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FINAL REPORT OF THE GREATER BANGKOK SLUM HOUSING MARKET STUDY

VOLUME I

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by

Charles A. Setchell

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"The housing problem in the metropolitan area of Bangkok is becoming increasingly serious, due to the tremendous increase in population living within the urban area and the high price of land. It is a problem which presently deserves a great deal of attention..."

-- Renoo Suvarnsit, Secretary General,
National Economic Development Board
(now the National Economic and Social
Development Board, or NESDB),

1972

ABSTRACT

Not unlike in nearly all other cities in developing countries, slum and squatter settlements -- typically referred to as slums or slum settlements -- have traditionally been the main source of housing for lower-income people in the Bangkok metropolitan area of Thailand.

During the past few years, however, slums have declined as a share of the Bangkok metro area housing stock, due in part to an unprecedented, Bangkok-centered economic "boom" and, more specifically, to both widespread demolition of slums and successful Royal Thai Government (RTG) efforts to promote the private sector housing construction industry. This relative decline, noted by earlier researchers, has been a basis for claiming that promotion of the private sector housing industry through "supportive" public policies (eg., easing of banking and financing restrictions; streamlining of development regulations; subsidized infrastructure improvements; income tax deductions for homebuyers, etc.) can "enable" the industry to provide lower-income households with an affordable alternative to slum housing, and that living and environmental conditions for those households can, indeed, improve over time.

This study examines recent trends in the slum housing market of the Bangkok metropolis, while attempting to confirm the claim of earlier researchers. This study also attempts to reconcile that claim with data which indicate that a greater number AND percentage of Bangkok residents now live in slum housing than in 1974. Further, slum residents are now living in more crowded conditions than in 1984, a period also prior to the recent economic "boom". Rather than point to housing improvement, these data point to a deterioration of living and environmental conditions in Bangkok area slums in recent years. This contrary trend of decline amidst development undermines the claim that "supportive" public policies are benefitting a growing number and percentage of Bangkok area residents.

This report, Volume 1 of the Greater Bangkok Slum Housing Market Study, focuses on the following:

- 1) The contextual and conceptual background necessary for examining changes in the Bangkok area slum housing market over time;
- 2) A re-assessment of available secondary data from RTG and other sources on the slum housing market during the 1974-1990 period; and
- 3) An analysis of slum housing market change since 1990, based in part on field surveys at the khet (district) and changwat (provincial) levels of governmental jurisdiction in the Bangkok metro area.

Volume 2 of this study builds on this work, and presents the findings of a survey of nearly 80 Bangkok area slums during July 1992.

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GENERAL EXPLANATORY NOTES ON NUMBERS USED IN REPORT

- * Annual rates of change or growth refer to average annual compound rates, unless otherwise stated.
- * A hyphen between years (eg., 1989-1990) indicates that the time period includes both the entire beginning and entire end year.
- * A slash between years (eg., 1984/1985), quite common in Thai documents of earlier years, indicates a fiscal year (typically October 1 to September 30). For purposes of estimating rates of change over time, and similar calculations, the first year shown was used as the base year.
- * A period (.) is used to indicate a decimal point.
- * Percentages in tables and charts may not total to 100.0 due to rounding error.

ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

GDP	- Gross Domestic Product
GNP	- Gross National Product
RTG	- Royal Thai Government
NESDB	- National Economic and Social Development Board
NHA	- National Housing Authority
NSO	- National Statistical Office
BMA	- Bangkok Metropolitan Administration
BMR	- Bangkok Metropolitan Region (includes BMA and contiguous changwat of Pathum Thani, Nonthaburi, Samut Prakan, Nakhon Pathom, and Samut Sakhon)
GB	- Greater Bangkok (includes BMA and contiguous changwat of Pathum Thani, Nonthaburi, and Samut Prakan)
RHUDO	- Regional Housing and Urban Development Office, USAID
USAID	- United States Agency for International Development

DISTANCE AND AREA CONVERSIONS

1 square meter (sq. m.)	= 10.76 square feet (sq. ft.)
1 wah	= 2 meters
1 square wah	= 4 sq. m., or 43.06 sq. ft.
1 rai	= 400 sq. wah, or 1,600 sq. m., or .395 acres, or .16 hectares
1 kilometer (km.)	= 1,000 meters, or .621 miles
1 square km.	= .3856 sq. miles, or 625 rai, or 100 hectares, or 247 acres

RESOURCE PEOPLE CONTACTED

The slum residents who either assisted in the collection of data for this study, or responded to the many survey questions posed to them, are ultimately the key resource people of this study. In addition, the following people provided the author with extremely helpful insights and information on slum housing in the Greater Bangkok area:

- * Adnan Aliani, Associate Human Settlements Officer, United Nations ESCAP/UNCHS Joint Unit on Human Settlements.
- * Ray Archer, Associate Professor, Human Settlements Division (HSD), Asian Institute of Technology (AIT).
- * Somsook Boonyabancha, Director, Asian Coalition for Housing Rights, and Director, Human Settlements Foundation.
- * Orajitt Bumroongsakulsawat, Chief, Urban Development Coordination Division, National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB).
- * Chantana Channond, Chief, International Loan Division, National Housing Authority (NHA).
- * Wina Chantaphet, Chief, Community Development Section, Social Welfare Department, Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA).
- * Rattaya Chantien, Governor, NHA.
- * Koen De Wandeler, Senior Research Associate, HSD, AIT.
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- * Earl Kessler, Chief, Regional Housing and Urban Development Office (RHUDD), US Agency for International Development (USAID), Bangkok.
- * Father Joseph Maier, Director, Human Development Center.
- * Amara Pongsapich, Director, Chulalongkorn University Social Research Institute (CUSRI).
- * Wiwat Sangtian, Director, Centre for Housing and Human Settlements, NHA. (Note: Mr. Sangtian no longer works for the NHA.)
- * Sukuman Tearprasert, Chief Planner, Slum Development Department, NHA.

PREFACE

In the waning years of the 20th century the concentration of people in the world's cities is occurring almost exclusively in developing countries. During the 1990s global urban population will increase from 2.4 to 3.2 billion people, with significant urban growth to follow in the next century. Furthermore, according to the most recent estimates of the United Nations Development Programme, 90-95 percent of the 800 million additional people who will live in cities during the 90s will live in the cities of developing countries./1/

Urban growth in developing countries will be so substantial that:

- * The equivalent of a city roughly twice the size of the country of Singapore will be added to their urban growth totals for every month of every year of this decade./2/
- * The world's largest city, Mexico City, will have a population of at least 25 million by the year 2000, a total equal to the world's entire urban population at the dawn of the Industrial Age in 1750./3/
- * The conventional image of "Third World" poverty as a rural-based phenomenon will become obsolete sometime in 1995, when the number of urban households living in "absolute poverty" in developing countries will exceed rural-based households living in absolute poverty./4/
- * Our rural-based notions of environmental degradation in developing countries -- rainforest destruction, for example -- may also be in need of revision. Cities, often touted as "engines of growth" in the 80s, are now increasingly viewed as prodigious generators of all manner of pollutants. The rapidly growing and very diverse waste stream existing in cities is largely untreated when disposed, causing widespread damage to ecological systems in and around urban regions.

The great bulk of the urban poor in developing countries live in slum and squatter settlements. These habitats of poverty currently provide shelter to more than 500 million people, who must contend daily with

limited or non-existent services, threats of eviction, and a living environment which is often hazardous to many and life-threatening to some (eg., the young, sick, and elderly). Making matters worse, the population of these settlements could increase to as many as 1.8 billion people, or roughly 30 percent of humankind, by the year 2010.

Urbanization, or the transformation of countryside to urban place, is now occurring so fast in developing countries that governments are having trouble coping with the attendant problems. These governments face high levels of poverty and pollution, and are armed with limited budgets and administrative skills. Many governments are having trouble providing even minimal urban services. The deterioration of living and environmental conditions in urban areas, combined with institutional dysfunction and projections of significant urban growth, does not bode well for the future of cities.

The key to any meaningful response aimed at improving conditions in slum and squatter settlements is improved access to both urban services and land and housing markets. There is a critical need to identify mechanisms of access with respect to urban shelter and service issues, for inaction and punitive action only exacerbates existing conditions. Of critical importance is the identification and evaluation of emerging responses to the shelter needs of the urban poor in developing countries. The first step to any effective action in this regard, of course, must be the generation and dissemination of information about those conditions and needs, as perceived by the urban poor themselves. The kind of empirical research undertaken in Bangkok as part of this contract is an example of such a step.

INTRODUCTION

To what extent has Thailand's recent economic "boom" affected the Greater Bangkok slum housing market? This study examines this and related questions by reviewing recent trends in that market. Based on research conducted as part of this study, presented in large part in this volume of the Greater Bangkok Slum Housing Market Study, the total number of people currently living in these slums is estimated conservatively at 1.7 to 2.2 million people, or roughly 21-27 percent of the 1992 Greater Bangkok population.

These data undermine the claim of prior researchers that economic growth has contributed to housing improvement, for there are currently a greater number AND percentage of Bangkok residents living in Greater Bangkok slum housing than in 1974. Further, slum residents are living in more crowded conditions than in 1984, a period also prior to the recent economic boom. These data thus point to a deterioration of living and environmental conditions in Bangkok area slums in recent years. This contrary trend of decline amidst development undermines the prior claim that "supportive" public policies are benefitting a growing number and percentage of Bangkok area residents.

What was the nature of Thailand's boom? First, the country had the world's fastest growing economy during the late 80s, when annual average growth topped 11.2 percent in real terms. The macroeconomic policies which helped spawn this rapid expansion, as well as the more

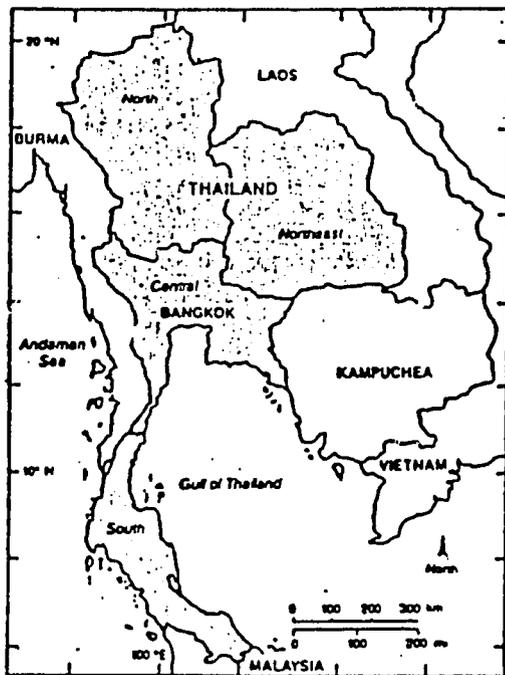
modest yet still enviable growth since then, serve as the basis for the International Monetary Fund's recent recognition of Thailand as a "model for Third World development."

Second, the center of Thailand's recent economic boom has been the Bangkok Metropolitan Region (BMR), a sprawling metropolis of over nine million people that is now the world's fifteenth largest city (See Maps 1 and 2 for location, and Table 1 in Appendix C for specific area information). The boom actually strengthened the BMR's role as the hub of the Thai economy, and now accounts for 50 percent of national GDP and 77 percent of manufacturing output. But BMR-based growth has also severely exacerbated a range of urban problems that have existed for years, including chronically inadequate infrastructure, rapid and widespread environmental degradation, and growing social inequities (See, for eg., Setchell, 1992a, 1992b, 1991a, and 1991b, for a detailed review of these growth-related impacts).

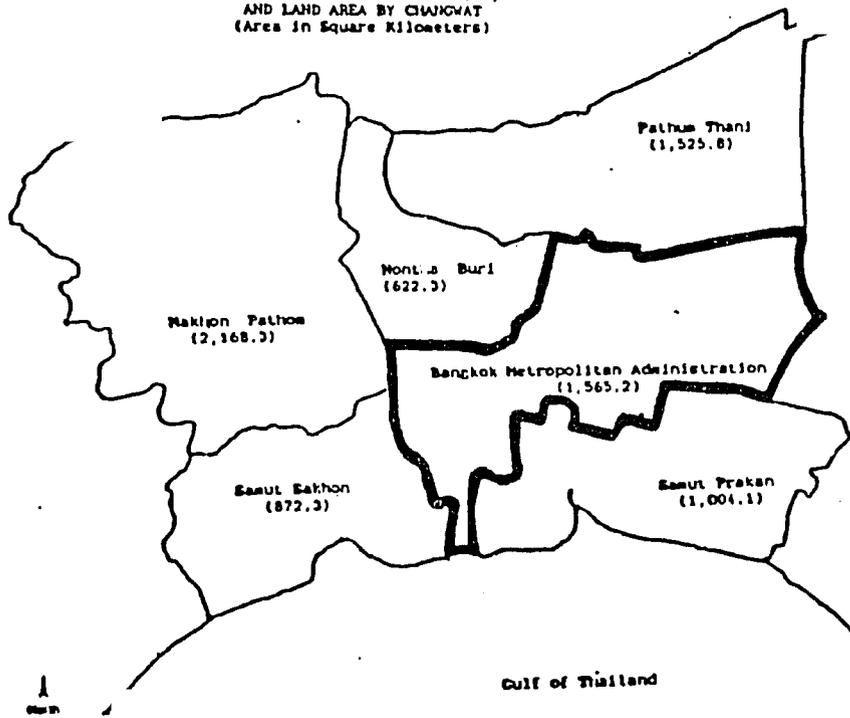
However, the macroeconomic policies so admired by the IMF, together with a set of weak urban policies, have conspired to produce rapid, unplanned development that has generated a wide range of social and environmental costs, including:

- * The world's worst traffic congestion. Average peak hour travel speeds on major roads are less than five miles per hour. Congestion now occurs throughout the urban area during all daylight and evening hours. Worse yet, recent studies indicate that traffic conditions will deteriorate, even after building several transport projects over the next several years at a cost approaching US\$15-20 billion;
- * Air pollution that includes lead at a level which exceeds that found in Mexico City, a

MAP 1
REGIONS OF THAILAND



MAP 2
BANGKOK METROPOLITAN REGION,
AND LAND AREA BY CHANGVAT
(Area in Square Kilometers)



BMR Total = 7,758.0 sq. km.

Source: Royal Thai Survey Department, Ministry of Defense, in: National Statistics Office (NSO). Population and Housing Census. Bangkok: NSO, 1990 Preliminary Report: pp. 59-67.

city generally considered to have the worst air pollution of any large city in the world. As a result, more than 10 percent of Bangkok area residents suffer from some form of respiratory illness, and an entire generation of youngsters is exposed to lead levels that may rob them of their full mental and physical capacities;

- * Pollution of Bangkok area waterways to such an extent that they look like vast deposits of printer's ink. With less than two percent of the population connected to a sewer system, it could take years and billions of dollars to clean up the waterways; and
- * Ground subsidence of 5.25 feet, on average, throughout the Bangkok area during the 1960-88 period, due to widespread groundwater pumping. The pumping continues, albeit at a slower rate, contributing further to saltwater intrusion of aquifers and adverse impacts on area farming activities. With the metropolis continuing to rely on groundwater for much of its water supply, it also continues to sink due to the pumping. It is no longer accurate to view Bangkok's many and notorious floods as solely natural events.

