan Mankong and Tawanmai Community
PhD Buapan	Center of Civil Society and Non-profit Management
<i>Community (4)</i>	
Mae AmNuay	Cooperative Director
Kun Wirot	Community Leader
Liat	Member of Volunteer group
Community Members	Focus Group

3.4.2 Limitations in the data collection

There are several challenges regarding execution of the data collection. As such, a framework has been provided for it. There were identified three main challenges which present a general overview of the setback that could be faced during fieldwork.

3.4.2.1 *“Foreignness”*

The researcher is an external individual to this context. This means that she is not familiar with the language, and that she does not have a proper social network on which she can rely upon. This will make her trust the few relations which she can count on and build a path as the research goes on.

This presents an important setback that could affect the reliability of the study. However, by building trust relations with the actors that have been involved with the community can lead to acquiring more in-depth knowledge. It could also lead to an increase of internal validity.

3.4.2.2 *Time commitment*

As mentioned in chapter one, there are time constraints to pursue this research. The main collection method will be the semi-structured interview. Therefore, it has to be considered that it takes a significant amount of time to conduct, analyse, and that it is subject to the availability of respondents. To counteract this problem, the research will focus on finding the key actors who can account for the period during the implementation of the BMP, and the subsequent happenings within the community.

3.4.2.3 *Expertise*

In the Case Study, the researcher comes in close and continuous contact with the people involved in the process (Van Thiel, 2014). Developing a connection with the people and building trust relations is necessary for the development of the study, nonetheless, it can also lead to subjectivity. In such case, the researcher will have to have a structured mind and develop accurate interview manuals that can give focus to the research.

3.5 Data Analysis Method

As previously mentioned, the main data collection strategy is the semi-structured interview with specific actors who were involved in the construction and consolidation of Tawanmai Community and, a focus group with eight residents to assess the general perception. This strategy was selected as the researcher was interested in getting in-depth information and was open to the extra inputs that the respondents may have.

Given the language limitations, 6 out of the 10 interviews and the focus group needed to be conducted with the support of a translator. These conversations were recorded with the permission of the respondents and translated by the professional translator to minimize the information normally lost in translation. Once the translated voice recordings were delivered by the translator, the researcher transcribed most of the interviews manually and used the software Temi as an aid for the last part. Afterwards, the researcher compared her preliminary findings with the original indicators and made the pertinent adjustment to reflect the aim of the investigation. With this preliminary organization of data, the researcher developed a code list to mark the findings in its interviews and the focus group.

For the data analysis the researcher used Atlas Ti as a mean to conduct an objective and unbiased analysis of the qualitative information gathered during fieldwork. Based on the sub-variables of the operationalization (see Table 8, Table 9 and Table 10) the researcher developed

six coding groups based on the sub-variables; (1) Government Intermediation, (2) Government Capacity Building, (3) Community Autonomy, (4) Community Awareness, (5) Community Consolidation and (6) Extended Network Management. However, given the complexity of the indicators, (5) Community Consolidation was divided into (5) Community Consolidation and (7) Community Leadership and, (6) Extended Network Management was divided in (6) Network Relation and (8) Network Support. Alongside, in the coding process, another coding group was created, (9) Added Codes, that collected three important aspects that weren't taken into consideration in the initial coding. Table 13 presents the Code Groups.

Table 13 Code Groups

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Group Code</i>	<i>No. Codes</i>	<i>No. Quotations</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Independent Variable</i>	Government Intermediation	4	35	94
	Government Capacity Building	5	59	
<i>Intermediate Variable</i>	Network Relation	6	141	215
	Network Support	4	74	
<i>Dependent Variable</i>	Community Autonomy	6	108	426
	Community Awareness	4	73	
	Community Consolidation	6	107	
	Community Leadership	6	138	
<i>Added Code</i>	Added Codes	3	108	108
	Total	44	843	843

The added codes are: General background, that gathered context information; Cultural Trait, that linked the answers that were identified as a cultural trait by the respondent; Community Empowerment, which reflected the awareness transformation that the community had gone through as a whole. For this last one, Community Empowerment, the researcher realized that in the indicators she had overlooked the general outcome, however, during the coding process it was a fortunate finding as this was a more robust code.

During the coding process, the researcher attached memos with the sub-questions which in her understanding, were particularly relevant as a preliminary analysis. After the coding process was finished, she used Atlas Ti's Co-occurrence Table and Query Tool to corroborate the findings. The Co-occurrence Table is used to see the relations between codes in the same quotation and the Query Tool helps to segments the information according to the criteria provided by the researcher in terms of groups of codes or groups of respondents.

Finally, the analysis will focus towards comparing the answers of the respondents segmented in the three levels of analysis; Government, Networks and Community. The advantage of nesting the research in three levels of analysis is that it provides a holistic understanding of what are the factors that ensure the self-sustained organization. By cross referencing the responses of the respondents in different levels of analysis, the researcher can come to conclusions of what are the perceptions per levels of analysis and what are the common and disjunctive points.

3.5.1 Limitations in the Analysis Method

The limitation of the analysis is that, since, it is a comparison of qualitative data, it is highly dependent on the criteria of the researcher the analysis of this information. Also, there is always the risk of missing some kind of information that could be left out from the final report.

3.6 Validity and Reliability

As for the case study, the reliability depends of the accuracy and consistency by which the research design can be replicated for other cases (Van Thiel, 2014). In this case, the standardization of the method by which the government and networks influence the self-sustained organization, allows it to be replicated in other latitudes. It acknowledges that there must be an assessment of the policy framework by which the community organization can be supported. And, at the same time, it wages the importance of developing alternative structures from the state in order for communities to become independent.

As for the validity, the study of this case provides internal validity as it delivers in-depth knowledge of the factors that made the self-sustained organization in Tawanmai. As this information is highly contextual, it cannot be generalized for a larger population. However, the detailed preliminary guidelines of principles may help to find what are the strengths and challenges which other communities may be facing in community organization.

Chapter 4: Research Findings

This chapter presents the findings and analysis of the data collected during fieldwork. In order to answer the sub-questions in relation with the sub-variables it is divided in four main sections. First, it presents information about the Baan Mankong Program and Tawanmai Community in order to contextualize the study. Second, provides a breve summary about the collected data and how is going to be interpreted in the study. Thirdly, in the section “external factors”, its capture the first three sub-questions that reflect how it operates and the scope of the external support provided. Lastly, in the section “internal factors”, they are analysed the last sub-question that focus on the internal impact that such support has within the community.

4.1 Case Study Presentation

4.1.1 The Thai Perspective and the Baan Mankong Program

As previously stated, Thailand had an early assessment of the unequal situation the poor dwellers faced regarding housing provision. As early as 1992, the creation of the Urban Community Development Office (UCDO) signified a redirection of the housing policy in favor of creating schemes that account for the possibilities of the poor. Under this path, the government conditioned loans for income generation, revolving funds, or house and land acquisition in exchange of the communities to organize in saving groups and to network with other communities. Later on, and given its success, this office was consolidated into the Community Organization Development Institute (CODI), an autonomous organization that could cater for poor people in rural and urban areas (Boonyabancha, 2005).

By January 2003, the government launched the “one million houses in five years” challenge. In such initiative, the Baan Ua Arthon (We Care) Program, in which the National Housing Authority would provide ready-to-occupy houses for the higher bracket of the poor, and the lower end of the middle class. Contrastingly, CODI would be in charge of the Baan Mankong (secure house) Program, targeted to the poorest households.

4.1.2 Baan Mankong Program (Secure Housing)

The Baan Mankong Program (BMP) was the first official program in Thailand that recognized the slum inhabitants as developers of formal housing provision (Dhabhalabutr, 2016). In the tacit sense, the Program provides extremely flexible loans and funds for communities to develop its own houses and neighbourhoods. The rationale behind this is that it provides enough financial freedom for the communities to become the principal drivers, own the process and make the decisions that are best for them.

The novelty of the program relies in how the funds are managed. It can be comprehended in two levels and as a division of responsibilities between government and communities. For once, there is an institutional support, CODI, that provides capacity building and intermediation with other stakeholders. Such as: NGO's, academics, construction professionals and other communities. On the other hand, the communities are given the loans collectively and are obligated to constitute a cooperative to pay its debt and solve any given challenge as a group (Dhabhalabutr, 2016).

Alongside, the intervened communities receive additional support in shape of a grant of 5% of the total infrastructure subsidy for them to pay professional services (from an NGO, architect, etc.) in any matter they decide is needed. And, a “*process support subsidy*”, to cover the expense of linking the BMP communities at a national level. This can be among others, learning exchange visits, on-the-job training activities and seminars (Patcharapon and Jovovich, 2012).

Since its beginning in 2003, the Baan Mankong has given visibility to Thailand's long-term commitment of implementing community-led processes. In 2008, the UN ESCAP recognized the BMP as being one of the best Asian practices for low-income housing development (Dhabhalabutr, 2016). By 2011 as for officials figures of CODI, the Baan Mankong had covered: 1,546 communities; which accounted for 90,813 households in; 277 cities (CODI, 201?).

4.1.3 Tawanmai Community

*To get where we are today,
Unified to be one mind, no need for investors,
Unified to be strong, no more conflicts
Tawanmai Community, unified mind to harmonize
(Tawanmai Community moto)*

Tawanmai Community is regarded as one of the success stories of the Baan Mankong. For five consecutive years this community has won CODI's "Best Cooperative Award". Likewise, for outsiders such as academics and planners, it has become a reference of the reaches that participative planning can have. For the purpose of this study the presentation of the case will be segmented in three sub-sections; General Information, History, and Relevance for the Study.

4.1.3.1 General Information

In 2004, the national authorities decided to introduce the Baan Mankong Program in the poorest region of Thailand; the North-East. The chosen city to launch three pilot projects was Khon Kaen City, a secondary city with high levels of urbanization due to its strategic location close to the borders of Laos and Myanmar. This situation has made that the city to have a protagonist role as a hub for commerce, finance, education and communication in the region (Yongvanit and Thungsakul, 2013).

As for the community, before entering the Program, they were regarded as "the community of the renters", as they lived in an informal settlement of rented shacks but without secure tenure. Given its level of vulnerability, the government approached them to introduce the BMP. The aim of the project was to resettle the community to a place where they can have secure collective tenure. In 2004, Tawanmai Community decided to settle in a piece of land close to KK University but with scarce infrastructure services. However, given the direction the city has grown in the past 14 years, Tawanmai's land has become significantly valuable. Nowadays, the community is in close proximity to the University, medical centres, temples and schools. For the residents this has meant an increase of its employment opportunities and livelihood.

The construction of Tawanmai finished in 2007 and, according to the community's records, it constitutes of 145 households and 446 residents. It is expected that by 2020 the community will finish to pay the CODI loan.

4.1.3.2 History

Back in 2004, when the resettlement of the former habitants of Dynamo started, the aim of CODI was to find complex cases that could set an example for poor slums to get involved in the participative process of the Program. For this outcome, the national government negotiated with local actors that could provide support to the selected communities. For example; they leased with the Faculty of Architecture in Khon Kaen University to help in the design process and, likewise, with the Municipality to facilitate the connection to services in the area that the community could afford.

The chosen community to begin a resettlement project was Dynamo; an informal settlement created in the seventies and formed by shacks for rent without direct access to electricity, water

or secure tenure. Furthermore, the dwellers were facing exponential increases on the price rent as a pressure strategy from the landowner to move from its land. The increases could go from 5 Baht p/ day to 20 Baht p/ day the next one. This situation that made the community to enter into an emergency state to find new housing options. (Dhabhalabutr, 2016).

As a group, one of the main advantages that they had at the beginning of the Project – and that continued having relevance in the subsequent years-was that the settlers knew each other. Most of the Dynamo dwellers had been there for some time and even if they were not close, there was some degree of familiarity and trust. Likewise, the few families that were selected from outside the community, had to be recommended by a Dynamo family. Alongside, to strengthen even more the cohesion of this community, it is important to remark that from the very beginning they counted with a leadership figure: Mae AmNuay.