Recent experience in the BMR -- again, the hub of the IMF's "model of Third World development" -- suggests that the market-friendly, facilitative mode of urban management is incapable of coping with current and foreseeable development trends. Many observers contend that the next five years may be the last "window of opportunity" to deal with those trends before they become unmanageable. Some have even dubbed the Seventh Plan period as the Era of Crisis Management in the BMR. Given the importance of the BMR to the functioning of Thailand, it is hard to argue against such statements, for the region's current development trends constitute nothing less than a threat to the long-term well-being of the entire country.

Amidst the decline in overall living and environmental conditions,

however, is an apparent success story. The housing sector of the Thai economy, which is located almost entirely in the BMR, has been a leading economic sector, growing at a rate more than twice that of overall economy. More specifically, this dynamic housing activity has occurred largely within the Greater Bangkok area, consisting of the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA) and the changwat of Samut Prakan, Nonthaburi, and Pathum Thani (Again, see Maps 1 and 2 for location). The Greater Bangkok area, where roughly 90 percent of the BMR's population lives, is also the study area of this research effort.

If the BMR economy has been one of the world's most dynamic urban economies, as it has been recently, then Greater Bangkok's housing sector is arguably the world's most dynamic housing sector as well. Nowhere, it seems, was a housing market in a developing country better suited to address the shelter needs of families of all income levels than the GB housing market of the past few years. Indeed, the initial research efforts of the GB housing market seemed to provide some basis for claiming that the private sector homebuilding industry (See Appendix A for a definition of this and other key terms used in this report) was expanding its ability to absorb increasingly lower-income households over time while also rapidly expanding housing supply. Further, this new housing construction seemed to be leading to improvement of living and environmental conditions for many Thais.

Recent research (eg., PADCO, 1987; PADCO, 1990; Dowall, 1988), then, and the response to it, has generated an emerging bit of conventional wisdom, namely that Thailand has somehow found a way to solve its

urban housing problems by importing the Levittown model of housing development: Mass production of highly standardized housing that is increasingly affordable to more and more families over time. Two "facts" are often presented to "prove" the point:

- * Developer-built housing is now affordable to 95% of Bangkok's households, whereas only 15% of those households could afford such developer-built housing in 1980; and
- * "Slum" housing, as defined by the government, is now only 11% of total stock in the city, whereas in 1974 the share was at least 24% (Note: The definition of a "slum" has not changed significantly over time; see Appendix A.)

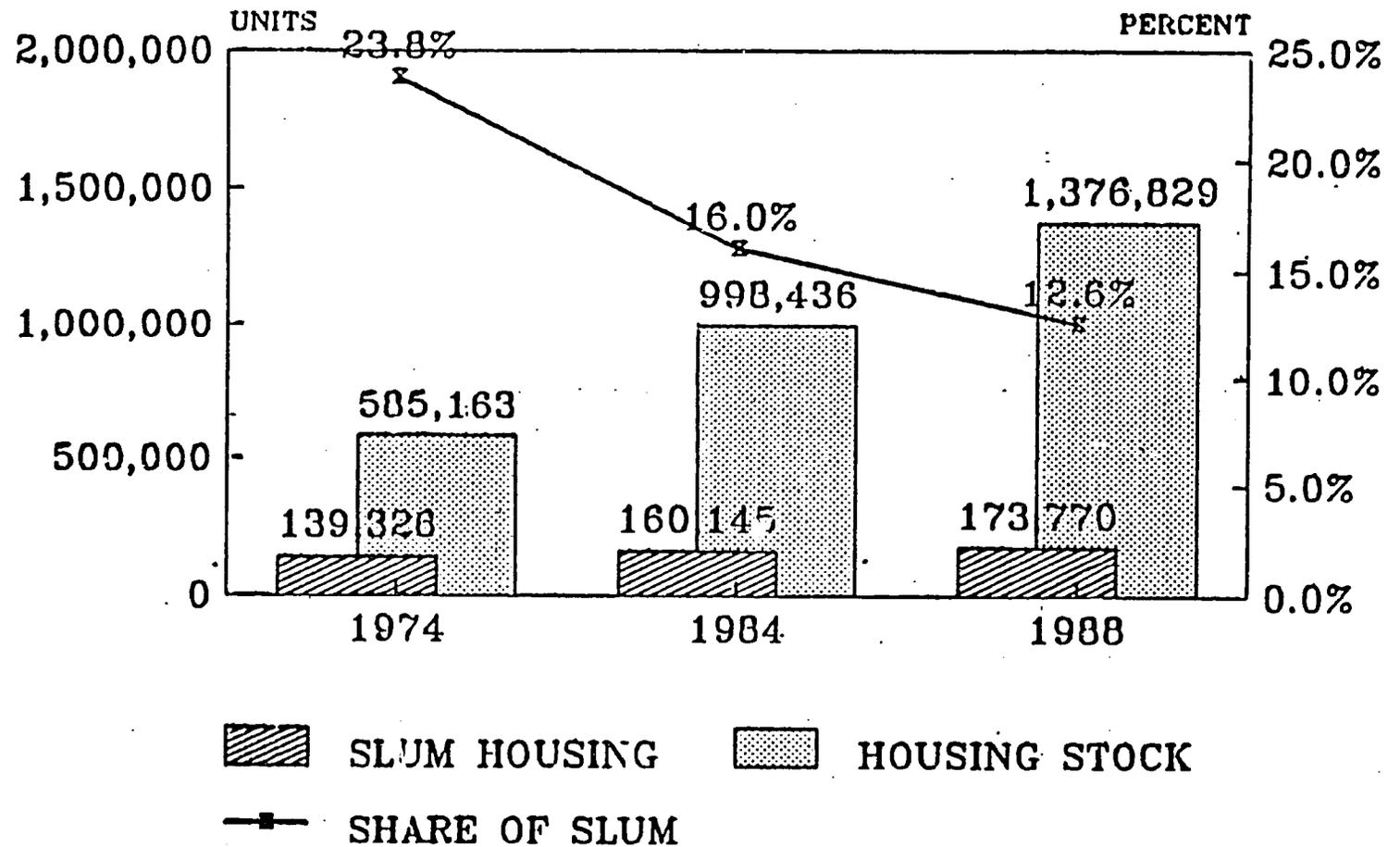
Dowall (1990) goes so far as to state that slum housing in Bangkok "continued to decline in relative importance as a housing supplier... during the 1984-8 period," as Table 1 attests. Two Thai housing experts have even stated that slum housing growth in Bangkok "has virtually stopped", while the overall housing stock expanded at an annual average rate of six percent during the last two decades./5/

The recent Thai housing experience, as researched and reported to date, has not gone unnoticed. The World Bank, among others, has heralded the effort as an appropriate response to housing issues in the cities of developing countries, and consistent with the Bank's larger policy of urban management, whereby the public sector facilitates private sector activity through a variety of enabling measures.

What has gone unnoticed, it seems, is that while the slum housing stock has been in relative decline since 1974, both the number AND

TABLE 1

SHARE OF SLUM HOUSING
IN BANGKOK METROPOLITAN REGION 1974-1988



percentage of Greater Bangkok area residents living in slum housing were increasing over the 1974-92 period. While the absolute number of slum houses has increased over time, the combination of a declining share of stock and increasing share of population suggest a decline in living and environmental conditions in Bangkok area slums in recent years. The seemingly contrary trend of decline amidst development undermines the claim that current housing and urban development policies are benefitting a growing number and percentage of Bangkok residents.

Research has uncovered a number of shortcomings with official, "best available" RTC data on slum housing that together act to undercount systematically the current slum housing totals. Two key examples are presented here:

- 1) No data on slum housing activity in the "3-C" area of Greater Bangkok -- the changwat of Samut Prakan, Nonthaburi, and Pathum Thani -- has been collected comprehensively since 1987, even though the 1987 data for this area has been referred to in official RTC documents as 1990 and 1991 data, and even though the number of slums increased in this area from 110 in 1974 to 411 in 1987, a 274% increase. The number of slum communities in the 3-C area is currently estimated to be at least 682, an increase of 66% over the 1987 number; and
- 2) Within existing slum communities of all sizes and ages throughout the Greater Bangkok area, the average number of houses per slum increased by roughly 46% during the 1987-92 period. Within the BMA, 62% of the average increase in slum size (from 123 to 183 houses) was due to an increase in the number of registered houses, while the remainder -- a cumulative total of nearly 22,400 houses -- was due to an estimate of un-registered houses that was not reflected in official totals. While counted in earlier studies because of the use of aerial photography, the added increase in slum housing stock beyond official totals provides a basis for claiming that the slum housing stock is not in decline, but is managing to persist and even flourish, despite claims to the contrary.

Not updating counts of slum communities and houses, and not accounting for the large number of un-registered houses located within slums, have contributed to the impression that Greater Bangkok slum housing is becoming less of an alternative as a low-cost housing resource. This impression is a false one, based on research undertaken as part of this study. To get a better sense of recent changes in Greater Bangkok slums, the following key questions were addressed:

- * Did GB slums increase or decrease in size and population during the 1987-92 period, in terms of both absolute numbers and share of the GB area?
- * What services are available in slums, and how much do services cost on a monthly basis?
- * What is the number of registered and un-registered houses in GB slum communities?
- * What improvements do slum residents have, and would like to have?
- * What is the range of family characteristics of slum residents (eg., where residents are from, what type of house they lived in before they moved to the slum, where residents are registered, etc.)

To obtain information on these and other items, 76 randomly-selected Greater Bangkok slum communities, or 4.6 percent of the estimated 1992 total of 1,660 communities, were surveyed as part of this study (See Appendix C for a map of specific locations of slum settlements surveyed, as well as a list of settlements surveyed). The majority of these communities were surveyed by residents who were identified, trained, and supervised by the Author. This report, Volume 1 of the Greater Bangkok Slum Housing Market Study, does not report in detail on the findings of that survey, but rather focuses on the following:

- 1) The contextual and conceptual background necessary for examining changes in the Bangkok area slum housing market over time;
- 2) A re-assessment of available secondary data from RTC and other sources on the slum housing market during the 1974-1990 period; and
- 3) An analysis of slum housing market change since 1990, based in part on field surveys at the khet (district) and changwat (provincial) levels of governmental jurisdiction in the Bangkok metro area.

Volume 2 of this study builds on this work, and presents the findings of a survey of the 76 Greater Bangkok slum communities during July 1992.

Despite the many positive changes in the Bangkok area since Khun Renoo Suvarnsit's statement on the "housing problem" in 1972 (See his quote appearing at the beginning of this study), it is still quite imperative that a "great deal of attention" continue to be devoted to the problem, given the implications of the data presented here. In addition, given the data discussed in the Preface regarding global urbanization and the projected increase in slum settlements in the cities of developing countries, Khun Renoo's 1972 statement remains strikingly -- and unfortunately -- contemporary.

THE CONTEXT FOR RESEARCH

This section will focus on the conceptual and contextual background necessary for examining changes in the Greater Bangkok slum housing market over time. After examining recent changes in housing policies in developing countries, the focus will then turn to a review of recent policy changes in Thailand, and an assessment of the enabling strategy in Greater Bangkok to determine the efficacy of such a strategy as a low-cost housing delivery mechanism.

With this conceptual review as a basis, the urban context itself will be examined, i.e., demographic and economic growth and change in Greater Bangkok and the BMR in the recent past, and how this growth and change has transformed the physical landscape of the region. The focus will then shift to a key feature of contemporary urban development in Thailand: housing. Recent housing development trends in Greater Bangkok will be reviewed, with an emphasis on part of the emerging crisis in the Greater Bangkok area: the decline in living conditions for a growing number and percentage of slum dwellers.

The General Conceptual Context of Research. Economic conditions generally declined in most developing countries during the 1980s while the "debt crisis" rose, with particularly severe impacts on the poor. With economic decline came a realization that government would be forced to cut budgets and reduce activity. Ironically, those on "the Left" and "the Right" were in general agreement: The State must be transformed.

Building on successful domestic efforts, Thatcher in Britain and Reagan in America exerted pressure on international development institutions (IDIs) like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to promote the privatization of public institutions in developing countries as a means of reducing both the role and the cost of the public sector. Privatization efforts ranged from the franchising of public sector functions and services to outright sale of state assets. These efforts became adopted widely because governments needed funds and privatization programs were typically a facet of larger IDI-directed austerity and stabilization drives.

Those on the Left, meanwhile, called for less authoritarian rule, the removal of inequitable regulations, and greater participation in the political process. Administrative reform thus became part and parcel of the move from authoritarian to increasingly democratic forms of government in many countries during the 80s.

The opportunity for re-tooling the State to make it leaner, more efficient, entrepreneurial, and democratic ran aground, however, due to generally anemic economic activity. With little in the way of resources, governments did not need a lot of pressure from the Left or Right; they would generally do less. In most developing countries, in particular, inaction and withdrawal became commonplace activities.

The housing sector in developing countries has not been immune from the trend towards retrenchment. If recent history is a guide, there is a real question as to whether governments in developing countries will withdrawal from providing housing to the poor altogether. The

historical shift has been from direct provision of public housing, through the range of "self-help" activities, to the current emphasis on management of urban services, infrastructure, and land and housing markets. As World Bank economist Steven Malpezzi notes (1990, at p. 972), there has even been an erosion of the sites and services concept, from "core housing which could be progressively developed," to "low-cost land development and the upgrading of existing settlements." While few among the poor may have benefitted from public sector activity in any event, the likelihood that they will in the future seems more remote than ever.

Consistent with the overall strategy of privatization of state activity are the facilitation, or enabling, measures related to urban development promoted by the World Bank and others. These institutions now view the use of financial incentives, for example, rather than the application of regulations, as effective and appropriate public sector means of managing private sector activities in cities (eg., World Bank, 1991a, 1991b, and 1988). With respect to urban housing issues, enabling measures like the aforementioned market-friendly, "supportive public policy" found in Thailand are also viewed as an appropriate state response.

Reviewing the World Bank experience in urban housing issues is helpful in understanding the shift towards facilitation. In the mid-80s the Bank, after several years of what Bank analyst Michael Cohen refers to as "learning by doing" (Cohen, 1986, 1983), decided to move away from direct provision of upgrading and sites and services projects in the housing arena because those projects were both institutionally and

economically demanding. The Bank opted instead for a new role in urban areas: Abandoning the project approach, or what a recent Bank report refers to as "sporadic traditional interventions", in favor of something called "urban management," which is now widely promoted by the IDI community.

The urban management strategy is based on the notion that public sector provision of services in cities -- now seen as "engines of growth" -- is needed to facilitate economic growth (eg., World Bank, 1988, 1986, 1983). The view is not entirely incorrect, as major urban areas in developing countries often account for 50% or more of a country's GNP. Keep the engine running efficiently, goes the new thinking, and all will benefit; all of the proverbial boats will rise.

The urban management view places special emphasis on:

- * Urban administration and finance through devolution of resource mobilization and investment planning to local government authorities;
- * Changing land management and regulatory environments and practices to stimulate private initiatives and investment especially in housing, land development, and urban transport;
- * Housing, not only as a basic human need but also as a sector capable of contributing to domestic resource mobilization and financial institution development.
- * Urban service/infrastructure provision.

With respect to land and housing issues, the urban management view relies on the private sector to develop land and build housing. What institutional activities the public sector engages in to promote private sector activity is not clearly defined. In any event, the

main implication of the state's new role of facilitation, particularly in urban housing markets, is that if the state stands aside and facilitates market processes rather than meddling in them, the private sector will provide housing for all that need it.

Can it be that an unencumbered market is better able than the state at providing low-cost housing? This question is at the core of the debate regarding the extent to which the public sector can/should intervene in, manage, or dictate market processes to ensure some measure of access to land and housing markets for the urban poor. This long-standing debate must change in light of emerging global urbanization trends.

Doebele (1987), for example, estimated that cities in developing countries may double in physical size during the 1980-2000 period, and that land and housing markets in those cities are becoming more commercialized over time. In Bangkok, the urban area more than tripled in size during the 17-year period ending 1991 (See Table 10, Appendix B), while land values increased at an annual average rate of 80 percent during the 1986-1990 period (Pornchokchai, 1991, p. 101). The result? Despite significant urban expansion, the poor are increasingly excluded from valuable urban land, and must resort to informal sector mechanisms (eg., land invasions, encroachment, and other forms of extra-legal use of land) which are becoming increasingly ineffective. The fact that it is increasingly difficult to develop an historically-defined slum in Bangkok -- with bridge slums being a good example -- is evidence of both increasing land commercialization and increasing ineffectiveness of informal means of

access to that land.

If informal means of gaining access to land for housing are becoming increasingly ineffective, what are the urban poor to do?

The Conceptual Context in Thailand. At first glance, the urban poor would appear to have gained access to the larger economy during the past few years, for slums have declined as a share of the Bangkok metro area housing stock. This relative decline has been due in part to an unprecedented, Bangkok-centered economic "boom" and, more specifically, to both widespread demolition of slums and successful Royal Thai Government (RTG) efforts to promote the private sector housing construction industry.

Much of the RTG effort has revolved around the Government Housing Bank (GHB) and the National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB), which changed home lending practices and promoted a variety of privatization-oriented housing policies, respectively, in the early-mid 80s. These "supportive" public policies included the easing of banking and financing restrictions; streamlining of development regulations; subsidized infrastructure improvements; and income tax deductions for homebuyers.

Without question, recent housing sector activity in Bangkok has been impressive, if only for the sheer magnitude and pace of it. Similar activity elsewhere has not been documented in the relevant literature. But can the public sector in Thailand or other developing countries realistically expect to facilitate private sector housing construction

which will result in housing that is affordable to the urban poor? After all, if the emphasis of an enabling-oriented urban management strategy is the improvement of market processes and efficiency in the city, does it also mean a de-emphasis of the housing needs of the urban poor? Further, is there more to city-building than housing finance, cost recovery, and the measurement of housing affordability?

While research by Dowall, Angel and Pornchokchai, and Foo, among others, identified the trend of increasing housing affordability in Bangkok during the 1980s, the accumulated research to date has not examined who actually purchased and occupied the housing. It is one thing, then, to state that housing is more affordable over time, while it is quite another to ask "affordable to whom?" Specifically, purchases of the private sector real estate industry's lowest-priced product -- the low-cost condo, or LCC -- have been brisk in the recent past, and affordable according to standard financial analysis. With respect to the interaction between supportive public policies and the relative decline in slums, the key question seems to be the following:

Who is buying and occupying the low-cost
condominiums being built in Greater Bangkok?

Not knowing the answer to these two questions undermines the claim of improved housing conditions, and the efficacy of enabling strategies.

The Enabling Strategy in Bangkok: An Assessment./6/ What has been the efficacy of RTG enabling policies in promoting private sector homebuilding industry construction of low-cost housing in the Bangkok metro area? An assessment of these "supportive" policies was

undertaken by the author in 1991 in affiliation with the RTG's Government Housing Bank (GHB). The focus of the empirical study was the vibrant, new segment of Bangkok's low-cost housing delivery system (See Angel, Benjamin, and de Goode, 1977, and Yap, 1989, for a detailed discussion of this system): The private sector homebuilding industry's lowest-priced product, the low-cost condominium (LCC).

Key research questions were: 1) Who was purchasing and occupying the lowest-price housing built by the private sector building industry; and 2) To what extent were the users and owners of low-cost housing actually lower-income households.

A survey of 504 randomly-selected households in sixty (60) low-cost condominium (LCC) projects throughout the Greater Bangkok area (the BMA and the three contiguous changwat of Nonthaburi, Samut Prakan, and Pathum Thani) was undertaken in November 1991. The sample size of 504 households represented approximately a six percent (6.0%) sample of loan applications in GB area LCC projects, according to then-available GHB data. The individual households served as the unit of analysis for the survey. The sampling percentage ensured a slightly larger sample size of the number of issued loans -- those loans which GHB customers were actually using to finance LCC units, which is smaller than the total number of loan applications. The actual sample size percentage was not calculated prior to the survey, however, because the GHB did not have readily accessible data on the number of issued loans in LCC projects. It was estimated at the time that a 6% sample of loan applications would represent a 7-8% sample of issued loans.

In addition to complete geographic coverage, GHB interviewers were instructed to use LCC unit addresses that had been randomly derived from GHB files. A review of addresses for completed surveys confirmed that LCC survey units had been randomly selected.

Selected results of the survey follow:

Location of Projects. The number of LCC project units, by area, appears below, and indicates that the majority of LCC project units surveyed are located in the BMA. The locational pattern represented below reflects strongly the general pattern of GHB loan activity as well as the general pattern of housing construction activity in the Greater Bangkok area.

Area	No. of Units	% of Total
BMA	315	62.5%
Samut Prakan	98	19.4
Pathum Thani	76	15.1
Nonthaburi	15	3.0
Totals	504	100.0

Location of Previous Residence of Current LCC Occupants. Respondents were asked the location of residence just prior to moving to the LCC survey unit. The responses were as follows:

Location of Previous Residence	Responses	
	Number	%
BMA	331	65.9
Samut Prakan	48	9.6
Nonthaburi	16	3.2
Pathum Thani	34	6.8
Greater Bangkok	429	85.5

Samut Sakhon	1	0.2
Nakhon Pathom	2	0.4
	-----	-----
BMR	432	86.1
Rest of Country	70	13.9
	-----	-----
Totals =	502	100.0
No Response =	2	

The overwhelming majority of LCC occupants lived in Greater Bangkok just prior to moving to the LCC unit. Only 14 percent of respondents had moved from outside the BMR to the LCC unit.

Previous Residence Type. Of particular relevance to the study of slum housing is whether slum residents are moving to other forms of housing as the slum housing market declines relative to those other market segments. Data collected provide insight into housing movements, and indicate that movement from slums to LCC units is not significant, as less than six percent of LCC respondents stated that the previous residence was in a slum.

Previous Residence Type	No.	Percent
-----	-----	-----
Single-family house	140	27.8
Shophouse	87	17.3
Townhouse	69	13.7
Private flat	59	11.7
Rural house	57	11.3
Slum	28	5.6
Public flat	19	3.8
Another Condo	18	3.6
Other	27	5.4
	-----	-----
Totals =	504	100.0

Tenure Status of Previous Residence. The responses to the question of the tenure status of interviewees in the previous residence revealed a

host of social relations, as follows:

Tenure Status	No.	%
Owner	134	26.6
Renter	224	44.5
Lived Rent-free with family/friends	119	23.7
Lived Rent-free with unrelated people	26	5.2
Totals =	503	100.0
No Response =	1	

Roughly 75 percent of LCC households surveyed stated that they did not own their previous residence, and roughly 28 percent stated that they did not pay rent while living at the previous residence.

In addition, average household size in the previous residence was 5.02, somewhat higher than the 1990 Census figure of 4.47 for the Greater Bangkok area. While detailed interpretation of household composition has not yet taken place, of note is the fact that parents and brothers/sisters were conspicuously present in many "previous residence" households, suggesting that LCC residents represent a breaking up of the traditional "extended" family household. A look at the data on tenure status in the previous residence supports this claim, in part, in that 23.7 percent of respondent households lived rent-free with family or friends (the category was dominated overwhelmingly by family).

Disposition of Previous Residence that was Owned. Residents who owned the home they lived in prior to moving to the LCC unit were asked if

they sold the residence as part of the move. The responses were as follows:

Response	Number	% of Total
Yes	32	25.2
No	95	74.8
Totals =	127	100.0
No Response =	7	
Survey Total =	134	

A large majority of LCC occupants did not sell their previous residence as part of the move to the LCC unit, suggesting that enough household financial resources were available to facilitate the move without having to resort to sale of the previous residence.

Related to the finding of multiple housing ownership was another finding that suggests strongly that LCC units were -- and are -- not occupied by low-income households was the response of several LCC residents that vehicle parking as a problem in the projects, even though many projects were yet fully occupied at the time of the survey. Given that private vehicles are quite expensive, and that fewer than 50 percent of all GB households own a private vehicle of any kind (motorcycles included), the fact that parking is viewed as a problem suggests that households may be at and above the 50th percentile of the GB household income spectrum.

Housing Finance Characteristics of LCC Survey Units. Selected data on LCC survey households and all households receiving a GHB loan to purchase a LCC unit in the Greater Bangkok area appear below (figures in Baht unless otherwise noted):

Characteristics	LCC Survey Group	LCC Survey Projects (n = 60)/1/
Number of HHs	504	6,988 (as of 1-11-91)
% of Issued Loans	7.2	100.0
Ave. Downpayment	B 69,515	B 60,842
Ave. Sale Price	215,181	224,144
Ave. % Downpayment	32.4%	27.1%
Ave. Loan Amount	145,566	163,302
Ave. Monthly Loan Installment	2,472	2,777
Ave. HH Income/Month	15,396	16,964
Ave. Installment/Month as % of Ave. HH Income	16.1%	16.4%

 /1/ Households with GHB Loans issued to purchase a unit in a low-cost condominium (LCC) project included in the November 1991 survey of 60 projects.

The survey data bear a strong resemblance to the larger pool of those households purchasing a LCC unit with a GHB mortgage loan. Further, the low percentage of household income required to service the loan indicates that incomes are high relative to housing price.

The following data relate the income data on LCC households to household income data for the entire Greater Bangkok, which again is both the primary area of origin for LCC households and the study area for the slum housing study. The income data derived from LCC occupant households compare more than favorably with Greater Bangkok area household income data.

Household Group	Median HH Income	Average HH Income
(1) LCC Survey	B 11,000	B 15,396
(2) Greater Bangkok/1/	8,727	11,344
(1) as % of (2)	126.0%	135.7%
Adjusted "GB"/2/	B 10,762	B 13,990

/1/ 1990 data from the National Statistical Office (NSO).

/2/ Household income data were collected in the GB area by the NSO during April 1990, while LCC Survey data were collected during November 1991, a difference of roughly 18 months.

To facilitate comparison with LCC Survey data, income totals for GB households were adjusted to account for the difference in time periods. Adjusted totals thus reflect an annual increase in income of 15.0 percent over the 18-month period. While the 15.0 percent increase was arbitrarily selected, it exceeds the increase in economic activity (measured as GDP growth) during the same period (which averaged 8.95%/yr.) in much the same way that average income growth during 1988 and 1989 (at 20.0%/yr.) exceeded average GDP growth (12.6%/yr.).

The data above show that LCC households can generally be considered as middle and perhaps upper-middle class in terms of prevailing Greater Bangkok income data. The LCC market segment does not generally appear to be accessible to lower- or low-income households, as many think. The high level of affordability, in fact, underscores the contention that while LCC units may be "affordable" to households of more modest means, they are not the households who actually purchase and occupy LCC units. Coupled with the knowledge that few, if any, households move from slum housing to LCC projects, it appears that lower-income households are not benefitting from the enabling strategy of the RTC. The "supportive public policy" environment has instead supported the purchase of inexpensive housing by those who can afford far more.

The Physical Context for Research: The Greater Bangkok Area

Demographic Change. The context for understanding recent growth in the Bangkok area really begins with a review of recent patterns of national population growth, which is shown in Table 2 below. While the country's population is still predominantly living in rural areas, urban growth rates far surpassed rural rates in the recent past. Based on the data below, centuries of rural-based population expansion in Thailand essentially ended in 1985, for the overwhelming majority of all population growth that occurred in Thailand during the 1985-90 period occurred in urban areas. This trend of rapid urban growth and stagnant rural growth is likely to continue.

Bangkok, of course, has been a major contributor of the rapid growth of Thailand's urban areas. From its modest beginnings in 1782, Bangkok has grown into a major metropolitan area of regional and international significance. The Bangkok Metropolitan Region (BMR), consisting of the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA) and five contiguous changwat (See Maps 1 and 2, and Table 1 in Appendix B), is now the fifteenth (15th) largest urban region in the world, and seems destined to remain one of the world's largest such regions well into the next century.

Tables 3 to 6 in Appendix B provide detailed information on the amount and extent of population change during the 1960-1990 period, and show that both Greater Bangkok and the BMR population consistently increased at a faster rate of growth than Thailand as a whole during that period. The BMA and BMR shares of Thailand's total population

TABLE 2

POPULATION GROWTH IN THE URBAN AND RURAL AREAS OF THAILAND, 1975-1990

(Population in millions of people)

Year	Urban		Rural		Total	
	Pop.	%	Pop.	%	Pop.	%
1975	10.158	24.0	32.167	76.0	42.325	100.0
1985	14.288	27.8	37.292	72.2	51.580	100.0
1990	18.123	32.3	37.959	67.7	56.082	100.0
Change:						
75-85	4.130	40.7	5.125	15.9	9.255	21.9
85-90	3.835	26.8	0.667	1.8	4.502	8.7
75-90	7.965	78.4	5.792	18.0	13.757	32.5
Annual Ave. % Change:						
75-85	3.50		1.49		2.00	
85-90	4.81		0.36		1.69	
75-90	3.93		1.11		1.91	
Urban as % of Total Population Change:						
75-85	44.62					
85-90	85.18					
75-90	57.90					

NOTE: "Urban" is defined officially as all municipal areas, plus all sanitary districts containing 5,000 or more people with a minimum average population density of 1,000 people per square kilometer. It is assumed officially that this latter distinction encompasses even the smallest of urban settlements in Thailand. See source material, esp. Volume 1, Area 2, pp. 4 and 8-9, for further discussion.