Mae AmNuay was not a resident in Dynamo, she was a teacher that lived close by and that would sell water to the people in the community. As a result, she and the community developed a symbiotic relation; she recognized the financial and emotional support that selling water has had in paying for the education of her children. Correspondingly, the members in the community had a deep respect for her role of teacher and used to approached her for guidance. With time, her influence was such that she became an iconic figure to Tawanmai and that external actors will refer as “the teacher”. When the time to participate in the Baan Mankong came, she decided to move along with the community to the new location and continue to guide them in any possible way.

4.1.3.3 Relevance for the Study

Tawanmai Community started the Baan Mankong Program fourteen years ago and finished the construction eleven years ago. This provides a pertinent time window to assess if the community continued having self-sustained organization even after the direct involvement of the government is gone. Likewise, the fact the it was a pilot project provides certain advantage as usually the participants – community and external actors-are more willing to commit to the consolidation process.



Figure 2 Dynamo Community



Figure 3 Tawanmai Community

4.2 Data Preparation and Analysis

As mentioned in section 3.5, the collected data was imputed into Atlas Ti to make an objective analysis. The general summary is presented in Table 13, where it is shown how robust each code group is in terms of number of codes and number of quotations. A more detailed list of the group codes and the codes is offered in Annex 3.

Table 14 provides the opportunity to generate a preliminary assessment before starting the in-depth analysis. (1) the Dependent Variable is the most robust group and within it comes to attention that “Community Leadership” is the most robust Code. This will be further explained in the analysed data; (2) the second group in number of quotations is Extended Network Management, outcome that can be partially explained due to the fact that accounts for relations with Khon Kaen University, National Government, Local Government and other communities. It can be inferred that as the process becomes more complex, such the network. (3) The Independent Variable, “New Assisted Self-Help Paradigm”, is the group with least number of quotations, this can be justified as “Assisted Self-Help” does not mean that the government is going to solve every problem, but rather that it is going to act as an effective Network Manager, reducing its burden and improving the quality of the network. (4) Finally, it is important to highlight that the reason of the weight in added codes is that, as mentioned in Section 3.5, “Community Empowerment” was a code that had to be added during the coding process and that it accounts for 68 quotations out of the 108.

Table 14 Summary of the Coding Groups

Variable	Group Code	No. Codes	No. Quotations	Total
Independent Variable	Government Intermediation	4	35	94
	Government Capacity Building	5	59	
Intermediate Variable	Network Relation	6	141	215
	Network Support	4	74	
Dependent Variable	Community Autonomy	6	108	426
	Community Awareness	4	73	
	Community Consolidation	6	107	
	Community Leadership	6	138	
Added Code	Added Codes	3	108	108
	Total	44	843	843

It is also important to clarify how the answers of the respondents were treated in the further analysis. This study used the attached memos mentioned in section 3.5 as the first filter of data analysis. Afterwards, the Co-occurrence and Query tools of Altas Ti were used as discretion of the researcher. Lastly, as one of the main sources of validity in this research is the comparison of answers between the levels of organization, each quotation mentions first the level of analysis and then, the name or position of the respondent. For example; (*Community, Mae AmNuay*), or (*Network, Community Manager*). The specific role that each actor takes (or took) in the development of Tawanmai Community can be consulted in Table 12.

4.2 External factors

It is regarded that in an Assisted Self-Help approach the intervened community will need the support from the government and of an extended network in order to consolidate. This is particularly important on an early stage, as the community is going through a knowledge curve and developing the contacts that will help them during the process. This section covers the first

two sub-questions. The first one, relates to the Independent Variable “New Assisted Self-Help Paradigm”, and it reflects the governmental arrangement under the program takes place. The second sub-question, recounts for the Intermediate Variable, “Extended Network Management”, and describes the kind of support the community receives during the Baan Mankong.

1). How does the government facilitate the self-help approach in the Baan Mankong?

To answer this question, it is important to focus on the broader context of the Baan Mankong Program. For once, it is an initiative that, in order to work, a whole range of actors have to commit to. Hence, it has to be framed in a very clear ground of division of responsibilities and governance arrangements. On the other side, there must be an intensive accompaniment by the government at the beginning of the process while the community gain useful skills and acquire trust in the process. These two aspects are reflected in the sections “City-Wide Upgrading and Governance” and “Intensive Training at an Early Stage”.

In this question the research strategy was to refer to the memos the researcher attached to potential answers. Alongside, the Query Tool was used to explore the repetitions between the code (1) General Background, and the code groups (2) Government Intervention, (3) Government Capacity Building and (4) Network Support, as a way to cross-reference the researcher’s findings.

4.2.1 Governance

In the research, it was identified that two of the rationales behind taking a city-wide upgrading approach was to break with the stigma put on poor communities and to make the process easier to manage. It calls for attention that the two levels who had this idea present were the levels of the Government and the Network. For the side of the Government, it can be identified that there is a call for unity, but also a pragmatical approach as they realize that making it on a larger scale will make the whole process easier. On the other hand, for the Network level, they accentuate the importance of going in a collective way in order to integrate the poor communities into the society. Phrases like “all community to join”, “everybody in the city are in the same board of thinking” and “we can change together” denote both intentions.

“Change is possible, not big deal. And then they start being more confident and then learn how to move. If you do it at a city-wide scale, so everybody in the city are in the same board of thinking, this will be easy. Easier than going in on project in the city and the social worker have to keep going there. (...). In a city-wide everybody thinks like this; you can change, we can change together, the city also go with us.” (Government, National CODI)

“Whenever you start the city-wide program you allow the people, not only the poor people but the all community to join. In the past, in the first period of BM the people over here, they totally disagree with the BMP, because they don’t get advanced anymore for the reason that I said, why choose this people to have the benefits from the government they cost more money to all the community, This, is the reason why CODI changed from the community approach to the city-wide. (Network, Sakkarin Sapu)

Furthermore, the Baan Mankong calls for a reconceptualization the poor communities. This was found to be an angular aspect of the process as it transforms the relation between the poor communities and the different stakeholders. In the interview with CODI KK, they were suggested 5 guidelines by which the BMP communities gained responsibilities in the housing project and were recognized on a larger network; (1) turn the poor communities into the drivers of the project; (2) inclusion in the power structure (decision making); (3) share knowledge and information; (4) Funding support; and, (5) change in the legal system.

“Five changing concepts because of the BMP.

[1] First one is that the poor becomes the tool to drive this project themselves, (...)

[2] (...) **now the poor has been included in the power structure in terms of administration** (...) so the poor help determine the policy

[3] (...) these poor people are given useful knowledge and information and after working for a while they started to produce their own knowledge and they can share this knowledge. (...)

[4] **funding policy**. (...) the people are taught to do the savings schemes and they have the knowledge to do the Co-operative (...) government also directly support the project by giving fiscal national funding to them and also including the loans (...)

[5] **changing of the legal systems**. Also, this is not very apparent at the moment but we can see that legal system will be shaped into supporting these poor people as well."

(Government, CODI Khon Kaen)

Finally, as for the last point referring to the legal system, it was a serious concern for the researcher the existence of a formal institutional arrangements. One of the key findings in this regard was that there is not a formal policy as such, but rather a formal institution, CODI, that manages the Program. In the interviews with Government and Network, it was found out that this does not signify a contention point for them. This is due to the fact that there is a formal support of the government by providing funding and intervention of local authorities if needed. Furthermore, the respondents identified this characteristic as the one that allows the Program to operate on a case-to-case basis and permits each community to own its process.

"So it means that for housing policy we don't have the problem on this form. **The problem is on yourself; how can you move fast? Spread wide and make all the elements on the ground to work**. So we are ok with the policy, we have the money, we have the subsidy and every year we get the government budget for the subsidy (...). So it's sort of ok with one organization, CODI." (Government, National CODI)

"**The structure of the governance**, you got community, you got structure of decision making. (...) **I think you need to look at it case by case**. Ban Mankong in Tawanmai project may not be similar to somewhere else. (...) And another one I think is the municipality of the local government need to sort of also involve. The government officials also need to actively participate in the process." (Network, PhD Buapan)

Reflected in the community, it is recognized that such an integral support triggers their inclusion into a larger network. This creates the basis of a long (and intense) relationship between the community, the government and the city actors that will participate to consolidate the community's housing aspiration and organization.

"**fortunately, that CODI and the state suggested this program just right in time**. (...) Also, the **CODI and the state, gave us knowledge about the program** and when they clarified what they were going to do. **And what we are going to encounter within these 10 years in the future**." (Community, Mae AmNuay)

4.2.2 Training and Intermediation

While conducting the interviews, it was found that one of the main challenges in the early stages in the Baan Mankong is the lack of trust in the program. This challenge is recognized by the three levels of analysis. Therefore, the respondents agree that there has to be a more intense accompaniment at the beginning of the process to acquire the needed skills, and to build trust relations with the government and the other actors involved.

"**So, there are some people who are not willing to join this project because they don't have belief that they can get access to, you know, the government support**. They don't have belief in that. But, uh, once they set example, one example has been set and they, they see, you know, perfect example from one phase to another." (Government, CODI Khon Kaen)

"**No one believes that there will be a crazy man give villagers money and told them buy a land which cost one million per rai while they have no money**. That's why we have to learn from the people who have done before. It's the first stage that needs to learn from friends who have done before and known well about this project." (Network, Community Manager)

"**The CODI talked about the saving group, but I didn't trust they would build a house for us**. I participated in the saving group though. I saved 10 baht each day then more and more. The CODI held a lot of meeting then I began to understand how it works." (Community, Volunteer)

As reflected in the previous statements and in the following ones, one of the most important findings in this section was the protagonist role that CODI takes at the beginning of the process. Phrases like “CODI is the intermediate organization” or “CODI took our group to a study trip” reflects the centre position that this organization has.

“in the first state, even in the local, the don’t know any more about the BMP. But the CODI is the intermediate organization to work together.”. (Network, Sakkarin Sapu)

The CODI took our group to a study trip in Ayutthaya, and many places in Bangkok then we came back and shared to our friends that if we do it, we will definitely have the house. (Community, Volunteer)

In this research, it is important to stress the identification the respondents have with CODI as a Network Manager and Intermediator. This characteristic was recognized by the three levels of analysis and it is reflected in phrases such as “peer to peer”, “we were approached by CODI about the Baan Mankong” and “we got support from many organizations”.

“We need to find a way to change that in a positive way. Once they are inspired by other possibilities they start thinking “if that slum people can change, why not me?” peer to peer. Learning an advise are really important”. (Government, National CODI)

“we were approached by CODI about the BMP many years ago, and then we have our architectural curriculum, we have some special course (...) And then we decided to choose affordable housing project, the BMP, at that time it was a BMP.” (Network, KK University)

“At the beginning, (...) we got support from many organizations, from CODI, from municipality, from province cooperative and also from the universities. (...) For example, for the province cooperative, they support in terms of knowledge in accountability (...) Also not just only from the state organizations, we also were supported to share knowledge from other communities as well.” (Community, Mae AmNuay)

Reflected in the community, it was observed that such an intense training and exposure gradually changed the community members behavior into a more disciplined and organized one.

“I don’t know exactly but I know many stories about this community, for example one family saved money before and they tried to change the behavior saving every day, one Baht, ten Baht” (Network, Sakkarin Sapu)

“I shared the information with every single one of them and talked to them that if we didn’t do the saving group, we won’t be able to have the house. Would they like to rent the house for the rest of their lives? How about our children lives? Don’t quit from the saving group.” (Community, Volunteer)

2). Which kind of support is needed for the consolidation of a self-sustained community organization?

In the Baan Mankong Program, the communities receive capacitation and professional support in order to consolidate. As shown in Figure 4 this kind of support varies from actor and type. This section was developed using the memos attached by the author to the quotations and the construction of a Co-Occurrence Table (Annex 4). The Co-Occurrence Table was built by merging the Code Groups “Government Capacity Building” and “Network Relation” in order to see *who* was providing the support. Afterwards, it was confronted with the Code Group “Network Support” to evaluate *what kind* of support was provided. By looking at the Co-Occurrence table, it can be inferred strong correlations between: (1) “Construction Support” with “Khon Kaen University”; (2) “Financial Support” with “CODI”; (3) “Shared Knowledge Support” with “Other Communities” and, (4) “Organization Support” with “CODI”. As for how these relations work, will be discussed in this section. As there is a coincidence between the codes Financial Support and Community Organization it its relation with CODI, this relation will be analyzed together.

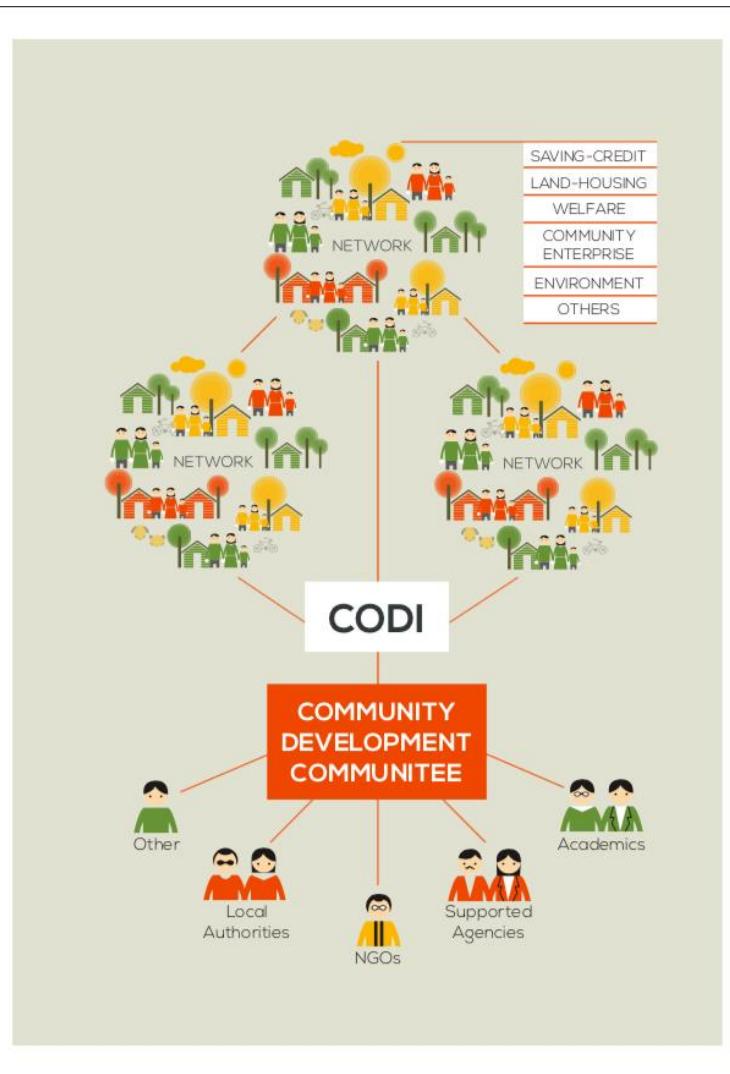


Figure 4 Baan Mankong Network Support

4.2.3 Financial Support

CODI's financial support was something that was acknowledged by all the levels of analysis. As for the Government level, it was particularly clear that the freedom that they had to implement the program it was that they had the financial stability to engage in a long-term commitment; *"the important thing is that we had money"*. Furthermore, such stability allowed them to establish conditions from the communities who were interested in accessing the fund. Such as start saving groups and develop management systems.

"I will say in Thailand CODI started from a lot of learning of good-possible process and we had just one agency but the important thing is that we had money. We start to have the loan fund; community fund. By having community fund we say "all poor people can access this fund, this is poor people fund". (...) This fund is for you but you have to have the capacity and to be community bank very simple; start a saving group, take the management system very small [doesn't matter] and get going." (Government, National CODI)

Another important finding in relation to the funding and the organization is that CODI uses the loan as a persuasive to agree in collective responsibilities. For the Government level, is about the collective commitment that the community can take, and the degree of support that they can develop accounting for the possibilities of every member; *"the social aspect is more important and have to plan and save accordingly"*. For the Network level, is about the commitment they make to external actors; *"they have to save at least 10% of the total budget"*.

“They have to plan according to the amount they save. They understand that everyone in the community should be able to afford. Because in the BMP the understand that the social aspect is more important and have to plan and save accordingly. That is very important.” (Government, CODI KK)

“Before approve the project, the whole community have to show that every member in the project saved regularly and then I think they have to save at least 10% of the total budget that they asked to. So if they ask 2 million they have to save 200,000, something like that so that is the requirement.” (Network, KK University)

Finally, when asked the community members their opinion about this approach, the researcher obtained positive responses. It was a unanimous response that this model in which they acquire responsibilities was preferable instead of one in which the government only gives the money to the community. In the answers they were identified two main reasons to prefer the initiative developed by CODI in the Baan Mankong; (1) it was recognized as program that facilitates the access of low-income dwellers to housing and, (2) they have perceived a change in their behavior as a result of being committed to their community and to the housing development process.

“[How would you score the BMP?] I will give a 100. I'm a full score. I feel like many people will feel the same because these projects would open the opportunity for people with low income and they were not asked to present their salary statement. And we have saved until today still, you know, some members still keep saving maybe a 100 THB a day, 200 THB a day, you know, every single day, you know, because it's pretty difficult to find a big sum of saving.” (Community, Community Leader)

4.2.4 Construction Support

Once the community had purchased the land, CODI facilitated the contact with the principal stakeholder who provided construction support, Khon Kaen University. Under this arrangement, KKU used the upgrading of Tawanmai as an “in field” teaching for the students from the Faculty of Architecture. In exchange, the community received full support to develop the community accordingly to what they had in mind.

For Tawanmai, the construction process was highly participatory. Once the community selected and bought the land, professors and students from KKU approached the community to find out what do they needed. The student took the responsibility of materializing the community’s ideas. Advised by their teachers, they delivered several alternatives for Tawanmai’s houses and general layout. In this period the conversation went back and forward; the students had to present the proposals and, the community members had to approve or modify them before turning them into action.

“the design process starts, first we ask the community to pick the location that they want to relocate. They change the place three times. (...) When we get the location that they want to stay and we got the deed from the land and the layout, the student will design the layout many options, many alternatives and then discuss if you choose this one “how many options and how many units”. Finally, they will be different and for example; “you will have 100 units with how many areas of free space and whatever”. Then we show them and they discuss and they pick which one will have.” (Network, KK University)

“We split students in groups and then we went to the community twice a week in the evening, twice or maybe three times a week and during the evening from 6 to 8pm. From there the students learned with the community.” (Network, KK University)

By the responses in the interviews with KKU and in Tawanmai, it was evident that the drivers of the process were the community. They took care of the management of the funds and made the final decision for the housing and community design.

they were really excited to know that's their house; “how much is that?” “how much is the size of that room?” and then the student have to learn a lot of how to estimate the construction and the house.” (Network, KK University)

“They put the Bathroom outside the house, so we got to go outside when we need to use it. Therefore, we said no to the architect then he designed the new one that we use in every house now.” (Community, Volunteer)

Given the time window of Tawanmai’s construction, it allowed for the respondent from KKU to do further reflections of the impact that this participative process have had on both parties. For once, the community recognize that by this action they took ownership of the project. On the other side, the University recognized that this project had sensitized the students in their approach to poor communities.

“after we started the project a few years later we had a tsunami in Southern part of Thailand and many volunteers of architects to rebuild were our students from that group reached out CODI and work in rebuild the communities (...) from CODI we asked them how our students did and they said our students worked with the community very good, they know how to work with the people and that’s what they learned from BMP.” (Network, KK University)

However, it was also acknowledged that one of the challenges for the escalation of this kind of approach is the time and resources commitment that signifies for the Extended Network As stated by the respondent from KK University, the students will continue with their courses however, the Faculty has a permanent responsibility with the community.

“The problem is that our semester is only 15 weeks but BMP is extended for longer than that and then, when we wrap up the course at the end of the semester, the course is just like a design, not the construction and building. But also, that not the student but the faculty member has to go back to the community and help them.” (Network, KK University)



Figure 5 Participatory design process. KKU and Tawanmai Community

4.2.5 Shared Knowledge Support

In this research, it was found out that the term “*shared of knowledge*” was mostly used to refer to the interactions between communities to share their experience. On the first stage, CODI will facilitate these relations for the new communities that are signing in into the program would trust the process. On a second stage, these linkages will help the community to solve specific problems within its community.

“The community needs to have capacity. We always use the community network and the city to support the community to be able to develop things together as a group. (...) Help mean... maybe they can have a visit to see some other community because sometimes when you start the project people may have a lot of problems, this is the reality. And the planner say “I cannot do it”. (Government, National CODI)

“CODI is like an intermediary to link each other and to make the connections between the communities. Not only in Khon Kaen, but to another provinces, that’s the first kind.” (Network, Sakkarin Sapu)

On this realm, it is important to distinguish the separation the interviewees made between “the formal” and “the informal” network. The formal network was used to refer to the connections CODI has made for them at an early stage of the process. Contrastingly, the informal network is the one that the community developed by itself and that relies heavily in peer-to-peer connections. The following statement gains relevance as it was formulated after a discussion between the researcher, the network Community Manager (who has herself a beneficiary of the BMP), and Sakkarin Sapu, a social worker and researcher, who has studied closely the complexity of the networks in the BMP.

“We have different kinds of networks but we can categorize them in two; The first is the informal network that she [Network, Community Manager] says and it depends on the context of the community to change the other. CODI is like an intermediary to link each other and to make the connections between the communities. Not only in Khon Kaen, but to another provinces, that's the first kind.” (Network, Sakkarin Sapu)

The distinction between formal and informal networks is very blurry and in a lot of occasions it overlaps depending on factors such as: the leader’s character or the interest the community and the other actors have. However, what most be highlighted in this section is the finding that the “informal network” or “shared knowledge support” is used as a bridge between professionals and communities. In this sense, the *form* in which the message is convey gains relevance as it positions the interlocutors “in the same level”.

“that informal network is one part of a formal network. (Network, Community Manager) It's more dynamic because one cannot separate the two of them. Because sometimes it depends on how strong is a leadership then you get into this informal interjection. It invites to share the knowledge in the same level, the relation between people and as she says they speak the same language and not in academic terms.” (Network, Sakkarin Sapu)

“they went to the other province to see the example of this project and instead of having academics talking to them about the project, they got the community leaders and the people in the community to talk to them, so they spoke the same language” (Network, KK University)

4.2.6 CODI’s limitations

In section 4.2.2, *Training and Intermediation*, it was presented by the finding that CODI has a protagonist role at the early stage of the process. Nonetheless, as the program continues, it was found that CODI cannot cover every aspect of the program; it was acknowledged by the government level of analysis that the main tasks of capacity building and savings consolidation.

“But CODI itself has to be responsible for capacity building and then you have the cooperative department.” (Government, National CODI)

However, once the early stage is finished, it was found that CODI would take a step back in order for the community to take ownership of the project. In the government’s, network and community levels -taking the Community Manager as a voice of the communities-it was recognized the operative limitations of CODI. For the governments level it was expressed as; “we leave the problem to the community”; for the network level it was acknowledged the lack of time. Finally, for the community level, it was understood that CODI could not “support all issues”.

[Statement provided as an answer about release negotiation] “We leave that problem to the community. They were slums, they didn't have any legal status, they managed to have some legal status and then after they finish their lease and they don't know what to do is their problem.” (Government, National CODI)

“Sometimes we need to make this our problem because we need to connect to another Institute; to the Land Department, to the cooperative... (...) and you need to come together with the academic. Because, for example, they have send the project to the CODI and CODI have not enough time to develop the entire project.” (Network, Sakkarin Sapu)

“About the budget, CODI cannot support all issues so the project will have some parts that can be operated and cannot be. For example, the budget spending, things out of CODI’s must be excluded, so there is a joint between waiting for municipality’s budget to continue another part of project.” (Network, Community Manager)

In either of these statements it was perceived a negative connotation. Contrastingly, it was understood as a natural division of responsibilities.