Sources: For 1975: National Economic and Social Development Board. National Urban Development Policy Framework Final Report, Volume 2, Area 8. Bangkok: NESDB, 1992, Tables 2-4 and 2-8. For 1990: Ibid.; Volume 1, Area 1, Table 3-2, p. 78.

during the same time period also increased, suggesting that the region is becoming even more of a center for the nation's affairs, despite previous development planning efforts to decentralize urban population growth to regional centers and elsewhere. The BMR, for example, contained 15.7 percent of Thailand's population in 1990, up from 12.5 percent in 1960.

Tables 3 to 6 in Appendix B also provide an additional insight: the rate of BMA population growth declined dramatically during the 1980s when compared to previous decades, while the bulk of the rest of the BMR continued to grow. Table 3 below illustrates this fact clearly: during the 80s, the population growth rate of the "3-C" area of Nonthaburi, Samut Prakan, and Pathum Thani was roughly twice that of the BMA. The "3-C" area was, in fact, one of the very fastest growing areas of Thailand during the 80s.

TABLE 3
POPULATION GROWTH, BY SELECTED AREAS, 1980-1990

Area	1980	1990	Change	
			No.	%
BMA	4,697,071	5,876,000	1,178,929	25.1
3-C/1/	1,174,280	1,756,000	581,720	49.5
Greater Bkk.	5,871,351	7,632,000	1,760,649	30.0
Rest of BMR/2/	773,074	950,000	176,926	22.9
BMR	6,644,425	8,582,000	1,937,575	29.2
Thailand	44,824,540	54,532,000	9,707,460	21.7

/1/ 3-C = The three changwat of Nonthaburi, Pathum Thani, and Samut Prakan.
/2/ Area includes the changwat of Samut Sakhon and Nakhon Pathom.
Source: National Statistical Office (NSO). Population and Housing Census. Bangkok: NSO, 1980 and the 1990 Preliminary Report.

Within the 3-C area, population increased in the changwat of Samut Prakan and Nonthaburi by 58.5 and 55.5 percent, respectively, during the 80s (See Table 5, App. B), mirroring the recent trend towards decentralization within urban regions found in other capitalist cities around the world. The growth in these two changwat alone was so significant that during the 1980-1990 period the changwat of Samut Sakhon and Nakhon Pathom -- the two remaining changwat in the BMR -- actually lost population in relative terms, despite percentage growth levels near or above the 21.7 percent increase in the national population. The bulk of growth within the BMR in the recent past, then, has occurred in the Greater Bangkok area, which now contains roughly 90 percent of total the BMR population, up from 84 percent in 1960 (Table 4, App. B).

Due to a host of factors, among them increasing industrialization, higher levels of education, higher incomes, successful family planning programs, growing consumerism, and other social changes, household formation rates were far higher than population growth rates during the 1960-1990 period. While, for example, the BMR population growth rate during the 80s was 29.2 percent, the number of households increased by 51.4 percent. The result of this trend is obvious: much lower household sizes over time, as Table 6 in Appendix B indicates. The average household size in the BMA in 1990 was 4.45 people, down from 6.32 in 1960. Such a dramatic change in household size, together with rapid population growth, has many potential impacts on the urban scene, among them increasing demands for land and housing, a wide range of higher-quality urban services, and motor vehicles and other consumer items.

Tables 7 and 8 in Appendix B provide information on population projections to the year 2010, as well as a comparison of growth rates during the 1960-2010 period, for the BMA, BMR, and Thailand. The BMR, for example, is projected to both exceed ten million people by the end of the century and increase its share of the country's population to nearly 17 percent. By the year 2010, the BMR may contain over 12.5 million people, and account for nearly 18 percent of all Thais. The BMA will also continue to grow in absolute terms, but will contain an increasingly smaller share of BMR population over time, due to much higher rates of growth in the 3-C area. The rate of population growth is also projected to decline substantially over the next two decades. The BMA growth rate, for example, is projected to decline from 2.26 percent per year during the 1980-1990 time period to 1.30 percent during the 1990-2010 period.

Economic Change. Tables 4-8 below, and Table 9 in Appendix B, provide some insights into recent economic changes in Thailand. As noted earlier, Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and GDP per capita more than doubled in the BMA, BMR, and Thailand during the 1980-1988 period, while the BMR accounted for 50.1 percent of GDP of Thailand's total domestic economic output in 1988. If it was not known before, the BMR clearly emerged as the country's "engine of growth" during the 80s; this trend shows no sign of abating in the near term, despite the recent slackening of economic growth.

In particular, a second look at the Tables 4-5 below and Table 9, Appendix B, provide some striking evidence for why the BMR continues to grow relative to the rest of the country. The Northeast Region,

Known as the Isan in Thai, is the largest, most populous, and poorest region of the country. It is common knowledge that most construction and service workers in Bangkok are from that impoverished region. They come seeking to benefit from Bangkok's economic expansion, and it is easy to see why: the 1988 GDP per capita in the BMA was more than ten times that of the Isan (Table 9, App. B), while average household incomes in that region are far below both BMR and national levels, a pattern that has persisted for some time.

TABLE 4
GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT (GDP) PER CAPITA,
BANGKOK METROPOLITAN REGION (BMR) AND THAILAND

Area	Percent Share of National Population	GDP Per Capita	
		Baht	US\$/2/
BMR	15.7/1/	115,694/3/	4,628
Rest of Thailand	84.3	22,026	881
Thailand	100.0	36,732	1,469

Northeast	34.3	12,619	505
	Ratio, BMR to:	Rest of Thailand =	5.25:1
		Thailand =	3.15:1
		Northeast =	9.17:1

/1/ National Statistical Office (NSO). Population and Housing Census 1990 (Preliminary Report). Bangkok: NSO, 1991.

/2/ Baht figures converted to US\$ at rate of Baht 25 = US\$1.00.

/3/ National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB). National Urban Development Policy Framework Final Report: Volume 2, Area 8. Bangkok: NESDB, 1992, Table 2-10, p. 105. Table 2-10 data are for 1988, inflated by official GDP real growth rates of 12.0, 10.0, and 7.9 percent for years 1989, 1990, and 1991, respectively. Data shown are year-end 1991.

TABLE 5

AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD INCOME PER MONTH, BY REGION, THAILAND, 1990

Area	Ave. HH Income/Month		Ratio of GB to:
	Baht	US\$/1/	
Greater Bangkok	11,344	454	1:1
Central	6,060	242	1.9:1
North	4,553	182	2.5:1
Northeast	3,563	143	3.2:1
South	5,023	201	2.3:1
Thailand	5,621	225	2:1

/1/ Baht amounts converted to US\$ at rate of Baht 25 = US\$1.00, and rounded to nearest dollar.

Source: National Statistical Office, RTG, as reported in The Nation, 3 June 1992, p. B2.

According to World Bank estimates, the 1991 GDP per capita total for the BMR shown in Table 4 compares favorably with Korea, circa 1989, or present-day Portugal, while the rest of the country currently compares favorably with the Dominican Republic. The significant geographic disparity in economic activity suggests that the cost of housing, food, and various other goods and services would be commensurately higher in the BMR than elsewhere in Thailand, just as the "cost of living" in Portugal would be higher than in the Dominican Republic.

As long as these extreme geographic disparities in levels of economic activity and household income remain, the Bangkok urban region will continue to draw people from elsewhere, who will seek out a range of urban services, including housing. Should economic disparities widen, which is quite possible, the flow of people to Bangkok, and the

demands they place on urban services, will increase beyond projected levels.

Economic disparities are not solely geographic in nature. Within the PMR there is a wide range of income groups, who together have earned increasing amounts of income over the years. But while the economy has flourished, and household incomes have grown dramatically (See Table 6 below), if the BMR reflected national trends, income became concentrated in fewer hands during the 1975-1990 period. At least during the 1975-88 period, the share of total income by Thai households in the bottom 20 percent of the household income spectrum declined from 6.1 percent to 4.5 percent, while the share of income earned by households in the top 20 percent increased from 49.3 percent to 55.0 percent.

This trend towards greater income disparity may well be continuing to the present, and may well be more pronounced than the national income disparity data, as measured by an increase in the Gini Coefficient from 1975-1988, despite a slight improvement from 1986-1988 (See Table 6). In addition to the shift towards greater concentration of income rather than wider distribution of it over time, what is often overlooked -- or unstated -- is the erosion of income distribution relative to the 1975 pattern of income distribution, which was thought to be extremely inequitable at the time. Because this trend seems to be continuing to the present, policy-makers have deemed it serious enough to identify improvement of income distribution as one of three key development goals in the Seventh National Plan, which is designed to guide development during the 1992-1996 period.

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TABLE 6

AVERAGE AND MEDIAN MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD INCOME, GREATER BANGKOK,
1975/1976 to 1990 /1/

Year	Average		Median		National Gini Coefficient/3/
	Amt.	% Change/2/	Amt.	% Change	
1975/76	3,442/4/	--	2,648	--	.426
1981	5,972	11.65	4,750	12.40	.453
1986	6,949	3.08	5,164	1.69	.500
1988	7,877	6.47	6,060	8.33	.478
1990	11,344	20.01	8,727	20.00	NA

/1/ Greater Bangkok = BMA, Samut Prakan, Pathum Thani, and Nonthaburi. Income figures are in Baht, and not are adjusted for inflation or fluctuations in the value of the Baht.

/2/ * Percentage change in both average and median household income is calculated as a compound annual average change, due to the differences in time intervals between years.

* For the purposes of calculating percentage change between the Fiscal Year 1975/1976 and calendar year 1981, the fiscal year was assumed to start at the beginning of 1976.

/3/ The Gini Coefficient (GC) is a standard statistical measure of the aggregate inequality in a frequency distribution of, typically, household income data. It is a measure of the difference in area between a diagonal line representing perfect income equality and the Lorenz curve, constructed by plotting income recipients in cumulative percentage terms against income shares (percentages). Gini coefficients can vary between 0 (perfect equality) and 1 (perfect inequality).

The national data presented are from:

Hutaserani, Suganya, and Pornchai Tapwong. Urban Poor Upgrading: Analyses of Poverty Trend and Profile of the Urban Poor in Thailand, Study Area 6: Urban Poor Upgrading Background Report No. 6-2. Prepared for the National Economic and Social Development Board by the Thailand Development Research Institute Foundation, October 1990; Table 5.1, p. 8a.

/4/ Data are from National Statistical Office, based on household socio-economic surveys for the years presented. Median income data for 1975/76, 1988, and 1990 are based on the average of percent differences between average and median incomes for 1981 and 1986 (76.93%), which were determined by the NSO. Comparison of calculated medians with GC data for available years suggests that median estimates may be too high. This may be particularly true for 1990 and 1992, in light of the likely erosion of the 1988 distribution of household income, though the veracity of this claim is not known because GC data for 1990 are not yet available.

Again, income issues have a direct impact on a host of urban development issues in terms of, for example, design, cost, and location. It may be that newly-earned income at the top of the income spectrum may well lead to higher rates of luxury condos and private vehicle purchases, while relative declines in income amidst continuing economic growth and rising living costs may increase demands for low-cost housing and public transport. Issues of housing and transport affordability and accessibility to employment are, therefore, of critical importance to lower income households.

While income distribution disparities appear to be widening over time, Thailand already compares poorly with other countries in Asia and elsewhere, as Table 7 shows. The ratio of income held by the richest 10 percent of households and poorest 20 percent is highest in

TABLE 7

HOUSEHOLD INCOME DISTRIBUTION IN THAILAND AND SELECTED COUNTRIES

Country/Year	% of Total HH Income in:		Ratio of (1):(2)	GNP/Capita (1990 US\$)
	(1) Richest 10% of HHS	(2) Poorest 20% of HHS		
Japan ('79)	22.4%	8.7%	2.6:1	25,430
Indonesia ('87)	26.5	8.8	3.0:1	570
U.S.A. ('85)	25.0	4.7	5.3:1	21,790
Philippines ('85)	32.1	5.5	5.8:1	730
Singapore ('82-83)	33.5	5.1	6.6:1	11,160
Malaysia ('87)	34.8	4.6	7.6:1	2,320
THAILAND ('88)	37.9	4.5	8.4:1	1,420

Sources: Thailand: See Footnote 2, in preceding Table; Area 6: Urban Poor Upgrading, Table 5.1, p. 47.

Other Countries: World Bank. World Development Report 1992. Washington, DC: World Bank, 1992, Tables 1 and 30.

Thailand, while GNP per capita (a crude comparative measure of average income per capita levels) is one of the lowest. The RTG's efforts to tackle the income disparity problem during the Seventh Plan period, while laudable, will have to be considerable in the extreme if any notable change is to occur.

Finally, widening income disparities concurrent with increasing economic growth may have overshadowed another important trend of direct relevance to this study: The BMR had fastest rate of growth in urban poverty incidence during the 1985-88 period when compared to urban poverty incidence in other regions of the country, as Table 8 shows. The large increase occurred despite the fact that BMR poverty

TABLE 8

URBAN POVERTY INCIDENCE IN THE REGIONS OF THAILAND, 1975-1988

(In terms of percentage of households at or below the official poverty line)

Urban Areas of:	1975	1985	1988	% Change, 1985-1988
BMR/1/	NA	6.1	10.8	77.0
North	17.8	6.9	11.3	63.8
Northeast	20.9	18.7	19.0	1.6
Central	11.5	8.9	8.4	-5.6
South	21.7	8.6	11.8	37.2
Thailand	12.5	5.9	6.7	13.6

/1/ Technically, not all of the BMR population is living in a "municipal area", which is the official basis for identifying urban poverty incidence. In 1985, only 80.7% of the total BMR population was living in an urban settlement (i.e., a "municipal area") within the BMR, while the share of urban dwellers increased to 86.0% in 1990.

Source: Derived from: NESDB. National Urban Development Policy Framework Final Report, Volume 2, Area 6. Bangkok: NESDB, 1991, Table 5.3, p. 49.

incidence was systematically underestimated relative to other regions for two reasons. One, the same poverty line -- that amount of income required for basic subsistence only -- is applied uniformly throughout the country, without regard to variations in economic activity, prevailing household incomes, or cost-of-living levels in various regions of the country. As noted in the discussion above, the disparity in these items between the BMR and the rest of the country is extreme and widening.