4.3 Sub-Conclusions for External Factors

For the Independent Variable, “New Assisted Self-Help Paradigm”, it was found that in order for the Baan Mankong to succeed, there must be a complete system put into place that allows the division of responsibilities. On the one hand, it has to encourage different actors in the city to get involved in the Baan Mankong Program. On the other hand, the reconceptualization of the poor communities as it recognizes their capacities and the challenges in terms of organization, management and finance. It is also to highlight that the existence of CODI provides an institutional support for poor communities and this characteristic was strongly present in the answer of the respondents. Finally, as a way landing this governance arrangement in the community’s reality, each sub-section of the first question ends with a quote that tries to express the perception of the community. In both cases the responses were positive as the respondents recognized that the Program helped them to cover their housing need and that the process had encouraged them to change their behaviour.

For the Intermediate Variable, “Extended Network Management”, it was acknowledged by the respondents the importance CODI has as the mediator and financial supporter to trigger the process. At the same time, it was also recognized that CODI cannot do everything by itself. Therefore, it is highlighted the importance of creating “formal” and “informal” networks. The first one, with professionals and institutions that aid in the development of skills. The second one, with similar communities that can share their experience and help them trust the Program. Finally, another important finding in this variable was the co-responsible relations that the community engages in; they receive help but, in the end, they are the ones who have to guide the process. For example, in the management of the funds and in the construction design.

Up until now the research findings have presented a general picture of the Program. The governance arrangement and the kind of support provided by the extended network can be generalized to other communities participating in the Baan Mankong. The next section, Internal Factors, presents the findings of how this support machinery influenced the consolidation process on Tawanmai Community.

4.4. Internal Factors

The internal factors relate to the effect that the Independent Variable, “New Assisted Self-Help Paradigm” and Intermediate Variables, “Extended Network Management”, have on the Dependent Variable; “Self-Sustained Community Organization”. As a case study, this research focuses on how Tawanmai Community have interiorized the external support they received during the Baan Mankong Program. To do so, this section covers the last two sub-questions; the first one, relates to how the financial and network support contributed to the consolidation of the community in the long term. The second one, refers to how the training and exposure to different actors influenced Tawanmai residents to create organizational arrangements that adjust to their needs.

3). How does financial and network support contribute to sustainability of the community organization in the long term?

As stated in Chapter Two in relation to The Cooperative Model, “stability is a precondition to dream big”. In the Baan Mankong Program the financial and network support has a material outcome as it provides certainty for the community to develop. Furthermore, in the Thai context, the formalization of saving groups into cooperatives has meant to transfer the responsibility of managing the loan and the relations with other actors to the community. The thesis of this work is that this situation creates the conditions for the community to gain awareness – individual and collectively-of their rights and responsibilities to a larger network. Likewise, it provides autonomy to take their own decisions and build their own relations freely.

As for how the data was analysed, the attached memos were taken deeply into consideration. Alongside, the Code Groups “Community Awareness” and “Community Autonomy” were cross-referenced with the Free Code “Community Empowerment”.

4.4.1 Awareness

In the research, it was acknowledged by all the respondents the strong co-relation between the physical environment and the residents state of mind. The Baan Mankong Program goes beyond improving housing conditions and triggers a transformation in how the community perceives themselves as individuals and as a collective. In other words, awareness.

In the interview with the respondent from National CODI, it was stressed out the importance of “*changing the visible structures in order to change the invisible ones*”. In this sense, the upgrading is understood as the process by which people who are not used to have decision power takes control of the situation. For the government level, this situation is framed as part of a strategy to include the people of the most vulnerable situations in a larger network. As for the community, this helps them to gain confidence on themselves and among each other. Hence, realizing that they can engage in equitable relations with its neighbors and as a group with other actors in the city. In the interview, the community leader emphasized the sense of belonging and the pride of achieving something they could not have done by themselves: have their own house.

“(...) Include their existence, include their say, include their participation. Therefore, when we talk about upgrading a community, doesn't mean upgrading of the physical, only. You are upgrading the power of everybody in the community.” (Government, National CODI)

“But if we worked by ourselves, we will feel the sense of belonging is not just only the house that we live in, but it's our spirit, our mind as well. (...) for us, most of us this is our first house. So, we saw the changes. Every bit by bit. So, our heart and mind were put into the house. We feel the love, we feel that we would like to take care of the community.” (Community, Community Leader)

Furthermore, it was observed that the awareness of its individual and collective capacities allowed Tawanmai members to build meaningful relations with each other and external actors. For once, this helped the community to manage the housing process: they divided the responsibilities and monitored every step. As explained in the interview with the community leader, they were willing to take that length of responsibility because they were committed to the same outcome. Likewise, in the Focus Group, it was reflected that in order to fulfill this common goal, the community understood that they had to make substantial changes as group. For example, Tawanmai residents, recognized that they had become more open to people from outside the community. This resulted from its comprehension that they were now engaging in equal terms with other actors.

“(...) we try to encourage people to join hand, to monitor, to be part of the house construction by themselves, (...) we feel happy. It feels like we built this house by our own hands.” (Community Leader)

We got an opportunity to go out of the community to join in the meeting to join the training. So we have had an eye opening experience like that. In the past we didn't know a lot of people, but nowadays we know how to welcome strangers to our community. We know how to deal with them. So we have been trained into being more open. (Community, Focus Group)

Finally, in retrospective, when asked about its perception about the changes they experienced from its time in Dynamo and its current live in Tawanmai. The respondents identified that the physical and social environment improved for the better. When asked about its conditions in Dynamo, the community acknowledged that its lack of secure tenure had them on a permanent vulnerable position and with limited access to the welfare programs. Alongside, they also recognized that in addition to its vulnerable state, they did not know about what kind of support they could access from the government and other actors.

(...) and if, I got evicted. I didn't know where to go and where to leave. Without this project, I wouldn't have known, what my condition would be nowadays. (Community, Focus Group)

When the time I was at the Dynamo, I didn't even know the word development. After moving here, everything is better. We got to change in order to improve ourselves. We have the knowledge about social welfares that we didn't know anything at all back at Dynamo. (Community, Volunteer)

In contraposition, when asked about their conditions in Tawanmai, there was a recognition of a physical improvement paired with a positive change in its state of mind. The safety provided by having a solid and stable home have had an impact in its self-esteem, and expanded the limits about what they think they can accomplish.

It's only a pride. When it's raining, we are warm inside, so just rain ahead. The roof is strong, so I'll sleep happily. (Community, Volunteer)

If we don't cooperate, if you don't work together, this would be impossible to succeed. We just cannot have only the leader, the director or the leader of the community. But, everybody loved each other. So we work together. (Community, Focus Group)



Figure 6 Collective activity Tawanmai. Lunch and preparation for funeral ceremony

4.4.2 Autonomy.

In the Baan Mankong Program, by providing financial and network support, the communities are integrated to the formal structure. This has a material and an intangible connotation. For once, it means that the people in the community acquire a registration. Hence, access to the welfare system. Similarly, this insertion to the system is also paired with the freedom they gain to make their own choices and manage their resources. As stated in the interview with the Community Volunteer, having a formal registration allows them to sign contracts. Likewise, as house owners, they recognized its freedom to manage things by themselves.

“When we have a house, we’ll also have a house registration then we can make a contract to use water and electricity. Because I’m a house owner, I have to manage this thing myself.” (Community, Volunteer)

As stated in section 4.2.2, *Training and Intermediation*, the intensive capacitation that the communities receive at the beginning of the program is aimed for the communities to gain independence; autonomy. In the previous section it was stated CODI’s intention to facilitate the access to funds and a larger network. However, in order to consolidate, the community has to become responsible of the financial management and interactions with other actors. When asked about this situation, in general the residents of Tawanmai confirmed that with time the intermediation support from the government decreased and their responsibilities increased. As stated by the Community Volunteer; *“after we have the Cooperative, the CODI faded out and let us organized by ourselves”*.

While conducting the research, it was found that for Tawanmai Community, CODI’s requirement to constitute the Cooperative had successfully inclined the community to organize. As explained by the respondent from National CODI, CODI can outsource the capacity building to an external actor. However, the loan itself can only be given to the community, trusting that they would use it in a proper manner.

“we don’t give loan to NGO. (...) But you can pay NGO to build capacity to the community. (...) But if you are going to give loan to the community, this means you need to be sure that people have sufficient capacity to manage and that is the development.” (Government, National CODI)

Nonetheless, in the interview with a representant from the network level, it was a significant to find out that for five years now Tawanmai’s Cooperative had been paying the loan directly to the bank, instead to CODI. This was considered an important finding for three reasons; (1) it was an indicator that the Cooperative was recognized as a formal actor; (2) the Community had successfully committed in a long-term agreement with an external actor, the bank; and, (3) it also indicated that the community had broken its financial dependency with the government.

“(...) 5 years ago. Just moved from the contract with the CODI funding, to the bank, because in terms of technique the CODI funding they need the money to fuel the funding and ok. Another concept I want to make sure about the state art of the people, they try to encourage the community to connect to the bank by themselves, without have any intermediation.” (Network, Sakarin Sappu)

As for its extended network, it was corroborated that the community had continued and consolidated some of the relations that they had built during the Baan Mankong Program. In the case of Tawanmai, the community managed to build co-responsible relations with two main actors: the local government and Khon Kaen University. For the first one, Tawanmai remain as a consultor and point of reference in the Citywide Network Committee. For the community, this has meant to preserve the communication channels with the local authorities and, for KKC authorities, it has signified a loyal partner to approach other vulnerable communities and in the city-wide upgrading programs. As for KKU, the relation built during the BMP, has allowed new students to directly approach the community and learn from its experience.

In relation with the local government, Tawanmai Community, as pilot project of the BMP and a success case of the city-wide upgrading, holds a position in such Committee to advice about other projects.

"We have the community call a citywide network. They comply you already with all securities and the office of cooperative and many agencies come together. This is a group of people taking care of the regulation, the policy. A group of Baan Mankong is a group of actions." (Network, PhD Kit)

This position has allowed the community to have updated information about the current programs Khon Kaen City is running and how they can access to additional funds for the community's improvement. In the research it was also found that the community have until today very strong and efficient communication channels with the Municipal authorities; as the Community Leader elaborates, *"every time that we got any community problem we can just inform them [the Municipality] through this Line Application"*. Furthermore, it is important to note that this relation is not only Tawanmai demanding things from the Municipality, but rather that is a co-responsible relation by which both actors' benefit.

For example, Tawanmai actively participates in the Municipality's program: *Khon Kaen People Will Not Be Left Behind*. In this program, Tawanmai Community has preserved a house in the community for people who are in vulnerable conditions given sickness or unemployment. This people are received in the Community and they are expected to pay a symbolic rent amount until they can be back on their feet.

"And it is called "Khon Kaen People Will Not Be Left Behind" (...) the basic idea is that this community has preserved one central house, one central space or a house for the needed people (...) actually these people are not residents of Tawanmai, but they are welcomed here as part of the Khon Kaen municipality program." (Community, Mae AmNuay)

As for the relation of the community with Khon Kaen University, they have continued receiving students who want to study different aspects from the BMP. This is a way the community identified to give back something from the support they received from KKU back in the period when they were developing their homes.

"Especially for students in Khon Kaen University, many of them were doing some thesis topics and they came here for knowledge sharing and we are very open for them. We are willing to help so that they can study and they can graduate. (...) So Khon Kaen University would send many groups of students with the community. And we met a lot of people already." (Community, Focus Group)

In general, it can be perceived that the community is now independent from the government intermediations and are free to make their own decisions. Furthermore, it was recognized that this sense of autonomy was paired with a solidarity spirit and a strong commitment to give back to the people inside and outside the community.

4). How does capacity building contribute to the sustainability of the community organization in the long term?