Secondly, the measurement problems associated with application of a uniform income level as a threshold marker for urban poverty in all areas of the country are compounded by questionable application of the income level used. For example, the increase in the urban poverty incidence threshold income--(in income per capita per year) for the period 1985 (Baht 5,834; roughly US\$233) to 1988 (Baht 6,324; roughly US\$253) was 8.4%, exactly one-half that of the 16.8% increase in the official BMR Cost-of-Living Index (CPI) for the same period (See page 1, Appendix B). Had a more realistic poverty incidence income threshold based on changes in the CPI over time been utilized, the increase in BMR urban poverty incidence might have been double that of the official level of 10.8%, meaning that more than 345,000 BMR urban households were actually living in poverty in 1988, as opposed to the nearly 173,000 households that were officially living in poverty./7/

The problems attendant with identifying and applying a poverty income threshold aside, the data clearly show that urban poverty incidence grew dramatically in the BMR during the late 80s relative to other regions of the country. If the problems were recognized and reflected

in the data, it would be very safe to say that urban poverty incidence was -- and is -- far greater in the BMR (and, to a lesser extent, in other regions) than officially recognized.

While the BMR population grew at a rate of 2.4% during the 1985-88 period, the incidence of poverty grew by at least 77%, suggesting that the poor, and NOT the rich, were the most rapidly expanding segment of BMR society during the period. It also suggests that income disparities were growing significantly during the mid-latter 80s.

Physical Change. Rapid demographic and economic growth over the last few decades, and particularly the past few years, has had a dramatic impact on the landscape. Land devoted to urban uses expanded from roughly 470 square kilometers in 1974 to the current estimate of 1,600 square kilometers (See Table 10, App. B). Urban expansion was so rapid in the mid-80s, when the city added a city similar in size to the 1971 version of Bangkok in only four years. The more than three-fold increase in urban area in less than two decades now makes the BMR roughly one-third larger in area than the U.S. city of Los Angeles, a city known worldwide for its extensive settlement pattern.

The recent trend towards physical decentralization of the Bangkok urban region has mirrored changes in the regional distribution of population growth and economic activity. During the 1974-1984 period, 45.2 percent of land converted to urban uses occurred at a distance of 11-20 kilometers from the city center, while during the 1984-1988 period, 45.4 percent of the land converted to urban uses occurred at a distance of greater than 30 kilometers from the city center. The

pattern is thus clear: economic expansion and population growth led directly to a demand for land, which resulted in lower supplies and higher prices at the center, necessitating expansion of the urban periphery. Despite the growth, however, only about 41 percent of the BMA, and 7.5 percent of the rest of the BMR land area, has been converted to urban uses (See Table 11, App. B).

Residential land use represented an increasing share of total urban land use during the 1974-1988 period, and now comprises approximately 50 percent of the total Bangkok urban land inventory (Table 12, App. B). The dramatic increase in both population and households, coupled with rising incomes, increasing availability of housing finance, and the ability of housing developers to respond, led to a dramatic increase in the number of housing units built during the 1974-1988 period. Table 9 below shows the physical outcome of housing demand and supply: In 1974, the largest percentage of housing stock was within five kilometers of the city center, but by 1988 that area only accounted for 25.4 percent of total stock, owing to expansion elsewhere and demolition of (mostly slum) housing to facilitate redevelopment of land to other uses (eg., offices and shops). The largest percentage of housing built during the 1974-1988 period was located within 11-20 kilometers of the city center.

Lastly, overall housing density declined dramatically from 32 units per hectare in 1984 to 22 in 1988, due primarily to rapid development of low-density subdivisions located between 11-30 kilometers from the urban center (PADCO, 1990, p. 42). Like elsewhere, then, the race to the suburbs was on in Thailand during the 80s.

TABLE 9

HOUSING STOCK GROWTH IN METROPOLITAN BANGKOK,
1974-1988, BY DISTANCE FROM URBAN CENTER

Distance From Urban Center	Percent of Housing Stock/1/			Absolute Increase in Stock, 1974-1988	
	1974	1984	1988	No.	Percent of Increase
0-5 km.	39.0	29.0	25.4	91,054	13.6
6-10	19.9	18.1	19.3	126,139	18.8
11-20	23.8	34.5	35.7	308,831	46.0
21-30	7.2	8.9	10.0	83,008	12.4
Over 30	10.1	9.6	9.7	62,188	9.3
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	671,220	100.0
Housing Units	585,163	959,775	1,256,382	--	--

Source: Derived from: PADCO. Bangkok Land and Housing Market Assessment. Washington, DC: PADCO, 1990. Table 2-8, p. 27.

The Bangkok urban region today, like all of Thai society, is very different from the Bangkok of 1960. The rapid change in the region's demographic, economic, and physical characteristics since 1960, and the estimates of continued rapid expansion, suggest that Bangkok will enhance its role as the center of Thailand well into the future. At the same time, however, changes within the urban region point to increasing decentralization, a seemingly paradoxical situation that nonetheless has extremely important ramifications for a host of urban development issues, including land management, housing, provision and finance of services, and transport.

A Closer Look at the Housing Sector. As alluded to above, housing has become a major feature of the urban portion of the BMR, which lies

mainly in the Greater Bangkok area. Outward expansion and lower building densities in new housing projects were due, in part, to the rapid increases in land prices throughout the metropolis which occurred at the time. More recently, the increasing number of new condominiums and townhouses suggests that housing densities may have increased slightly since 1988, reversing somewhat a trend towards declining densities during the 1984-1988 period.

Housing developers responded to the rapid escalation of land costs by shifting to less land-intensive building types, as the data in Table 10 below indicate. New housing built since 1987 has shifted away from the low-density, single-house building type to more intensive housing types like townhouses and condominiums. Further, a greater share of registered dwellings were built by construction companies in 1990 than in 1987. These companies are replacing individual builders as the dominant suppliers of housing. This was even more true in 1991, when the rate of company-built housing was above 80 percent. 1991 data

TABLE 10

HOUSING UNITS REGISTERED IN THE GREATER BANGKOK AREA/1/,
1987 AND 1990

Dwelling Type/2/	1987	1990
Single-house	65.0%	37.8%
Townhouse	30.6	41.5
Flat/Condominium	3.2	19.9
Duplex	1.2	0.8
Total Units =	53,353	102,335
% Built by Housing Developers =	57.5	74.7

/1/ Area includes the BMA and selected municipal jurisdictions in the changwat of Nonthaburi, Pathum Thani, and Samut Prakan.

/2/ Does not include slum housing units.

Source: Office of the Managing Director, Government Housing Bank.

also indicate that condos were the dominant housing type being constructed in Greater Bangkok, with prices typically within the Baht 150,000 to 5,000,000 range. Along with rising land costs, then, was the rise of the housing construction "industry," as fewer and fewer homes are being built by individuals, unlike in previous years.

One measure of "development" touted by many housing analysts is the assumed improvement of housing conditions which have accompanied the increasing commercialization of Bangkok's land and housing markets. These analysts could point to the data in Table 11 and state that those conditions have improved. While it is impressive, for example, that the share of housing supply considered "developer-built" increased by more than four-fold during the 1974-1988 period, what is missing from the claim of housing improvement is a better sense of what was occurring within the slum housing market during the same time period. The combination of rising land costs, rapid development, and the rising incidence of poverty, for example, suggest that the slum housing market was -- and is -- under considerable pressure. The following section, then, focuses solely on Greater Bangkok's slums.

TABLE 11

HOUSING STOCK CHANGE IN METROPOLITAN BANGKOK, 1974 AND 1988

Housing Type/Provider	1974/1/	1988
Developer-Built	3.5%	16.3%
Individually-Built	44.8	42.9
Shophouse	23.0	20.5
Slum	23.8	13.6
Public	4.9	6.8
Total Units	585,163	1,256,382

/1/ Figures in percent shares of total units.

Source: PADCO (1990), Table 2-10, p. 38.

CHANGES IN THE GREATER BANGKOK SLUM HOUSING MARKET, 1974-1992

As noted earlier, 30 percent of humankind -- approximately 1.8 billion people -- may be living in the slum and squatter settlements of cities in developing countries within two decades. The prospects of a better life for the current and projected residents of those settlements are not bright if current trends continue. Bangkok's recent housing market activity, at first glance, suggests that private sector development of housing at increasingly lower prices, combined with the relative decline of slum housing over time, is sufficient evidence for many to claim that the private sector housing industry is providing lower-income households with an affordable alternative to slum housing, and that living conditions are, indeed, improving over time.

The previous section hopefully raised some questions regarding the emerging conventional wisdom that "low-cost" housing in Greater Bangkok means housing that is now affordable to "low-income" people. While low-income households in Bangkok do not live exclusively in slum and squatter settlements, for example, and residents of slum and squatter settlements are not exclusively low-income (See Perlman, 1976, and Perlman, 1987), survey data presented in the previous section show that there has been little movement out of slums into the low-cost condominium housing stock that is currently the lowest-price housing offered by the homebuilding industry.

This section examines what has been occurring within the slum housing market since 1974, the base year for most recent studies on Greater Bangkok's housing markets (eg., PADCO, 1987; PADCO, 1990). The first

part of this section will be devoted to a discussion of what is counted and not counted as a slum community in Greater Bangkok. This will be followed by a review of slum housing activity within the BMA, particularly during the 1987-1992 period. This will be followed by a look at slum housing activity in the "3-C" area of Samut Prakan, Nonthaburi, and Pathum Thani over roughly the same period. The section will then conclude with estimates of slum settlement and slum population growth during the past five years.

What Is, and What Is Not, a Slum Community: Some General Comments.

Much of the data referenced in this report were collected as part of land and housing market studies in the Greater Bangkok area by PADCO, by the NHA, or by staff of the BMA. Where possible, data were verified by speaking with responsible staff at the NHA, BMA, and other related agencies to ensure that no significant changes in definitions or methodologies had occurred over time. If present, such changes would adversely affect data quality and interpretation, making a trend analysis all but impossible. After speaking at length with relevant staff members, the potential for such changes appears minimal./8/

In addition to the definitions of "slum" found in Appendix A, and based on the discussions mentioned above, the slum housing stock of Greater Bangkok does NOT include the following:

- * Construction site housing, which is considered transient or temporary housing, and thus not a part of the "permanent" slum housing stock for enumeration purposes;
- * "Bridge" slums, those slum settlements near to and under the footings of bridges. These settlements started appearing in the late 80s, and totaled 75 by 1990./9/

- * "Small" slums those settlements which do not contain at least 15 houses, even though they have similar service and living conditions as officially-designated slum settlements (See definition of "slum" in Appendix A).
- * "Emergent" slums, those settlements which appear and function as slums, but are not considered officially established as part of the slum housing stock because they have not been in existence for a minimum of three (3) years.

The last criterion of exclusion above is apparently only used within the BMA. This time-based criterion, along with other criteria, is used by BMA staff as part of to officially designate a congested community as a slum. The rationale for this criterion is based on the notion that if a slum is in existence for a minimum of three years, it has become "established" as part of the housing stock, and thus should be counted as part of the slum housing stock, even though it may be subject to eviction and demolition at any time./10/

What the slum housing data do not include are as interesting as what they do, in that the roughly 75 "bridge" slums within the BMA (i.e., the groups of people living under some of Bangkok's large bridges) are not viewed officially as slums, or the many "small" slums, which do not currently contain the threshold number of 15 or 30 or more "congested" housing units to "qualify" officially as a slum. Together with the unknown number of emergent slums and the slum-like housing often found on construction sites, the "non-slums" illustrate that the increasing commercialization of Bangkok area land and housing markets is apparently making it increasingly difficult to develop a slum that qualifies as one in historically characteristic terms.

The proliferation of the "non-slums" over time makes it increasingly

difficult to adhere to the official definition of slum, with the result that official figures on slum housing are conservative in nature, in that what is considered officially a slum -- and thus counted as one -- may not include all of Greater Bangkok's slums.

The time and manner of counting also influences the study of GB's slums. While the BMA has update their slum housing data base since the 1987 PADCO study by conducted khet-level surveys in 1990 and 1992, the NHA has not conducted a comprehensive survey of slum housing in the three changwat since 1987. Many changes in BMA slum housing activity have occurred since 1987, as evidenced by the 1990 and 1992 studies. In addition, there has been a trend towards decentralization of slums within the BMA, as well as urban development in general during the last decade. Reliance on 1987 data in the three changwat to portray current conditions not only leads to a probable undercount, but also an impression that slum housing is on the decline./11/

Slum Housing Market Change in the BMA. As part of this research effort, a detailed survey of all 38 khet-level officials of the BMA Social Welfare Department Community Development Section was undertaken during April-June 1992 to update data on BMA slum communities. Due to fortuitous timing, the results of the BMA's own survey of slums were obtained from BMA staff. In addition, interviews with each of the khet-level officials indicates that a considerable portion of the BMA slum housing market has been -- and is being -- overlooked, resulting in the systematic undercounting of slum housing in the BMA. Table 12 below is based on the data collected in the course of interviews, and shows that the undercount of slum housing was 22,372 dwelling units,

TABLE 12

SLUM HOUSING STOCK COMPOSITION BY REGISTRATION STATUS,
 BANGKOK METROPOLITAN ADMINISTRATION (BMA), 1992

Characteristic	Amount
(1) Registered Houses	156,356/1/
(2) Unregistered Houses	22,372
(2) as a % Increment Above (1)	14.3%
Total Houses	178,728
(2) as % of Total Houses	12.5%

Note:

Slums officially exist in all BMA khet with the exception of Khet Nong Chok, which is located in the eastern portion of the BMA. Slum-like housing exists in the most densely developed areas of the khet, but not in aggregations of sufficient size to be officially classified as a slum.

Slum data shown also do not reflect the emergence of other "small" slums which do not meet the BMA criterion of 15 houses per rai (a combined numerical and density standard).

The data also do not reflect "new" slums, i.e., those slums that may be of sufficient size to merit official recognition as a slum, but were not in existence for a period of three (3) years prior to a survey period.

Finally, the data do not include a relatively new form of slum in the BMA: "bridge" slums, or those slums that exist under and immediately adjacent to bridge footings. In 1990, there were 76 "bridge" slums containing 627 families and at least 2,032 people.

/1/ Data on registered houses in Khet Bangrak slums have yet to be collected. An estimate of 227 registered houses was made as part of the survey, based on the current number of registered households in slums (315) and 1990 data on both households (804) and registered houses (579). The estimate was based on the assumption that the relationship of households per house existing in 1990 (1.39) also exists in 1992.

Source: April-June 1992 survey of all 38 district-level officials of the Community Development Division of the BMA Department of Social Welfare who are responsible for collecting data on slum communities.

which constitutes a "shadow" housing stock equal to a 14.3 percent increase above the official 1992 BMA census of slum housing. Interviews with slum housing experts in the Bangkok area suggest that even the size of this "shadow stock" may be smaller than is actually the case.