As the financial and network support provides awareness and autonomy to the community, the capacity building is the component in the Baan Mankong Program that delivers the needed skills for the community to own the process. As times goes by, the intention is that the dependence of the community to external organizational structures decreases, hence, becoming self-sustained. To do so, it is imperative for the community to create their own organizational structures and develop leadership qualities in its members.

This question was answered by using the attached memos as the main guidance. Afterwards, the quotes were cross-checked and compered with the results thrown by using the Query-Tool.

In this second analysis, the researcher looked for overlapping's between the Group Condes "Community Consolidation" and "Community Leadership" with the free codes "Community Empowerment" and "Cultural Trait".

4.4.3 Organizational Arrangements

In order to consolidate, it is required that the community come up with their own organizational arrangements. The capacity building is the first step by which the community acquires its first tools and knowledge to learn how to manage its finance and resources. In the Baan Mankong it is required that each community constitutes a Cooperative to receive and manage the loan; the guidelines are somehow homogeneous, as they are based on the booklets provided by the Province Cooperative Authority. However, any further organization depends entirely on the community.

In the case of Tawanmai Community, they have come up with three forms of organization: (1) The Cooperative; who is in charge of the loan payments and collection of money. (2) The Community Leader; who is in charge of the cohesiveness of the community and the distribution of subsidies. (3) The Volunteers Organization; who is in charge of gathering census information within Tawanmai. Even though they have fixed responsibilities, these three organizational structures cooperate among each other to secure the due management of the community as a whole. As stated by Mae AmNuay, "*Because I'm the Director, the leader of the Coop, I have to co-work with the Community Leader as well*". And so on, the information gathered by the Volunteers help to focus the pertinent actions to improve the community. Or find potential trouble nodes.

Following is the description and impressions of these three structures.

4.4.3.1 *The Cooperative*

In the Baan Mankong the Cooperative is the only organizational structure that the community is requested to form. It is the entity that manages the payment loan and the communal savings for the people within the community. As such, it was recognized by both the government and the community levels that it is "the formal" organization within the community. Therefore, the people participating in the Cooperative have to have a minimum scholar education to do the calculations and management of the funds. Likewise, it needs the support from the specialized institutions -such as CODI and the Cooperative Province Department-to provide training and basic standardizations rules for make this organization accountable.

"Cooperative department has the responsibility that when you set as a community you have the capacity to manage the system as a cooperative. So, there is a training, there is a support, there is the link." (Government, National CODI)

Formalized by the government guidelines. I used the sample from the province, Khon Kaen City Municipality, so we got like regulation formalized by the municipality. (Community, Mae AmNuay)

However, the guideless provided by the Cooperative Province Department remain minimum so that each community can enforce its own rules. In the case of Tawanmai, three aspects have been pivotal for its constitution:

1. *Election and alternation for the Cooperative Director.* Every Director has to be voted by the Cooperative Committee (see Annex 5) and cannot be voted for consecutive terms.

"I got to be in the position for four years and then someone else will take the position and after four years and now that we will take the position from election." (Community, Mae AmNuay)

2. *Alternatives for Saving Scheme.* The Cooperative recognizes the different saving capacities of each member. Therefore, they provide saving options as long as they pay 2000 Baht per

month to cover the share cost, the house construction loan, the payment for the land and the saving money (see Annex 6).

“the fact that we started to put a regulation in terms of finance, like we have started to make the finance become more disciplined for these people because, at the beginning, these people could not save monthly. It was impossible for them. So, we suggested to them that we could do the saving scheme as daily basis, so they can save a within their capability. So, if they can save just only 1THB to 5THB a day, that is possible as well. So, we gave them options. (...)” (Community, Mae AmNuay)

3. *Accountability measures.* The Cooperative Province Department establish that there must be a Cooperative Committee formed by people who have a minimum level of literacy. This group guards that the finance and management of the members' money are managed correctly. In Tawanmai, they have gone beyond this committee and included people outside the committee to look after the doings of the Cooperative.

“We want to blame each other if there were something wrong because we got to monitor together. That's what's, our strict rules so that we can protect our self and also, we would like to make sure that all process run smoothly, not only to protect the wrongdoing, so it will help to less the burden of the corporative committee because we got like double monitor from different size. So, we kind of giving opportunity for community members to share the responsibility.” (Community, Mae AmNuay)

Furthermore, while discussing with the Focus Group and in the different interviews with community members, it was observed that the payment to the Cooperative was not only a financial responsibility, but a social commitment; there was a recognition of the payments as a primal responsibility to complete the payments and the shared ownership of the land that this entailed. However, there was a deeper understanding on the level of investment that they had put into its consolidation. Currently, the Cooperative had turn into a more complex structure by which every member is bonded. Likewise, there was an acknowledgement of the personal improvement that participating in the Cooperative.

Well because we got our shares in the cooperative, so that means we cannot just get out of the cooperative group and we also have a board, (...) but we cannot withdraw the shares that we have with a cooperative because for this share is the cost of the land. You know that? our land we have just only one land certificate to share. So we cannot just withdraw these shares. (Community, Focus Group)

I also know about the Cooperative system that I didn't know back in Dynamo because I didn't study for this. At that time, the Cooperative said that we got to do this and that, but I didn't understand anything at all. Now as a committee, I know everything, and go anywhere. I know people, government agency, and municipality. (Community, Volunteer)

Finally, as a result of this complex arrangement, Tawanmai members have arrange that the Cooperative acquire further responsibilities than the CODI loan. For example, the “one Baht per day” saving, which every member is committed to safe for any further expense that the member considers important. Such as education for the children, medical bills or funeral expenses.

“(...)one Baht per day”. That means the member got to save one Baht each day so for one month save 30 Baht and they collect this money. This is another subgroup and the money will be used for anything related to the birth or the death of a member, family member, of this member of the funding. (Community, Mae AmNuay)



Figure 7 Cooperative Director explaining the break-up of monthly instalments

4.4.3.2 The Community Leader

For the Community Leader position, the Municipality recommends that there is a Community Leader but they do not provide guidelines and its support is limited to training sessions. In contrast with the Cooperative, the Community Leader does not need to have formal education. Rather, it must have high interpersonal skills to solve the problems that may emerge among the members and represent the community in front of the authorities.

“The qualification of a community leader is number one: He or she has got to understand other people. I will use an example: is like we got to put ourselves in someone else's shoes.” (Community, Community Leader)

“For the community leader group, they have their own structure, very similar to this one, but some of them are not literate so they do not write and read well, but they work very well.” (Community, Mae AmNuay)

for the Municipality requirements, there has to be an open process to the selection of the Community Leader. According to the Tawanmai rules, this election has to be every two years. However, it was found out that since the Community Leader is such a collaborative position, the community decides beforehand who is going to the “official” Community Leader and then, move ahead with the formal process. In the interview with the Community Leader it was explained that this was to not harm anybody’s feelings and that, even without the position, people would continue participate in the committees.

“according to the municipality's guidelines, we should have this kind of process as well. So, we have like a ballot box. (...) the process was conducted in a way that all the community members kind of agree before the election, (...) we just hold the election just to have it legalized”. (Community, Community Leader)

In the case of the of Tawanmai, the structure under the Community Leader operates is informal and does not have a fix structure. However, since the very beginning of Tawanmai’s formation, there has been a socialization of the position. There is a Community Leader, however, this person is supported by the “Community Leader Committee”. Today, there are 24 committee members divided in different sections like the Healthcare Committee, Finance Committee, Education Committee, Public Relation Committee and so on. The selection of the members of this communities will be based on a voting system in general assembly. Any person can recommend another member or be self-nominee. Then, the community decides by simple majority.

In this structure, the Community Leader remains at the centre coordinating the different groups and requesting its support when needed. Nevertheless, there is a constant dialogue between the

committees and the Community Leader as they have a general meeting twice a month to discuss general topics. This allows for joint action from the committees to find cross-cut solutions. For example, the Children Committee will work with the Health Committee in the community inspection to detect red focus for dengue. Likewise, the Education Committee will work with the Public Relations Committee to let people know about education trips to other communities, referred in the sub-section 4.2.5. *Shared Knowledge Support*. Public Relations will spread the word in the community and Education will decide if the trip is worthy.

“education would be responsible, with PR, Public Relations job would be the job and Education as well. And also, if we have like the study trip and we would like to hold some study trip, the education section would try to manage this trip,” (Community, Community Leader)

As reflected in the conversations with the Tawanmai residents, the creation of Committees has allowed to include as many people as possible to generate co-responsible relations among the neighbours. At the same time, it has helped that the person appointed to be the Community Leader does not feel the burden of the position. In sum, it was advised that this informal structure took everyone's strengths and capacities for the better of the community.

“We need at least 24 committee members. yes. Because we got to be divided into different sections and also because we are monitored by a municipality. So, we got to have like a correct system.” (Community, Community Leader)

“I got to have a lot of assistant, for example, for the document. I'm not quite good at that. So, I got an assistant, Mrs Noiaun, to help me. (...) the PR, the coordination's, you know, something related to announce the news to people. We also get the education section to help me. So that means we help each other to do the job.” (Community, Community Leader)

As for the Community Leader's responsibilities, they can be divided in two main tasks: (1) be the mediator to solve the conflicts inside the community, (2) represent the community in front of the municipal authorities. As Mae AmNuay reflected, *“the leader take care of everything; every aspect of live on the members in the community”*. The reason behind that is that one of the most important qualifications to become a Community Leader is to have a strong moral compass and cautious personality. As it was general stated by the interviewees of Tawanmai Community, this particular combination of inter-personal attributes allows the Community Leader to solve Tawanmai's internal conflicts in a discreet manner.

“if it is something concern to the community, most of the things that they came to see me is to trouble about the argument, the personal arguments in the community. For example, the sharing space use, some verbal attack, uh, because, you know, you have some cases like people got drunk and then they said something bad to the neighbors (...) I would act like a mediator, like the one who helped them reconcile with their neighbors” (Community, Community Leader)

As for its relation with the Municipality, the Community Leader is the first point of contact between the community and the local authorities. Any problem that the community face or any news that the Municipality wants to give to the community goes through the Community Leader.

“(...) or something related to community facility. something like, the broken road, the people in the community would come to see me and inform me and then I can just ask for, or seek for help from any organization related” (Community, Community Leader)

“the Leader and the Vice-Leader will go to receive the news and then spread the news from the municipality to the community” (Community, Community Leader)

In the case of Tawanmai, the Community Leader has ample contact with the community. This allowed the community remain cohesive and that the communication channels with the Municipality operates in an efficient manner. As stated by the Community Leader, he estimates that about 70% of the community participates in the common meetings and have first-hand access to the information. This is a positive indicator for the consolidation of Tawanmai, as it

shows the division of responsibilities in organizational structures and the level of participation of its members.

"I must say about 70 percent of community members participated in the meeting. So, we believe that we can spread the news to like 70 percent of members." (Community, Community Leader)

To conclude, the Community Leader is a honour position gained by trust. In Tawanmai Community, the Community Leader does not earn a salary. However, is a wanted position regarded as a service to the community. To give an example, the current Community Leader, Mr. Wirot, was appointed at the beginning of 2018 due to his good temper and ability to solve conflicts. Alongside, a practical characteristic also plays an important role; his electric shop is in front of Tawanmai's main plaza, making him be present in the community most of the time and allowing the members to approach him whenever is needed.



Figure 8 Community Leader outside his business

4.4.3.3 The Volunteer Group

The Volunteer Group is the third organizational structure in Tawanmai. This organizational structure was thought and implemented by the community as a manner to have census control about the community. It consists on eleven people that each is in charge of gathering the basic health and demographic information for thirteen families. As stated by Mae AmNuay, "*they know every single thing*"; who is born, who dies, who is having health problems, where does the children goes to school and so on.

"There are 11 volunteers. Each volunteer will be responsible for 13 families' information. They got to update 13 families information each year. They know everything about these 13 families, is their responsibility. So They update about who's coming, who's going, the job, the children, the schools the children are going, so they know everything for their 13 families." (Community, Mae AmNuay)

Even though it is a volunteer position; the members of this group have to be elected. As in the Cooperative and in the Community Leader Committee, there is also a division of functions among its members for the internal management group (see Annex 7). Alongside, the election process also acquires relevance as it is a way in which the community deposits its trust in the elected Volunteers. This is important plays a crucial role as the selected people will be handling sensitive information about the families they are in charge of.