Table 13 presents the 1992 data with 1987 NHA data that was generated as part of the PADCO study. The BMA slum housing stock expanded by 35 percent over the five-year period, while average slum community size increased by 50 percent, reversing a trend of declining size found in

TABLE 13
SLUM HOUSING MARKET CHANGE,
BANGKOK METROPOLITAN ADMINISTRATION, 1987-1992

Characteristic	1987	1992	Change (No./Percent)
No. of Slums	1,077	978	-99/-9.2%
No. of Houses	132,059	178,728	46,669/35.3%
	(No. of Registered Houses = 156,356		24,297/18.4%)
No. Houses/Slum	123	183	60/48.8%
No. of Families	191,626	234,798/1/	43,172/22.5%
Population	1,073,106	1,291,389/1/	218,283/20.3%
Persons/Family /2/	5.60	5.50	-0.10/-1.8%
Persons/House	8.13	7.23	-0.90/-11.1%

1/ Figures reflect the number of registered families and people in registered slum community houses. In addition, they reflect an estimate of the number of families and people living in the un-registered houses of BMA slum communities, based on data for registered houses.

The figures DO NOT include the number of un-registered people and families living in EITHER registered OR un-registered slum houses. Therefore, the data must be considered conservative representations of actual conditions within BMA slums.

/2/ Average household sizes based on estimate made by NHA.

Source: See Table 12.

in the 1987 PADCO study. Again, as noted in Table 13, population levels are probably undercounted due to the lack of available data on un-registered people living in either registered or un-registered housing.

What the data in Tables 12 and 13 do not show is the volatility of the BMA slum housing stock in the very recent past. At first glance, comparison of BMA slum data for the 1990-1992 period indicate that there has been a net loss of three (3) slums during the period. A look at khet-level data, however, reveals a far different picture: 90 "new" slums, and the loss of 93 slums. The number of registered houses in BMA slums increased from 147,697 in 1990 to 156,356 in 1992, according to BMA khet-level officials. The net increase in registered houses (8,659 units, for an increase of 5.9 percent) reflects the addition of 32,760 "new" registered houses in slums, as well as the removal of 24,101 registered houses from the slum housing stock, presumably as part of an eviction and demolition process.

It is not clear from the survey data whether housing added to the registration rolls was actually new, or merely unregistered housing as of 1990 which became registered during the 1990-1992 period. However, together with the estimate of 22,372 unregistered houses added to the slum housing supply since 1990, the number of new houses added equals 55,132 houses, a gross increase of 37.3 percent over the 1990 level.

A comparison of housing and population growth in slums and the BMA during the 1987-1992 period appears in Table 14 below. Slum community growth exceeded that of the BMA as a whole during the period. Two

TABLE 14

A COMPARISON OF POPULATION AND HOUSING STOCK CHANGE WITHIN
BMA SLUM SETTLEMENTS AND THE BMA, 1987-1992

Characteristic	Area	
	Slums/1/	BMA
A. Population:		
* 1987	1,073,106	5,792,000/2/
* 1992	1,291,389	6,364,000
Percent Change	+20.3	+9.9
B. Housing Units:		
* 1987	132,059	980,375/3/
* 1992	178,728	1,298,808
Percent Change	+35.3	+32.5

/1/ Data from Table 13.

/2/ Data based on standard interpolation of 1985-1995 population data from: National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB). National Urban Development Policy Framework, Vol. 1, Area 1. Bangkok: NESDB, 1992, Table 1-12, p. 65.

Data were generated by the Thailand Development Research Institute (TDRI), which served as the lead consultant to the NESDB in preparation of the Urban Policy Framework. The data differ from interpolations of official census figures because TDRI increased relevant census figures by 4-5 percent in an attempt to compensate for undercounting of population by census takers.

/3/ 1987 and 1992 figures based on data from the Registration Division of the Ministry of Interior Local Administration Department (DOLA), and data on new housing registrations compiled by the Office of the Managing Director, Government Housing Bank (GHB). No estimate is included for stock loss (eg., through fire, demolition, right-of-way purchase, etc.), so actual figures are probably somewhat less. The 1987 figure was derived in the following manner:

1,021,137	=	1988 housing unit total (DOLA)
- 40,762	=	1987 new house registrations (GHB)

980,375	=	Housing unit total for 1-1-87

key points must be made before summarizing the data in Table 14. First, the population living in slum settlements only includes those people and families officially registered in officially-registered houses, and an estimate of the population living in un-registered houses, based on the number of registered people and families in officially-registered houses. The figures do NOT include the number of un-registered people and families living in EITHER registered OR un-registered slum houses. Therefore, the population data must be considered conservative representations of actual conditions within BMA slums.

Second, overall housing unit increase in the BMA during the period was somewhat less than the 32.5% shown in the table because of the lack of accounting for stock losses (See Footnote 3 in the table). It is more likely that the actual percentage increase was closer to 30%.

Despite these points, BMA slums were not in decline during the boom period of the late 80s, but were growing at rates higher than the whole of the BMA.

Slum Housing Market Change in the "3-C" Area: Along with the survey activity in the BMA was a similar data-gathering effort in the three changwat of Samut Prakan, Nonthaburi, and Pathum Thani. Again, this effort was stymied by the fact that no one agency is responsible for collecting data on slum housing in the three changwat. In addition, repeated contacts with provincial government officials indicated that no systematic effort has been undertaken to update data generated in at least two years ago. As such, available data from the National

Housing Authority (NHA) was used to base current estimates of slum housing in the three changwät, and are combined with updated BMA data and shown in Table 15 as 1992 data for the GB area.

TABLE 15
 SLUM HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS, GREATER BANGKOK,
 1974-1992

Characteristic	1974	1984	1987	1992
No. of Slums	890	1,020	1,500	1,401
Dwelling Units	139,326	160,145	173,770	235,030
Households	182,450	183,600	235,655	307,889
Population	890,000	1,100,000	1,320,000	1,693,390
Households/DU	1.31	1.15	1.36	1.31
Population/DU	6.39	6.87	7.60	7.21

Note: Greater Bangkok = Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA), and the changwat of Nonthaburi, Samut Prakan, and Pathum Thani.

Sources:

1974, 1984: Planning and Development Collaborative International (PADCO). Bangkok Land Management Study, Vol. II. Bangkok: PADCO, 1987, pages 5.7-10.

1987: National Housing Authority (NHA). Slum Development by the National Housing Authority. Bangkok: NHA, Slum Community Development Department, 1988, pages 46-47.

1992: For BMA: Interviews with BMA Department of Community Development staff. For three changwat: National Housing Authority (NHA). Slum Development. Bangkok: NHA Community Development Department, 1991, pp. 11 and 13. NHA data are for 1990; 1992 estimate is based on this data, adjusted upward to reflect growth rate experienced in the BMA.

Despite the use of 1987 data for the three changwat as 1992 data, slum housing growth was significant during the 1987-1992 period, along with household and population growth. The probable undercount inherent in

the data for the three changwat, together with recognition of the large number of units demolished as part of urban redevelopment -- 11,376 units in central Bangkok during the 1984-1987 period alone, or roughly 10 units per day for three years -- provides a better basis for understanding the dynamic nature of slum housing market activity portrayed in Table 15 to a greater extent than previously reported.

During the 1974-1987 period, the study period of earlier research, population density in slums, measured in terms of people per slum dwelling unit, increased dramatically (See Table 15), and then eased some during the 1987-92 period. While this might not be a significant finding if applied to other housing sub-markets, the fact that slums typically do not have waste sanitation facilities or waste disposal services, let alone access to completely sanitary water or safe supplies of electricity, suggests strongly that housing and environmental conditions within slums may have declined since 1974, despite several slum upgrading efforts.

The data in Tables 12-15 above, and Table 16 below, provide a sufficient basis for claiming that contrary to recent research, slums have become an increasingly important housing resource for a growing number of GB residents over time, both in absolute AND relative terms. Based on official data, at least one of every five Bangkok area residents was living in a slum in 1992, an increase in both numerical and percentage terms over 1974. Again, the 1992 data do not reflect those people living in the "bridge", "small", or other "non-slums", which would increase the amount and share of those living in slum-like conditions.

TABLE 16

SLUM AND GREATER BANGKOK POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS, 1974-1992

Characteristic	1974	1984	1987	1992
Slum Population	890,000	1,100,000	1,320,000	1,693,390
GB Population	4,600,232	6,521,434	7,241,996	A - 7,882,831
* % Slum	19.3	16.9	18.2	21.5% /1/ B - 8,043,423 21.1% /2/
* % Change, Slum Pop., 1974-1992:				90.3%
* % Change, Total Greater Bangkok Pop., 1974-1992:				71.4 - 74.8
* % Slum of Total Greater Bangkok Pop. Growth, 1974-1992:				23.3 - 24.5
* % Slum of Total Greater Bangkok Pop. Growth, 1987-1992:				37.8 - 45.1

/1/ Scenario "A" is based on annual average population growth rate of 1.63 percent during the 1990-2000 period projected by the Thailand Development Research Institute (TDRI). See: TDRI: National Urban Development Policy Framework. Draft Final Report. Area 2: Urban Population, Employment Distribution and Settlement Patterns. Bangkok: TDRI, 1991, p. 25.

/2/ Scenario "B" is based on continuation of 1980-1990 Greater Bangkok annual average population growth rate of 2.66 percent to 1992. The 1980-1990 growth rate is based population data collected by the National Statistical Office (NSO).

Sources: For slums: NHA (See Table 3 for references). For GB: National Statistical Office (NSO). Population and Housing Census. Bangkok: NSO, 1970, 1980, and the 1990 Preliminary Report. Standard interpolation procedures were used to calculate population levels for 1974, 1984, and 1987.

Estimates of Slum Community Change in the "3-C" Area. Due to the data shortcomings discussed above, an effort was made to estimate slum community change during the 1987-92 period. The first task was to review original 1974-87 PADCO, NHA, and BMA data, where possible, and related documents, to determine actual changes in slum settlements over time. The data generated as a result of that effort appear in Table 17, and serve as the basis for the developing three scenarios of 1992 conditions, which are presented in greater detail in Table 18.

TABLE 17

NUMBER OF SLUM SETTLEMENTS, BY AREA, GREATER BANGKOK, 1974-1992

Based on Official Sources:

Area	1974/1/	1984/2/	1987/3/	1992/4/
BMA/5/	780	943	1,077	978
Rest of GB/6/	110	77	423	423
Official Totals =	890	1,020	1,500	1,401

Based on Author Research:

Area	1974/1/	1984/7/	1987/8/	1992/9/
BMA	780	1,115	1,035	978
Rest of GB	110	222	411	682-1,147
Study Totals =	890	1,337	1,446	1,660-2,125

-
- /1/ For total: Planning and Development Collaborative International (PADCO). Bangkok Land Management Study, Vol. II. Bangkok: PADCO, 1987, page 5.7. For BMA: National Housing Authority (NHA). Housing Situation in the Bangkok Metropolitan Region. Bangkok: NHA Center for Housing and Human Settlements Studies, 1990, p. 2-63.
 - /2/ Pornchokchai, Sopon. 1020 Bangkok Slums: Evidence, Analysis, Critique. Bangkok: School of Urban Community Research and Actions, 1985. The 1020 study was a key basis of 1984 data on slum settlements for the PADCO study and NHA research activities.
 - /3/ NHA. Slum Development by the National Housing Authority. Bangkok: NHA, Slum Community Development Department, 1988, pages 46-47.
 - /4/ For BMA: District-level interviews with BMA Dept. of Community Development staff, April-June 1992. For three changwat: NHA. Slum Development. Bangkok: NHA Community Development Dept., 1991, pp. 11 and 13. While presented as 1990 data, data are 1987 data; data are also used by NHA to reflect 1992 conditions.
 - /5/ BMA = Bangkok Metropolitan Administration.
 - /6/ Rest of GB = Changwat Nonthaburi, Samut Prakan, and Pathum Thani.
 - /7/ Author count, based on review of original 1987 database, which also included data on slums as of 1984. Total is similar to NHA's revised total of 1,336 made in 1988 (See: International Institute for Aerospace Survey and Earth Sciences (ITC). Bangkok Slums 1988. Rotterdam, Netherlands: ITC, 1991, p. 11.).
 - /8/ Author review of original 1987 NHA database.
 - /9/ For BMA: See Footnote 4. For rest of GB: Estimate of 682 based on 1974-1987 annual average growth of slum settlements at rate of 10.67% per year. Estimate of 1,147 based on 1984-1987 rate of 22.79% per year.

TABLE 18

SLUM SETTLEMENT GROWTH IN CHANGWAT SAMUT PRAKAN, NONTHABURI,
AND PATHUM THANI, 1974-1992

Historical Data

Year	No. of Slums	Change	
		No.	%
1974	110	--	--
1984	222	112	101.8
1987	411	189	85.1

* Annual Average Percent Change, 1974-84 = 7.27%
 1974-87 = 10.67
 1984-87 = 22.79

1992 Estimates

Scenario	Basis	Net New Slums	1992 Total
1: "Historical"	1974-1987 growth rate	271	682
2: "Early Boom"	1984-1987 growth rate	736	1,147
3: "Mid-Range"	Average of 1 and 2	504	915

 Source: See Table 17. Calculations made by author.

Many observers think that there was a considerable increase in the number of slum settlements in the 3-C area during the 1987-1992 period. The number and average size of these new settlements is unknown, however, but the number is thought to be considerable, while the average size is thought to be less than the average size of current 3-C area slum settlements that were existing as of 1987. This claim is based on 1974-1984 changes documented in the 1987 PADCO study (at, for example, Table 1, p. 5.6). The data for 1987-1992 changes in

BMA slums, however, may invalidate the claim, as average slum size actually increased over time, whether or not un-registered houses are counted, suggesting that new BMA slums developed during the 1987-92 period were larger than pre-existing slums, contrary to the 1974-1984 period.

It is not unreasonable to assume that the number of slum settlements has increased dramatically in the three changwat since 1987, given that they doubled during the 1974-1984 period, and that they increased in number by another 85% during the much shorter 1984-1987 period. Also, the following "circumstantial" evidence further suggests that rapid slum growth in the three changwat was probable during the 1987:

- * The rate of population growth in the three changwat was nearly double that of the BMA during the 1980-90 period (See Table 3), along with significant growth in employment. Most informed observers feel that this trend has continued into the 90s;
- * The increase in slum settlements within the BMA during the 1990-92 period was almost exclusively in districts contiguous to the three adjoining changwat, suggesting the movement of slum settlements out of the BMA core over time.

Dowall also noted this suburbanization of slums over time in the 1990 PADCO study (at p. 124; for full citation, see Bibliography). There is no reason to think that this suburbanization process either stopped at the BMA boundary line after 1987, or that the past trend of rapid slum settlement growth in the three changwat would somehow cease while all of the other processes of urban decentralization continued apace;

- * Slum settlements surveyed in the three changwat as part of this study (See Appendix C, and following section) registered an average increase in the number of houses per slum of 47.6% during the 1987-1992 period. These were not only persisting in the face of rapid urban development, but were flourishing. The market for slum housing, it seems, was quite strong during the 1987-1992 period.

Given the above "circumstantial" evidence, it is unlikely that the "Historical" trend scenario of slum growth continued unabated, given the recent economic boom and the lack of large supplies of alternatives (eg., low-cost condominiums). It is also unlikely that recent slum growth reflected the "Early Boom" scenario, when slums rapidly increased in number during the 1984-87 period. A more plausible scenario of slum growth might be a mix of these two trends, especially given the contextual trends discussed earlier in this report. This "Mid-Range" scenario, then, may more accurately reflect slum growth than the "Early Boom" scenario.

Estimates of 3-C slum community growth during the 1987-92 period appear in Table 19 below. While the range of assumptions is broad,

TABLE 19

ESTIMATES OF SLUM HOUSING STOCK CHANGE, CHANGWAT SAMUT PRAKAN, NONTHABURI, AND PATHUM THANI, 1987-1992

Estimate 1: Based on the "Historical" scenario of low slum community growth (271 net new slums in 1987-1992 period) and uniform average slum size, so that slums developed during 1987-92 period would grow to same size as those in existence as of 1987.

Characteristic	3-C		1992, BMA	1992 Total, Greater B'kok
	1987	1992		
No. of Slums	411	682	978	1,660
Dwelling Units	39,606	96,162	178,728	274,890
DU/Slum	96	141/1/	183	166
Households	51,227	112,510	234,798	347,308
Households/DU	1.29	1.17/2/	1.31	1.26
Population/HH	5.60	5.50	5.50	5.50
Population/DU	7.22	6.44	7.21	6.93
Population	285,955	619,283	1,291,389	1,906,672

* Percent Share of GB pop. = 23.7 -24.2%

(Table 19 continued)

Characteristic	3-C		1992 GB Total	
	Est. 2 /3/	Est. 3 /4/	Est. 2	Est. 3
No. of Slums	682	915	1,660	1,893
Dwelling Units	64,455	129,015	243,183	307,743
DU/Slum	70	141	146	163
Households	75,412	150,948	310,210	385,746
Households/DU	1.17	1.17	1.28	1.25
Population/HH	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50
Population/DU	6.44	6.44	7.2	6.90
Population	415,090	830,857	1,706,479	2,122,246

* Percent Share of GB pop. = 21.1 - 21.6 26.4 - 26.9

/1/ 47.3% increase over 1987, based on 1992 survey (See App. C).

/2/ Based on assumption that proportional relationship of 1987 BMA and 3-C average number of households per dwelling of 1.45 and 1.29, respectively, can be applied to 1992 BMA figure of 1.31 households per dwelling, with the result of 1.17 households per dwelling.

/3/ "Historical" growth scenario, and assumption that the 271 net new slums during the 1987-92 period would grow to only 25 percent of the size of the 1987 average slum size of 96 houses, or 24 houses per slum. Overall average number of houses per slum = 70.4.

/4/ "Mid-Range" slum growth scenario, resulting in 504 net new slum communities during the 1987-92 period, and uniform average slum size for all slum communities.

the estimated 1992 3-C slum populations do not vary so widely, with the result that the overall shares of the 1992 GB population living in slum communities range from roughly 21-27 percent. This share is not surprising, given the estimates appearing in Table 16, which were based on "best available" RTG data. A combination of the "Early Boom" slum growth scenario and more robust assumptions regarding average slum size would, of course, generate higher numbers, but such estimates seem somewhat overdrawn, given the historical record.

Using the total number of 1992 GB slum houses from Estimate 1 permits a comparative distribution of slum housing throughout the GB area over time, as shown in Table 20. Of particular note is the net loss of nearly 18,000 units of slum housing in the urban core since 1974, with the majority occurring during the 1987-92 period. Consistent with the decentralization of other urban markets over time, the share of slum housing stock away from the urban core doubled during the 1974-87 period, and increased considerably during the last five years. If this estimate is a fairly accurate representation of what actually occurred over the last five years, it is safe to say that slums are continuing to persist and grow along with Greater Bangkok as a whole.

TABLE 20

SLUM HOUSING STOCK CHANGE, GREATER BANGKOK, 1974-1992

Distance From City Center, in Kilometers	Slum Housing Units			Net Change in Units	
	1974	1987	1992	'74-87	'87-92
0-10	112,034	104,561	94,204/1/	-7,473	-10,357
Over 10	27,292	66,077	180,686	38,785	114,609
Totals =	139,326	170,638	274,890/2/	31,312	104,252
% Over 10 =	19.6	38.7	65.7		

/1/ Losses could be greater because small portions of seven (7) other districts are within ten kilometers of the Hualampong Railway Station (HRS), considered the center of the Bangkok metro area in both this study and the 1987 PADCO study. The 1992 BMA data were disaggregated only to the district level at the time this study was being written, so the distance of specific slums in the seven districts relative to the HRS could not be determined.

/2/ Estimate 1, Table 19.

Sources: 1974 and 1987: PADCO. Final Report. Bangkok Land and Housing Market Assessment. Washington, DC: PADCO, November 1990, Table 6-1, p. 125. The data listed as "1988" in Table 6-1 were actually collected in March 1987 (See: Archer, 1989, at p. 296).
1992: Author survey of BMA khet-level officials, April-June 1992.

Finally, Table 21 compares percentage shares of Greater Bangkok housing stock and population in slums during the 1974-1992 period. While share of stock in slums declined in relative terms over time, as noted above (See, for example, Table 1, page 5), the share of population in slums increased in both absolute and relative terms during a time of rapid growth. The increasing share of population in slums over time, coupled with declining share of stock in slums, thus undermines the claim of an improvement in housing stock over time. This inverse relationship is now more severe than even in 1974, a time span of nearly two decades.

TABLE 21
COMPARISON OF HOUSING STOCK AND POPULATION SHARES LOCATED IN
GREATER BANGKOK SLUMS, 1974-1992

Year	Slum Housing as a Percent Share of Total GB Housing Stock	Percent Share of GB Population Living in Slums
1974	24%/1/	19.3%
1984	17	16.9
1987	14	18.7
1991	11	--
1992	--	21.2 - 26.9

/1/ Pornchokchai, Sopon. Business Location Guide Bangkok. Bangkok: Agency for Real Estate Affairs, 1991, p. 84, based on NHA data.

METHODOLOGICAL NOTES ON THE STUDY OF GREATER BANGKOK SLUM COMMUNITIES

While Appendix C of this report provides an overview of the July 1992 survey of selected GB slum communities, and Volume 2 of this study effort will provide details on the results of that survey, this section will identify some of the methods used to generate the data that has served as a basis for understanding the complexities of such a diverse housing market segment.

The main objective of this study is to "assess and critique" the recent research on Bangkok land and housing markets which has noted the relative decline of slum housing over time, and the rise of the homebuilding industry and its increasingly affordable products. Independent research by the Author, which revealed an increasingly important role for slum housing as a low-income housing resource in the bustling metropolis known as Greater Bangkok, seemed to require -- at a minimum -- some important elaborations of the declining share and "downmarketing" claims.

Specific objectives have included the following:

1. Confirmation of the apparent trend that Bangkok's slums -- a housing market segment in relative decline -- are being used more intensively by a greater number and percentage of Bangkok residents than was the case in 1974;
2. Identification of the potential emergence of new rental market activity within the slums of the Bangkok metropolis;
3. Identification of the extent and composition of the recent movement of people into slums, and the previous residence type and location of recent arrivals; and sewer) in selected slums, and the willingness to pay for new and/or improved services.

Key research tasks of the study have included:

1. Collection and analysis of available data on recent slum housing activity from RTG and other sources;
2. Identification, with assistance of slum housing experts, of the main slum community types in the Bangkok metropolis;
3. Selection of a random sample of slum community types to ensure representativeness at the market level;
4. Preparation of a slum housing survey questionnaire for administration in selected slums, in collaboration with slum leaders, RHUDDO staff, and others;
5. Hiring and training of residents in selected slums to conduct surveys in those slums;
6. Transfer of data from completed questionnaires to a computer for statistical analysis and interpretation.

Two field surveys were undertaken as part of this study. The first survey was directed at all 38 khet-level BMA officials primarily responsible for monitoring changes in the slum communities within their respective khet. The primary forms of interaction were written questionnaires and follow-up interviews. The second survey effort was a household-level survey administered by slum residents within their slums of residence. Seventy-six (76) slum communities throughout the Greater Bangkok area were selected randomly for surveying. The survey work is described in greater detail below.

Information used, in addition to generating primary data through field survey work, the research effort has also included the collection and review of available secondary from the following sources:

1. Published and unpublished information from a number of Royal Thai Government (RTG) agencies and enterprises, including the Government Housing Bank (GHB), National Housing Authority (NHA), and National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB);

2. Published and unpublished information from a number of research institutes and international development institutions (IDIs), including the Thailand Development Research Institute (TDRI), the Chulalongkorn University Social Research Institute (CUSRI), the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), and the World Bank; and
3. Published literature of relevance to the research topic;

With the assistance of NHA staff, in particular, and the staff of other agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), I have identified relevant public agencies engaged in Bangkok's land and housing development processes, reviewed their documents, and interviewed key agency personnel, as well as those in academia and the private sector. Considerable work has been undertaken to generate qualitative and quantitative data on agency and market activity.

The survey of all 38 khet-level BMA officials directly responsible for slum survey activities was undertaken from April-June 1992. These BMA Social Welfare Department Community Development Division khet-level personnel were completing the BMA's 1992 survey of slums when they were interviewed. The preliminary results of the survey were obtained from each of the 38 officials in the course of interviews.

Briefly, the survey effort entailed writing letters to officials at all 38 khet-level BMA offices, alerting them of our interest in obtaining slum community information, followed by a series of phone calls to all officials concerned to conduct interviews and obtain and confirm data. All telephone interviews were conducted in Thai by Ms. Pacharin Streckfuss, Research Assistant for the study.

Again, the timing of the slum survey effort could not have been

better, for BMA officials had recently completed a survey of registered houses, households, and population in all BMA slums with assistance from the UNICEF. In addition to obtaining this data in the course of phone interviews, officials were asked to estimate the percentage increase in housing stock that could be attributed to unregistered housing, based on their knowledge of slum community conditions in their respective khet. Respondents were asked (repeatedly) to narrow percentage estimates to the greatest extent possible, thus enhancing the potential for more accurate estimates of unregistered housing (See Tables 12-14 in text for a summary of results).

One of the chief methodological problems in studying recent slum housing market activity has been the absence of detailed data, particularly with respect to the number of both unregistered houses and unregistered people in slums. Use of aerial photography for the years 1974, 1984, and 1987, for example, has facilitated the count of both registered and unregistered slum houses, while slum housing survey efforts since 1987 have not been based on aerial photography, but rather on counts of registered housing in slums. The result has been a systematic underreporting of (at least) unregistered housing, thereby resulting in an underreporting of the increase in slum housing stock expansion in the recent past.

A similar data-gathering effort was attempted in the three changwat of Samut Prakan, Nonthaburi, and Pathum Thani, which, together with the BMA, form the area known as Greater Bangkok, which, again, also serves as the study area for this research effort. This effort, however, was

stymied by the fact that no one agency is responsible for collecting data on slum housing in the three changwat. In addition, repeated contacts with provincial government officials indicated that no systematic effort has been undertaken to update data generated five years ago. As such, available data from the NHA were used as a benchmark in efforts to estimate slum housing changes in the three changwat.

A "pre-pre-test" was conducted on a non-random basis among 23 slum community leaders while attending an early June slum community organizing meeting sponsored by the Human Development Center. A short (i.e., one-page) questionnaire was administered to all slum leaders present. In addition to providing some insights on housing and service conditions, the meeting of slum leaders also provided an opportunity to pre-test questions that serves as the basis for some of the questions used in the slum community survey.

The approach to the study of Greater Bangkok's slum housing market began with a determination of the sampling universe. This, of course, were the slums of Greater Bangkok, as defined by Royal Thai Government (RTG) agencies. Briefly, the definition is an apt reflection of the name for a slum: Chun chon ae ctt, or "congested community" (See Appendix A for details). Besides the use of "temporary" materials like packing crates and signs for construction materials, and minimal levels of urban services, a slum must have a minimum of 30 houses at a density of roughly 40 dwelling units per acre.

The sampling mechanism was a systematic, stratified random five

percent (5%) sample of Greater Bangkok's slums, or a total of 70 slums, for detailed research. In order for the sample to be considered representative, the sample will have to include representative samples of each of the four main types of slums present in Bangkok, namely the old-renter, old-squatter, new-renter, and new-squatter slums, on both public and private land. About 65 percent of all slums are currently on public land; selection of survey slums will reflect this important variable as well.

"Old" slums refers generally to established, inner-area slums that have been in existence for an extended period of time (i.e., since at least 1984, but typically much older. This base year was used because of ready access to the NHA data generated as part of the 1987 PADCO study). "New" slums refers to those slums developed and officially recognized since 1984.

To facilitate comparability with historical data, "bridge", "small", and "emergent" slum communities were not included in the sampling universe.

The unit of analysis for this survey has been the slum dwelling unit. A dwelling unit is defined here as living quarters shared by one or more households (See Appendix A). Given the concern with increasing population density, and the presumed, concomitant decline in living and environmental conditions, the desire to better understand those conditions, and the desire to identify new forms of rental activity, obtaining data on the number of people per dwelling unit, and attendant living conditions, is of greater concern than the number and

relationship structure of households and household members.

A key methodological feature of the study has been the use of slum residents as interviewers in the selected slums. Based on survey experience and several inquiries with a number of people in and out of the slums, it was felt that slum residents could be identified, trained, and managed to survey their own slum communities, and achieve equal or better results than non-resident surveyors. Survey results reviewed to date indicate that slum residents performed admirably.

While it is believed that such an approach to data collection in slums has never been attempted in Thailand, experience elsewhere indicates that it can be very successful in reducing courtesy bias and enhancing data quality (See SPARC, 1985, in Bibliography). In light of this approach, and to enhance interviewer and respondent performance, the survey questionnaire was limited to two (2) pages.

Intensive training workshops were held on Sunday, 5 July, and Saturday, 11 July, while actual survey work by slum residents and non-residents was conducted from 6-20 July. Role-playing exercises were featured at the workshops to clarify any items and procedures, while random field checks were made during the actual survey period to enhance quality control.

A sample size of 76 slum communities was selected for survey work as part of this study. Communities were selected on the basis of a known five percent (5%) sample of slums in the case of the BMA (the official 1992 total is 978), and a 5% sample of an assumed distribution of slum

communities in the three changwat, based on 1977 NHA data and "conservative growth" trends since that time (See Appendix C for additional discussion). In addition, interviewers were trained to generate a 5-10% random sample of houses within selected slums, depending on a determination of slum size.