"And also they are elected, so it is pretty formal. So they got to have a formal selection, but for this volunteer group is voluntary so they can volunteer by themselves." (Community, Mae AmNuay)

To give an example, Figure 9 and Figure 10 present an example of the Volunteer tasks. In the first one it can be found the census information about the community; number of females,

number of males, age ranges, health conditions, births, deaths, etc. In the second one, Figure 9, presents the yearly activity schedule. There it can be noticed activities such as: the training of volunteers, the measurement of the children between age 0-6, vaccines campaign and the visiting of homes.

ข้อมูลพื้นฐานของชุมชนตะวันใหม่	
จำนวนหลังคาเรือน	หลังคาเรือน
ประชากรทั้งหมด	446 คน
ชาย	227 คน
หญิง	239 คน
เด็กแรกเกิด อายุ 0-6 ปี	20 คน
อายุ 35 ปี ขึ้นไป	48 คน
ผู้สูงอายุ 60 ปี ขึ้นไป	47 คน
ผู้สูงอายุกลุ่มที่ 1 ช่วยเหลือตนเองได้และช่วยเหลือได้	28 คน
ผู้สูงอายุกลุ่มที่ 2 ช่วยเหลือตนเองได้บ้าง และมีความสามารถช่วง	12 คน
ผู้สูงอายุกลุ่มที่ 3 กลุ่มผู้ป่วย และช่วยเหลือตนเองไม่ได้	5 คน
เบาหวาน	14 คน
ความดันโลหิตสูง	10 คน
เบาหวานและความดันโลหิตสูง	26 คน
พิการ	9 คน
ร้อยละของบ้านที่พับลูกน้ำยุ่ง滥 Abby	70%
เดินรอบเอวเกิน 90 cm (ชาย)	8 คน
เดินรอบเอวเกิน 80 cm (หญิง)	18 คน
กินวนศอกในรอบปี ๒๕๖๐.....	2 คน
กินวนน้ำตาลในรอบปี ๒๕๖๐.....	2 คน
น้ำหนักตัวอยู่ในช่วงที่ ๖ เดือน แรกของ	74.9% ๙๕%

Figure 10 Tawanmai Census Data



Figure 9 Tawanmai's Yearly Schedule



Figure 11 Members of Volunteer Group

4.4.4 Children and Leadership (Moving Forward)

In the interview with the respondent from the KKU, it was pinned up a characteristic that had been identified by observation, but not quite defined: *the Thai nature*. In this conversation, it was stressed out that not every people in a group would be vocal but, if they identified a leader who inspired trust and integrity, then the people will follow. Conversely, if the leader was good, they would respond to this loyalty with an overcommitment to its people.

Two defining examples were notorious in this research. The first one, by the respondent from the National CODI. When she was talking about the beginning of the Baan Mankong, she shared that she had to go to personal lengths in order to get loans for the communities: “*I myself have to be sometimes the granter to a bank in order to the bank to give the money to the community, very difficult.*”. This degree of commitment and trust in the community gave her a

significant amount of credibility. Even today, she is still a very known and respected figure in all the three levels of organization studied in this work.

As for the second example, in the three levels of organization Mae AmNuay was a figure recognized with the outmost respect. Regarded as “the teacher”, people would refer to its compromise with the community. First, to move along into the project with the Dynamo community even though she already had a formal house. Secondly, for her character as a leader and her perseverance to make the community thrive. Up until this day, she is the Cooperative Director and remain having a high moral status in Tawanmai.

“In this Tawanmai case, Mae AmNuay first she is not even a member of that shaggy house at all but she just lived near them. So, when they moved to this new location she moved with them.” (Network, KK University)

“Mae AmNuay is a very strong woman. She’s the Iron Lady, this thing would have been impossible, would have not been possible without her.” (Community, Focus Group)

While conducting the research, one of the main concerns was that with such a strong figure the community would not be able to consolidate by itself. However, one of the positive findings was that the community has this issue into consideration and was preparing the next generation to take the leadership of the community.

“I think, in 10 years from now, the old people will die and the younger generation would be raised up to be the community leader. Our children would also stay in this community.” (Community, Focus Group)

While conducting the research, it was evident the importance that Tawanmai puts in the development of its children. For education, they can choose to be part of the “one Baht per day” program. Regarding health, the Volunteer Group keeps close attention to its growth. But, as a collective, they take into the deepest consideration to make them part of the community and include them in the daily and special activities.

“[referring to the cleaning day] our children, they would come and help as well. (...) It was like their parent just brought them in. So, the parents said, okay, I’m going to join this activity. So come, come, come here and help us and help us.” (Community, Focus Group)

Even more, as part of the Community Leader Committee, there is a Children Section. This division is in charge of organizing the participation of Tawanmai’s kids in special events and race attention to any concern they may have.

“And also, our community would assign, the children leader when we have any activity related to children, we would leave it as a job of the children leader. So, we also set up this group.” (Community, Community Leader)

4.5 Sub-Conclusions for Internal Factors

The Internal Factors section reflects on how the Independent Variable, “New Assisted Self-Help Paradigm” and the Intermediate Variable, “Extended Network Management” reflects of the Dependent Variable; “Self-Sustained Community Organization”. In realm, it is important to remember that this variable recounts for the independence the community after being intervened by the Baan Mankong Program.

It is also important to notice that, most of the the information in this section emerged from the interviews and the focus group done with Tawanmai residents. This entails that the assumption of validity was correct for this study, as the data analysed does reflect the perceptions of the studied group. In other words, the community was open to share their experience and this allowed the researcher to access in-depth information about their experience as a community finding their own means of organization and in the BMP.

For the case of Tawanmai, it jumps to sight the degree of transformation and cohesiveness that this community have experimented since the Baan Mankong Program. The stability provided

by the financial and network support, allowed the community to work on themselves and realize the resources and capacities they could explore to make their lives better. In this sense, the awareness and autonomy are very close related as they work as the ground by which the community can work in developing itself.

As for the capacity building, the initial trainings and the imposition of constituting the Cooperative had long term outcomes in Tawanmai. It not only solved the management of the finance, but also with this education, the community interiorized the given knowledge and came up with their own alternative organizational structures. The division of committees, the collection of census data and the creation of new leaders in the next generation are good indicators that the community is going on the right path.

Chapter 5: Conclusions

This chapter presents the final reflections of the presented work. To do so, the sub-questions of this thesis will be revisited and answered in light of the findings presented in Chapter 4 and the current academic discussion presented in Chapter 2. Afterwards, these preliminary conclusions will be used as puzzle pieces to answer the main research question:

How does the assisted self-help housing approach of going beyond financial aid and providing a holistic support to build capacity and networks in poor communities contributes to the consolidation of self-sustained community organization?

5.1 Conclusion for Sub-Question 1

How does the government facilitate the self-help approach in the Baan Mankong?

In the case of Thailand, the reformulation of the Self-Help School of Thought into a more comprehensive support system was backed up by an institutional framework. As presented in the Chapter 4, in the Baan Mankong, the government facilitates the self-help approach based in two axes: (1) Governance and, (2) Training and Intermediation. In 1992, the creation UCDO gave the first impulse to coordinate actions in favour of community organization. In 2000, these efforts escalated with the foundation of CODI as an independent office with autonomous allocation of funds.

The financial support that CODI provides to the communities is one part of the equation. On the other side, it is equally important the effort that CODI has made to land the support in local arenas. In the Baan Mankong, the government works in two tracks. On the first one, the city-wide upgrading strategy reflects on Klijn and Koppenjan (2012) definition of governance, as it calls for the coordination of the interdependencies within the city. Parallelly, the training and exposure the poor communities receive at the beginning of the process, prepares them to Czischke's (2017) collaborative management. In which a multi-organizational arrangement is set up in place to address the complex challenge of housing provision.

As explained by CODI Khon Khaen, the five guidelines by which the Baan Mankong operates are based on two principles: normativity and training. There is an institutional aspect, but there is also a strong capacity building component. Confronted with the traditional Self-Help School of Thought this is a significant breakthrough as the government is now perceived as an ally instead of as an enemy. For both sides, the government and the community, this change of perspective is very important as it changes the arena by which the relation will take place. For the side of the government, it represents an open window to ease its burden and transfer some responsibility to other actors. For the side of the communities, the government's intervention comes in hand to the access of a larger network and to the opportunity to break "the slum prejudice".

As d'Cruz and Satterhwaite (2005) points out, one of the main challenges while working with slum dwellers is to eliminate the prejudice that surrounds this communities and, that restrains its access to decision making processes. The initial training is important given that it builds the foundation of a trust relation from both sides; the government has to trust in the people is going to commit the program. Likewise, the people have to trust that, even if it takes time, they will solve their housing needs.

The trust that the Baan Mankong deposits in partnering in with poor communities trumps traditional concerns adhered to the Self-Help. As presented at the beginning of this work, one of the main doubts about this inclination is if it can be endured over time (Rainwater, 1968). Certainly, the outcome will depend on the organization and commitment of each community.

However, what the Baan Mankong is providing is to generate the adequate conditions to decrease the rate fail.

Finally, the premise behind the self-help approach is to let communities solve their own housing needs. The Baan Mankong remains true to this standpoint as it remains as flexible as possible for communities to take ownership of the process. However, what does do, is to generate the adequate conditions for communities to thrive. This can be visualized in three main axes: (1) institutional support, (2) access to a larger network and, (3) preparation to participate in a collaborative management. In a nutshell, this is how the government facilitate the self-help approach in the Baan Mankong.

5.2 Conclusion for Sub-question 2

Which kind of support is needed for the consolidation of a self-sustained community organization?

As pointed out by Pal and van Vliet (2012, p. 509), “*housing provision runs from finance through land development, design and construction, and maintenance and management*”. In the case of the Baan Mankong, it is required that the communities buy formal plots of land. In turn the government, is responsible of the Municipal government to provide them with access to services and infrastructure. This initial support is what Bredenoord and van Lindert (2009) refer to “Basic Assistance”. However, in the BMP, the support goes even further and the slum dwellers receive what the mentioned authors call “Additional Assistance”. This is a cross-cutting aid that allows to escalate its efforts. In the Baan Mankong, such support can be segmented in four categories: (1) Capacity Building, (2) Financial Support, (3) Construction Support and, (4) Shared Knowledge Support.

For most cases, CODI is responsible of the Capacity Building. However, as it was clear in the findings, CODI cannot be in charge of the whole process and has to rely on a Multi-Stakeholder Arrangements. As described by Czischke (2017), such kind of settings are characterized by having multiple nodes and relations between sectors and levels of organization. Initially, aside from the Capacity Building, CODI provides additional support by working as a network manager. In words of Klijn and Koppenjan (2012), such figure is in charge of facilitating meaningful connections between stakeholders to accomplish concrete goals.

As for Tawanmai, the *who's* and the *what's* can be summarized as follows:

- CODI. Gave the Capacity Building Trainings in order for the community to manage the process. Likewise, it was the institution that gave the loan for the buying of the land and the construction of the house.
- Municipal authorities. Provided the area with services and infrastructure. Currently, the Municipality is a strategic partner in the City Committee and in solving practical needs.
- Khon Kaen University. Worked in a participatory project to co-design the blueprint of Tawanmai.
- Other communities. Helped them to “translate to a common language” what the Baan Mankong meant and how could they take the best of it.

This support is important because it is the mean by which the community will reach the main goal. That is, the motivation they have to acquire its own house where they can feel physically and emotionally safe. The kind of support is relevant because it marks the path and the connections they are going to go through to consolidate its home. However, back to the main research question, what is going to consolidate organization is not the *what*, but the *how*.

For Somsook Boonyabancha (2005), at the government level the formation of such support network means that the community-led processes can be escalated. It is easier to replicate the Baan Mankong if different actors are on board and committed to the same outcome. Therefore, there can be a sharing of responsibility. Likewise, the increasing of numbers of communities in the program gives hope to other slum dwellers that the change is possible. As for the community, the most important characteristic that triggers the personal transformation is the management of the process. As expressed by Tawanmai's Community Leader: "*we try to encourage people to join hand, to monitor, to be part of the house construction by themselves, (...) we feel happy. It feels like we built this house by our own hands.*"

5.3 Conclusion for Sub-question 3

How does financial and network support contribute to the consolidation of the community organization in the long term?

The financial and the network support communities receive in any upgrading program plays a crucial role. Certainly, this backing has a practical connotation; they are part of the package of means to achieve the final goal: having their own house. As accounted in the literature review, authors like Chiquier and Lea (2009), Hoek-Smit (2015) and Pal and van Vliet (2012) stress out on the complex challenges that poor dwellers face to access affordable financial instruments. Even more, if they do not have the adequate support system.

To face this obstacle, the communities that are included in the Baan Mankong are conditioned to form a cooperative before they receive the loan. By doing this, the government is formalizing one of the most common survival mechanisms of the poor: the saving groups. In reality, given the conditions of the market, it is nearly impossible for slum dwellers to fulfil their housing needs by themselves. Therefore, they have to appeal to mutual help, solidarity and trust principles to achieve its goal. Which, coincidentally, are also the values by which the cooperative model rests (Davis and Worthington 1993, D'Cruz and Satterthwaite 2005).

Traditionally, the money managed in the saving groups is the money of the members, without much contact of the outside. However, in the Baan Mankong, once these groups are formalized into the cooperative, it becomes not only the members' money, but also loan money that they receive as a collective formal entity. In this sense, the cooperative is not only financial instrument by which they get an affordable solution. Instead, it also represents a long-term commitment by which the community gains rights and responsibilities. As Boonyabancha (2005, p. 46) explains; "*once a community has the ability to manage its own internal finance, and to tap and manage external finance as well, it means they have increased power to do whatever they want*".

As presented in the findings, the management of the funds and resources had a positive impact in Tawanmai. The stability provided by the financial and network support gave them opportunity to do an internal reflection about its position as individuals and as a collective. Likewise, this awareness emanated by this self-evaluation translated in its realization about its position to a larger network. This gave them negotiation power that, in turn, translated into autonomy.

Awareness and Autonomy are two notions that are deeply interconnected. A person or a group cannot demand freedom of action if it is not aware of its own strengths and capacities. Similarly, this autonomy is the result of its comparison with others and in testing the lengths and limits their relation have.

Acknowledging these two factors is not a process that happens overnight. In the case of Tawanmai, it has been realization that has been evolving in hand with the solution of the

housing needs. First, they went to see the other communities to learn about the communities. Then, they were trained to manage its own resources. Later, they realized that this responsibility came with rights, transforming its relation with other actors. For example, they stopped depending on CODI for the management of the loan and, instead, they engaged in an independent relation with the bank.

In the case of Tawanmai, one last observation that it is important take into consideration is its commitment to give back. To the community and to outsiders. As for this research this was the true indicator of awareness and autonomy. They were not only not demanding unilateral support. Moreover, they acknowledged the importance the support they have had in the past to fulfil its own purposes. And, in addition, they have realized that they had also something to offer and that was valuable to others.

In its relation with other stakeholders this was reflected in its participation in the program *Khon Kaen People Will Not Be Left Behind*, and in the present contact they have with students from Khon Kaen University. As for the community, this was confirmed by the collective activities they have to support each other. For example, the cleaning and health journeys and the preparation for personal events.

5.4 Conclusion for Sub-question 4

How does capacity building contribute to the consolidation of the community organization in the long term?

In the Baan Mankong, the initial request to constitute a cooperative represent a first attempt by the government to motivate the communities to organize. As presented in Chapter Two, authors like Lang and Novy (2014) make a strong case in favour of the cooperatives as they represent a level of intermediation between the residents and the. The constitution of such works in favour of the government given that it facilitates the communication channels and the dissemination of funds with the community. However, in a broader sense, it also enhances the capacities for the community to organize.

As established by D'Cruz and Satterthwaite (2005) and Meehan and Bryde (2014), the collective management of funds has a social effect as it builds trust relations among the people that are involve in it. Since the Baan Mankong is a long-term commitment, the capacity building that CODI provides works in two fronts. For once, it facilitates closer relations with the communities as the relation government-community becomes normalize. On the other hand, it teaches the communities the need skills to manage the housing process.

Previously, it was explained that, for the case of Tawanmai, this acquisition of responsibility had a direct impact in the perceived awareness and autonomy of the community. Additionally, this self-assessment lead also to a further introspection about present and future needs of the community and how could they solve it. The creation of the organization figures of Community Leader and Volunteer Group account to this realization. The first one, being in charge of keeping the cohesiveness of the group. And, the second one, as a way to keep track of the census information in the community.

For the three structures of organization – Cooperative, Community Leader and Volunteer Group-it calls for attention that, even though there are clear leaderships, there is a share responsibility among the members. For example, within the structure of the Cooperative there are positions for auditors and consultants. Correspondingly, even the Community Leader is one person, it has a committee base structure to help him carry out with its activities.

The formation of new organizational structures and the later division of responsibilities among the members is an indicator as for how deep the capacity building transformed the community.

As established in the findings, one of the main concerns was what would happen after Mae AmNuay is gone, as she is the leadership figure in Tawanmai for members and outsiders. Fortunately, in the conversations with the people in the community it was found out that they had also perceived this as a concern and that they were already working on it.

The alternative saving funds, the collective activities, the sub-committees, the creation of the children leadership; they are all traces that the community is working towards facilitating the environment to keep its members together. During the interviews, it was constant the importance the leadership figures have in the Thai context. However, paying attention to these structures, it can be seen that the community is mutating from a personalistic leadership, to as what Heifetz and Heifetz (1994) defines as *leadership as an activity*, where anybody has the potential to become a leader.

In this sense, the capacity building in Tawanmai, transcended the management of the savings and the interlocution with the authorities. It transformed in something different; it converted into the awareness that anybody in the community has the capacity to lead and participate in the organization structures. Hence, making the consolidation of the community organization possible in the long-term.

5.5 Conclusion for Main Research Question

How does the assisted self-help housing approach of going beyond financial aid and providing a holistic support to build capacity and networks in poor communities contributes to the consolidation of self-sustained community organization?

Back in the sixties, the Citizen Self-Help Organizations (CSHO) emerged as spontaneous organizations that seek to solve the poor dwellers' most immediate housing needs. In this time, the Self-Help School of Thought emerged as a contestant movement that denounced the limited involvement of the government and exacerbated the people's commitment to build their own habitable spaces (Turner *et. al.*, 1968). Gradually, the self-help began to be regarded as a valid strategy for housing provision. Aligned with this recognition, the governments had to engage in additional support for this poor communities' development. As stated by Bredenoord and van Lindert (2009), the Assisted Self-Help approach called for a more holistic framework beyond the financial support. Contrastingly, this basic aid would have to be accompanied with technical assistance and affordable financial plans congruent with people's capacities.

The Thai experience goes a step further. The main focus of the Baan Mankong Program is to develop the community and, through that, solve the housing provision. Certainly, there is a financial component; CODI delivers a considerable amount of funds in loans. On top of that, it complements the financial aid with targets subsidies. However, the great breakthrough of this program, is the emphasis that the authorities put in building the capacity of poor communities and intermediating with other stakeholders to make the housing provision a collective responsibility.

Initially, the Self-Help School of Thought was a plea for social revindication. Nowadays, the "New Assisted Self-Help Paradigm" locates the person at the centre and challenges the traditional roles that the government, the city actors and the communities have taken. This inclination is aligned with the contemporary discussion. As stated at the beginning of this thesis, the New Urban Agenda calls to "*shift the focus from simply building houses to a holistic framework for housing development, orchestrated with urban planning practice and placing people and human rights at the forefront of urban sustainable development*" (UN-Habitat 2015, p. 5).

In order for this to work, there has to be a redefinition of what *community* means. Communities, more precisely, poor communities, are not a set of neighbours defined in its relation with other actors and join together to receive government's support. Rather, is a group of people that lives and cooperate together, have common goals. They have realized that, by organizing, they can join efforts to improve each other's lives and live collectively sharing responsibilities.

This "utopian" definition of community was inspired by the sense of awareness and autonomy in Tawanmai. One of the key characteristics about the community that was kept silent throughout this study, is that Dynamo was considered the poorest community in Khon Kaen. Moreover, several communities had declined to sign into the Baan Mankong with them because they did not trust that they would be able to complete the program. In this context, the level of independence gained by Tawanmai's residents builds a strong case about the transformation that such approach can have in poor communities.

In the Baan Mankong the communities are placed at the centre of the development. However, it is also understood that the government does not have the capacity to give them all the support they need. Traditionally, in several governmental housing provision programs, the government have tried to be in full control of the whole process. In reality, this has put an extra pressure of the government's human, financial and management resources, creating more obstacles than advantages. Contrary, in the Baan Mankong, the division of responsibilities in a larger network and the eventual transfer of the network management to the community, are two of the key traits Boonyabancha (2005) and D'Cruz and Satterthwaite (2005) recognize for a successful upgrading program.

This positive perception of the Baan Mankong and, particularly of Tawanmai's experience, does not disregard the challenges that the community faces during the Baan Mankong Process. On the contrary, in one the interviews with Mae AmNuay, she bitterly remembered an episode prior to the beginning of the construction phase in which the Cooperative Province Department refused to deposit the loan money and after talking with a Director she went back defeated trying to make sense of what had happened. This would have been though hit to the community that could have compromise the trust that they have in themselves and in the process. However, little did she know, the Director approached the higher authorities and this misadventure remained as an anecdote.

The intention of bringing up this episode is to introduce one of the main reflections in this thesis. During the process the community faced a significant amount of challenges. The construction lasted three, not all the families could move in at once and they are still paying the loan. However, with the course of time, the perception of the setbacks that they faced during the process and the ones that they still have ahead, were seen as anecdotes. They were eclipsed by a collective sense of accomplishment. This characteristic was categorized as a true indicator of transformation in the community; they were aware of the challenges they faced, nonetheless, they had in higher regard that they had overcome them.

Looking into the future, Tawanmai will still confront several obstacles. Their leadership figures are ageing. Likewise, the children that arrived to the community at the beginning of the process are now in adult age and want to find a place for themselves and their family. This will change the composition of the community and challenge Sheng's (2014) theory as if upgraded communities can remain cohesive even after the generational transition. As for how they solve this situation is yet to be seen.

The transformation that Tawanmai went through was not spontaneous. Self-Help is a process that takes time. Moreover, the New Assisted Self-Help is a process that takes time, commitment and money. In addressing the question as if a New Assisted Self-Help approach can lead to the

consolidation of a self-sustained community organization, the answer is that there are no guarantees. It will highly depend on how committed the community is in the process and the external support they receive in the consolidation process. Even in the Baan Mankong is acknowledged that some communities will thrive and some will fail. However, the failure rate can decrease if the communities are provided with a holistic support that allows them to thrive.

In retrospective, this study only accounts for one community in a very particular program. If the New Assisted Self-Help is yet to take a protagonist role in the future provision of housing, it is necessary to continue exploring what are the challenges that these communities confront in other areas and from different perspectives. For example, one study that could accurately complement this thesis is *what are the challenges that the government faces in engaging in long-term commitments for housing provision?* It is to be recognized that this thesis was deeply leaned to evaluate the challenges from the communities' perspective. Nonetheless, in order to bridge to the other side, it is equally important to assess what are the material, normative and perceived limitations that the government encounters. And, with that, finding common ground for a more open and realistic discussion.

Finally, at the end of Chapter Two, there were presented three underlying principles in reference of the Baan Mankong. Security, Integration and Consolidation. Previously, these three premises were referred from the institutional stand-point. However, in light of the findings of this work it is pertinent to revisit them from the community's perspective in an attempt to generalize them and make them applicable in different regions.

1. *Security.* Financial and network stability to allow the community to develop their own capacities. To gain awareness of the role they have in a larger scenario and, hence, build equitable relations.
2. *Integration.* To break the dependency cycle with the government and the stigma connotation these communities have been surrounded by. To make them responsible of their own housing solution and, in the process, to build meaningful relations.
3. *Consolidation.* To give these communities the needed skills and tools for them to construct their own organizational arrangements. This will help them to secure the solution of their present and future needs.

Lastly, this thesis suggests a four principle:

4. *Education.* For government, stakeholders and communities. To find ways in which the social transformation achieved by the housing provision can endure the span of time.

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Figure 1. Conceptual Framework. *The author, 2018.*

Figure 2. Dynamo Community. *Noi's -Manager for Community Network- private collection, 2018.*

Figure 3. Tawanmai Community. *The Thailand Project, 2018.*

Figure 4. Baan Mankong Network Support. Patcharapon, W. and Jovovich, S. 2012. Baan Mankong at Klong Bang Bua Community Guidebook. Bangkok: ACHR, CODI, CAN. P. 8

Figure 5. Participatory design process. KKU and Tawanmai Community. *Noi's -Manager for Community Network- private collection, 2018.*

Figure 6. Collective activity Tawanmai. Lunch and preparation for funeral ceremony. *The Thailand Project, 2018.*

Figure 7. Cooperative Director explaining the break-up of monthly instalments. *The Thailand Project, 2018.*

Figure 8. Community Leader outside his business. *The Thailand Project, 2018.*

Figure 9. Tawanmai's Yearly Schedule. *The Thailand Project, 2018.*

Figure 10. Tawanmai's Census Data. *The Thailand Project, 2018.*

Figure 11. Members of Volunteer Group. *The Thailand Project, 2018.*

Annex 1: Semi-Structure Interview Manuals

Government Interview

I understand that the main goal of BM is to provide security of tenure to its beneficiaries, and you have envisioned that this is possible through community organization and the formation of cooperatives to ensure this, therefore I would like to know:

1. What is the story behind the Baan Mankong?
 - a. Why is it that the cooperative model was chosen by the programme?
 - b. According to you which are the advantages and disadvantages of such model in the context of the programme?
 - c. Is there any formal law by which the cooperatives are recognized?
2. How does the cooperative organization has changed the security of tenure of beneficiaries?
3. And what about the networks idea? Has that contributed to increase security of tenure of beneficiaries, and if so, how?
4. Does the government continue collaborating with the cooperative networks after the end of the Baan Mankong?
5. On average, how many years does it takes the communities to pay?
6. On average, how much money is saved on the saving groups?

I also understand that the strategy used is to ensure all this has been through building the capacities of the community in several aspects such as in the management of their own resources and by improving the ways of organization, therefore I would like to know:

7. What is the structure of the capacity building programs? And,
8. What are the most important skills that you think are developed during the Baan Mankong Program?

Giving all the above,

9. What do you consider are the biggest achievements of the Baan Mankong in terms of community organization?
10. Do you perceive that there has been a significant change in the self-awareness of the people?
11. Have you made any kind of follow up after the programme was over?

Cooperative Network Interview

I understand that the network is formed by different communities and it helps them to learn from one another, escalate its actions and negotiate with the government and other actors. Therefore, I would like to understand how it works. So, firstly, I would like to ask:

1. How does the network is structured?
 - a. How many communities are in this network?
 - b. What is (are) the purpose (s) of the network?
 - c. How can a community be included in the network?

Managing the network is a lot of work and organizing the events most as well represent and important expenditure;

2. how do you fund the network activities?

As for how the network organize,

3. How is the process of decision making within the network?
4. Is there a define leadership? *If so*, how is this leadership selected?
5. How the different communities are represented in the network?

In the last days of June, we had the opportunity to go to a three-day seminar in Chiang Mai and that made me wonder;

6. How often do the members of the network community meet?
7. Do you have a schedule or do you meet for specific purposes?

I see. Now in terms of how the network operates I would like to ask you a couple of questions if that is ok.

8. Which are the main tasks of the network? How does it address the concerns of the different communities?
9. Do you intermediate on behalf of the community members? *For example, if a set of communities are facing a similar problem, do they come to you to talk to party which whom they are having the problem (government, constructors, companies)?*
10. Do you intermediate on behalf of a single community? *For example, if a single community is facing a particular problem do you talk to-for example-the government to support their plea?*
11. *In that regard*, how is your relation with the government?
12. Do you have external contact with actors or networks with whom you work with? *For example; any university, network of architects or an NGO?*
 - a. What do you think it's the relation with them? Did you meet them on the Baan Mankong time?

To finalize this interview,

13. Could you tell me what you think that has been one of the most important achievements and challenges that you have faced as a network? Also,
14. How do you think things have changed after the network was created? *For example, in relation to addressing your problems to the government or learning from other experiences?*

External actors

In general

Thank you for your time. I understand that you have (had) a connection with the community _____ . I am interested in understanding how this relation developed and what were the outcomes of such. Therefore, I would like to ask you a couple of questions.

If the relation is through CODI.

I understand that CODI relies on external actors that can help them to intervene in the target communities. Hence, I will like to know more about the nature of your relation with CODI and with the community.

1. How did you get in contact with the community in the first place? Was it through CODI or have had some previous contact with them?
2. For how long have you been working with CODI and the communities?
3. Before meeting the community, did you have any previous knowledge of the Baan Mankong?
4. Have you had collaborated with CODI in previous projects?
5. What is exactly what you do? *Do you prepare the trainings for the people that are going to intervene the communities? Do you work directly in the community?*

If the relation was previous to the Baan Mankong

- 1.1 How did you started your relation with the community and how old is it?
- 1.2 What kind of projects were you developing in the community before the implementation of the Baan Mankong?
- 1.3 During and after the Baan Mankong did you continued with your original activities? Or, did they change? *I mean, do you feel you have to change your way of intervention after the Baan Mankong?*
 - 1.3.1 Do you think it was for the better?
- 1.4 Did you felt that your relation with the community changed after the Baan Mankong? In what sense?

In general

For me the Baan Mankong is like an intense program that provides communities more than a housing solution. So, I would like to ask you, in your experience:

6. Has there been substantial changes in the community after the Baan Mankong intervention?
7. Did you continue the relation with the community after the Baan Mankong program was finished?
8. Did you made some kind of memory summary of your experience working with the communities and/or CODI? Is it accessible?

Thank you for your time and as way of conclusion, I would like to ask you,

9. What do you think are the lessons to learn from the Baan Mankong's interventions and what are the challenges faced? *Particularly in the construction of self-awareness within the community and to become a consolidated organization over time.*

Annex 2: Line of Questions for Focus Group

Thank you for coming for the discussion. You have shared your experience with us and we have learned a lot about the successful way of the BMP. We have learned about your personal experience and through this discussion we want to learn about how you feel collectively about the gender and the organization in your community. But the idea of this is to have an open space where we can keep learning from you and you can reflect on your 14 years collective experience.

This focus group was facilitated in collaboration with Revathi Kondur.

List of topics.

1. What do you think it has been your biggest accomplishment as a community after the Baan Mankong.
2. After the repayment of the loan in 2020, what do you think is going to happen with the organization you already have?
 - a. Have you set new goals as a community?
3. How do you describe the change in perception of well-being among the women in the community because of BMP?
 - a. Can you elaborate on both physical and mental well-being?
4. What are the behavioural aspects which changed when you came together as a community and built a sense of belonging?
 - a. For example, how did your motivation to save change, how did spending on alcohol consumption or other habits change?

Annex 3: Group Codes and Codes

Group Codes	Codes
Added codes	Community empowerment
	Cultural trait
	General Background
Community Autonomy	Contact with CODI
	Contact with experts in construction
	Contact with experts in financial management
	Contact with experts in organization
	Contact with Municipality
	Contact with other communities of the BMP
Community Awareness	Collective activities for health.
	Collective activities including children.
	Community participation in decision making.
	Community participation in life events of the members.
Community Consolidation	Alternative loans and funds for community members.
	Community Leader responsibilities (organization)
	Cooperative responsibilities (organization)
	Management of the money for BMP loan payment.
	Selection process
	Volunteer Group
Community Leadership	Accountability
	Assertiveness in conflict resolution.
	Community Leader
	Cooperative Director
	Mae Am Nuay
	Qualifications and inter- personal skills of the leader.
Government Capacity Building	Funds provided for BMP (CODI)
	Funds/ programs for community development (Municipality)
	Training in community organization (CODI)
	Training in construction management (CODI)
	Training in financial management (CODI)
Government Intermediation	Communication channels with the community
	Intermediation of government with actors that can help in community organization
	Intermediation of the government with actors that can help in financial management
	Intermediation of the government with actors that can help in the construction
Network Relation	City Network.
	Co- responsible relation.
	Relation with Khon Kaen University.
	Relation with Municipal intervention.
	Relation with other communities.
	Relation with CODI
Networks Support	Construction support
	Financial support.
	Shared knowledge support.
	Organization support.

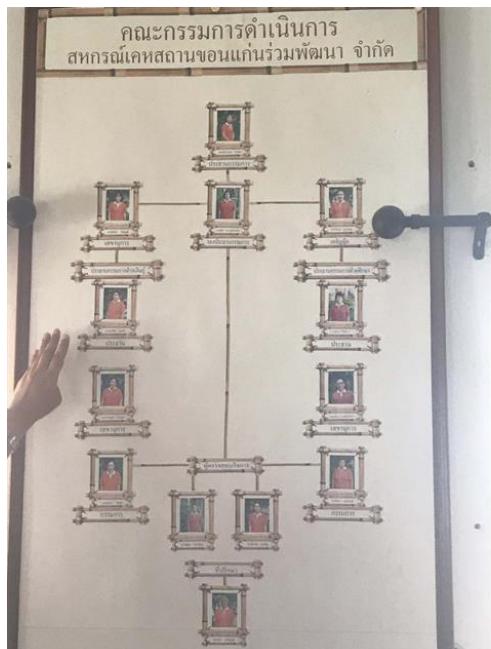
Source: The author, 2018

Annex 4: Co-Occurrence Table for Intensive Training at an Early Stage

	Construction support	Financial support.	Shared knowledge support.	Organization support.
City Network.	2	2	4	3
Co- responsible relation.	6	2	1	3
Relation with Khon Kaen University.	9	1	6	4
Relation with Municipal intervention.	2	1	3	3
Relation with other communities.	5	6	11	6
Funds provided for BMP (CODI)	6	6	3	3
Funds/ programs for community development (Municipality)	2	1	2	2
Relation with CODI	7	4	7	8
Training in community organization (CODI)	3	6	4	7
Training in construction management (CODI)	3	1	1	1
Training in financial management (CODI)	2	6	3	4

Source: *The author, 2018*

Annex 5: Cooperative Committee



Coop Director			
Secretary	Vice Leader	Treasurer	
Leader of Loan Department		Leader of Education Department	
		Secretary	
Committee	Auditor	Auditor	Committee
Consultants			

Picture source: *The Thailand Project files, 2018*

Translation: free translation from local translator

Annex 6: Payment Table Tawanmai Cooperative

เบิกจ่ายล่วงหน้า 2,000 บาท ฝ่ายละเบี้ยดังนี้	
- ค่าหุ้น	100 บาท
- ค่าบ้าน	1,300 บาท
- ค่าที่ดิน	452 บาท
- ฝากออมสะสม	148 บาท
รวม	2,000 บาท
(สองพันบาทถ้วน)	

The 2000 Baht payment is divided into:

- Share money: 100 baht
- Housing money: 1,300 baht
- Land money: 452 baht
- Saving money: 148 baht

Picture source: *The Thailand Project files, 2018*

Translation: Free translation from local interpreter

Annex 7: Volunteer Diagram



Leader		
Vice Leader		
Secretary	Volunteer Member	Treasurer
Volunteer Member	Volunteer Member	Volunteer Member
Volunteer Member	Volunteer Member	Volunteer Member

Picture source: *The Thailand Project files, 2018*

Translation: free translation from local translator

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