A slight reduction in survey slums from 49 to 46 occurred in the BMA, resulting in a 4.7 percent of slum communities surveyed, rather than the intended 5.0 percent. In the case of the three changwat, the desired sample size of 38 communities was not attained, as only 28 communities were actually sampled. Reasons for the shortfall in all changwat include the distance to the workshop site (Klong Toey) from the changwat, and the complaint -- heard quite often by field workers -- by community residents that their community was not a slum. Field workers noted that a typical response from slum community residents included a comparison between their community and Klong Toey, a community long considered as the prototypical slum in Greater Bangkok. The comparison was followed by a conclusion that their community could not be a slum because it was not similar to Klong Toey.

To overcome reluctance to participate in the survey effort, field workers were instructed to explain to slum residents that: 1) The NHA had identified the communities as slums as part of a 1988 study; 2) One objective of the survey was to see how their communities had changed in the recent past; and 3) The current survey researchers did not necessarily agree with the findings of the 1988 NHA in every instance with respect to identification of communities as slums. This explanation may not have been convincing enough to encourage some slum

community residents to participate in a survey of slum communities. An increase in the training session stipend above the 300 baht offered as an incentive to attend, and training sessions in each changwat over a period of time, may have eliminated the distance issue. However, payment of an amount above 300 baht was considered inappropriate by many, while training sessions in each changwat would have eliminated the distance issue but not the "official" slum issue.

Because of the reasons mentioned above, only fifty of the communities, or 66 percent of all slums surveyed, were surveyed by residents. The remaining 26 communities were surveyed by experienced, non-resident surveyors from the Asian Institute of Technology (AIT). Households in roughly 1,070 houses were interviewed as part of the survey effort.

Data were collected on several items, including the following:

- 1) The number and registration status of all dwelling units in selected slums;
- 2) The number of people and households in selected dwelling units of selected slums;
- 3) The origin, arrival time, and previous housing type of selected households;
- 4) Reasons for household moves to the survey slum, and the nature of relationships with other residents of the slum dwelling unit;
- 5) The number of sub-renting households in selected units;
- 6) Income levels, and willingness and ability to pay for urban services.

The summary survey data by changwat appears in Tables 1 and 2 of Appendix C.

BEST AVAILABLE DOCUMENT

ENDNOTES

General Note. The author is aware of the possible shortcomings of official RTG data, particularly the bias towards underreporting of population and related data. Researchers at the Thailand Development Research Institute (TDRI), for example, have attempted to revise official figures upward to account for this underreporting. With particular respect to population and related data, then, it may be sufficient to note that official figures should be viewed as generally understated representations of population and related data within given areas for a given point in time.

In the case of official data on slum communities appearing in this report, the possible shortcomings mentioned above serve as a basis for arguing that data on slum community conditions are conservative, due to a high degree of undercounting. This is true, I believe, both in absolute terms and relative to data on broader, non-slum community conditions.

/1/ United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 1991, pp. 1-2, 10.

/2/ The current population of Singapore is approximately 3.1 million. Author calculation of average monthly urban population growth in developing countries during the 1990s, based on UNDP estimates (See Footnote 1), is approximately 6.33 million people.

/3/ World Bank, 1991, p. 16.

/4/ UNDP, 1990, p. 86.

While it is somewhat ambiguously stated in the UNDP text, there were roughly 40 million urban households living in absolute poverty in developing countries in 1980, compared with roughly 80 million rural households living in absolute poverty. By 2000 the number of poor urban households in absolute poverty will increase to 72 million, while the number of rural households in absolute poverty will decline to 56 million. Author calculation of 1995 as the year when level of urban-based poverty exceeds that of rural-based poverty is based on annual average rates of change of poverty levels in urban and rural areas during the 1980-2000 period.

/5/ Tanphiphat and Simapichaicheth (1990), at p. 10.

/6/ This section is based on: Satchell, Charles A.. Interim Final Report on the Findings of the Low-Cost Condominium Occupancy Survey (LOCCOS). Report to the Government Housing Bank of Thailand, 31 May 1992.

/7/ In 1988, there were roughly 1.88 million households in the BMR, according to the NESDB. Of this total, approximately 85%, or 1.60 million households, were living in municipal areas of the region. The official urban poverty incidence level of 10.8% for the region thus represented about 173,000 households.

/8/ RTG officials of particular relevance who were contacted to discuss data definition and related issues include the following:

- * Wina Chantaphet, Director, Community Development Division, BMA Community Development Department. Khun Wina has directed several slum surveys in the BMA, most recently in 1992.
- * Chantana Channond, Chief, International Loan Division, NHA. Khun Chantana worked on both PADCO studies, and is familiar with the current NHA data-gathering efforts.
- * Wiwat Sangtian, Director, Centre for Housing and Human Settlements, NHA. At the time of researching data issues, Khun Wiwat directed all research work at the NHA, and was very familiar with the PADCO studies and more recent NHA data. Khun Wiwat no longer works for the NHA.

/9/ BMA. Congested Community Survey, Bangkok. Bangkok: BMA Social Welfare Department, 1990, pp. 79-80.

/10/ This information was obtained during an interview with Wina Chantaphet, Director, Community Development Division, Community Development Department, BMA, 2 April 1992.

/11/ Compare, for example, data for the three changwat shown on pp. 11 and 13 of the NHA's 1991 publication, Slum Development (full citation in Bibliography) with the NHA's undated publication, Housing Stock Survey by Using 1988 Aerial Photography, at p. 13. While the data were actually based on March 1987 aerial photos (See Archer, 1989, p. 296), and the Samut Prakan household total appearing on page 13 was a printing error (26,799 households, versus the actual 36,799), the NHA's 1991 publication notes that the data are for 1990, updated to 1991.

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APPENDIX A: GLOSSARY OF KEY TERMS

GLOSSARY_OF_KEY_TERMS

Several key terms are used throughout this report. To the extent that it is useful, an attempt to define some of those terms is made here. Most terms presented below have been subject to considerable debate in the literature, with more exceptions and questions raised than clarity provided. The overly simplistic distinction between formal and informal sectors of the economy or housing market, for example, has been researched thoroughly since the concepts were first discussed by the International Labour Organization many years ago, but clear definition remains elusive. While precision is problematic, however, many of the terms have become "taken-for-granted" concepts that are used commonly and generally understood.

Slum. Also known as a "congested community" (chum_chon_ae_ott) in Thailand, definitions generally include mention of poor physical and environmental conditions, low level of service provision, and some measure of physical density (usually expressed in terms of the number of houses per land area unit). The RTG's National Housing Authority uses the following definition:

"... an area in which unhygienic conditions prevail, which is crowded, damp or dirty, and not supplied or poorly supplied with water. Such concentrations and types of buildings and people may be hazardous to health, hygiene, and safety, and may create a climate for unlawful or immoral acts. Under this definition, there must be at least 30 buildings per one rai [.3951 acres] in the community, regardless of whether they occupy the land by single owner or not."/1/

/1/ Source: National Housing Authority (NHA). Slum Development. Bangkok: NHA, October 1991, p. 10.

In addition, the working definition of a slum used by NHA staff includes a minimum size criterion of fifteen (15) "congested" houses to classify the cluster of houses as an official slum.

The Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA) uses slightly different criteria to define a slum within the BMA jurisdiction. The official definition of a congested community is:

"A group of crowded deteriorated and unorderly housing with improper environment harmful to the health and security of residents. A congested community is defined by the criteria of housing density, i.e., 15 houses per one rai of land."/2/

Not unlike the working definition used by NHA staff, BMA staff also have a working definition that supplements the official definition with another criterion. The BMA will not count a congested community as an official slum unless that community has been in existence for a period of at least three (3) years, regardless of how well the community might otherwise meet other criteria. The three-year time period is viewed by BMA staff as sufficient time for a congested community to become established, and thus a part of the slum housing stock, regardless of the degree of eviction and demolition pressure.

Household. This report uses the "private household" definition adopted by the National Statistical Office (NSO), the RTC agency for population and housing census work in Thailand. The definition is:

"a) a one-person household, that is, a person who makes provision for his own food or other essentials for

/2/ Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA). Congested Community Survey, Bangkok. Bangkok, BMA, October 1990, p. 3.

living without combining with any other person to form part of a multi-person household. He may be the owner, renter, lodger, or caretaker of the house.

"b) a multi-person household, that is, a group of two or more persons, related or unrelated, living together in a whole or part of a house who make common provision for food or other essentials for living."/3/

Formal Sector. Individuals, organizations, institutions, businesses and other entities which engage in activities that are formally constituted in law, and officially registered or authorized with or by public sector entities. These activities are generally subject to relevant laws and regulations (eg., planning policies and zoning ordinance provisions), as well as taxation (eg., registration of property or enterprise on tax rolls), licensing (eg., business, professional, or contractor licenses), and other forms of public sector regulatory activity. The term typically applies to private sector activities, in an attempt to distinguish between those recognized legally by the public sector, and those that are not.

Homebuilding Industry. Persons or firms engaged in both land development and housing construction, either in the public, formal private, or informal private sectors. With respect to formal private sector activities, the term is used interchangeably with the terms "real estate industry" and "developer-built" (housing).

Housing Finance. Financing of any or all phases of the housing production process, including land purchase, construction of

/3/ National Statistical Office (NSO). Population and Housing Census of Thailand, 1990. Bangkok: NSO, 1991, p. 31.

structures, installation of attendant infrastructure (eg., water, sewer, drainage, roads, etc.), to mortgage or "take-out" credit. Some phases require short-term financing (eg., construction, at 1-3 years), while other phases require long-term instruments (eg., 10-30 year mortgages).

Informal Sector. Private sector activities not officially authorized by government. These activities are generally not subject to taxation and other forms of state revenue-generating and regulatory action (eg., minimum wage or child labor laws, health and safety regulations, or planning, zoning, building, and other development regulations). Informal sector activity may entail small scale construction firms, building materials operations, and money-lending activities.

Land Development. The transformation of raw land into serviced urban land through site improvements, development of infrastructure, and preparation and servicing of deed and financing instruments. This activity may occur in either the public or private sectors.

Private Sector. In a mixed capitalist economy where government and non-government activities are allowed to occur, the wide range of activities that are essentially non-governmental and profit-oriented in nature. Boundary distinctions between the public and private sectors are often difficult to ascertain. For example, private sector activities funded via a contract from the public sector are considered public sector activities, while financing of private sector housing activities via a public sector lending institution is typically considered private sector activity.

Sector. Reference to a segment of a larger entity. In this report, reference is made to the housing sector, which is considered a segment of an economy devoted to housing activities. In most economies there a number of other, largely interrelated sectors including, for example, agriculture, industry, and finance.

APPENDIX B: BACKGROUND STATISTICAL INFORMATION

BAHT CONVERSIONS

During approximately the same time period covered by this report (1974-1992), the value of the Thai Baht relative to the U.S. Dollar was:

1975:	Baht 20.45 = US\$1.00
1978:	20.39
1985:	27.21
1990:	25.64
1992:	25.30-25.40/1/

/1/ As of November 1992.

Note: All values are for selling rate of Baht in the Bangkok metro area at end of calendar year, rounded to nearest hundredths place.

Sources: 1975: Bangkok Bank. Bangkok Bank Monthly Review, Vol. 16, No. 12 (December 1975): p.690.
1978-1990: Bank of Thailand. Quarterly Bulletin, Vol. 30, No. 4 (1990), Table 61.

CONSUMER PRICE INDEX, BANGKOK METROPOLIS, 1975-1990

Year	Consumer Price Index (CPI)

1975	95.3
1980	155.9
1985	200.2
1986/1/	100.0/203.7
1987	102.6/209.0
1988	106.5/216.9
1989	113.2/230.5
1990	120.7/245.8

/1/ After 1985, the CPI base year changed from 1976 = 100.0 to 1986 = 100.0. 1976 base year figures for 1986 and 1987 are provided in official reports; base year 1976 figures for 1988-1990 shown above were calculated by applying 1986 base year inflation rates for 1988-1990 to 1976 base year figures for 1987 (209.0 for CPI), and then continuing the calculations to 1990.

Source: Bank of Thailand. Quarterly Bulletin, various years.

TABLE 1

LAND AREA OF THE BANGKOK METROPOLITAN REGION
(Area in Square Kilometers)

Jurisdiction	Land Area
BMA	1,565.2
Nonthaburi	622.3
Pathum Thani	1,525.8
Samut Prakan	1,004.1
Greater Bangkok	4,717.4
Samut Sakhon	872.3
Nakhon Pathom	2,168.3
BMR	7,758.0

Note:

BMA = Bangkok Metropolitan Administration.

Greater Bangkok = BMA and Nonthaburi, Samut Prakan, and Pathum Thani.

BMR = Greater Bangkok, Samut Sakhon, and Nakhon Pathom.

See Map 2 in text for geographic relationships.

Source: Royal Thai Survey Department, Ministry of Defense, in: National Statistical Office (NSO). Population and Housing Census. Bangkok: NSO, 1990 Preliminary Report; pp. 59-67.

TABLE 2
POPULATION, BMA, BMR, AND THAILAND,
1960-1990

Year	BMA		BMR		Thailand	
	No.	Percent Change	No.	Percent Change	No.	Percent Change
1960	2,136,435	--	3,293,326	--	26,257,916	--
1970	3,077,361	44.0	4,529,472	37.5	34,397,374	31.0
1980	4,697,425	52.6	6,644,425	46.7	44,824,540	30.3
1990	5,876,000	25.1	8,582,000	29.2	54,532,000	21.7

Source: National Statistical Office (NSO). Population and Housing Census. Bangkok: NSO, 1960, 1970, 1980, and 1990 Preliminary Report.

Note: Percentage calculations in this and all other Tables in this Appendix were made by the author.

TABLE 3
POPULATION SHARES, BMA, BMR, AND THAILAND,
1960-1990

Share Characteristic	1960	1970	1980	1990
BMA as a % of BMR	64.9	68.4	70.7	68.5
BMA as a % of Thailand	8.1	9.0	10.5	10.8
BMR as a % of Thailand	12.5	13.2	14.8	15.7

Source: National Statistical Office (NSO). Population and Housing Census. Bangkok: NSO, 1960, 1970, 1980, and 1990 Preliminary Report.

TABLE 4

SHARES OF BMR POPULATION GROWTH, BY AREA,
IN PERCENT, 1960-1990

Area	1960	1970	1980	1990
	% of BMR	% of BMR	% of BMR	% of BMR
BMA	64.9	67.9	70.7	68.5
Nontha Buri	6.0	5.9	5.6	6.7
Pathum Thani	5.8	5.2	4.8	4.8
Samut Prakan	7.1	7.3	7.3	9.0
Greater Bkk	83.8	86.3	88.4	89.0
Samut Sakhon	5.0	4.4	3.7	3.7
Nakhon Pathom	11.2	9.3	7.9	7.3
BMR	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
BMR Population	3,297,326	4,529,472	6,644,425	8,582,000

Source: National Statistical Office (NSO). Population and Housing Census. Bangkok: NSO, 1960, 1970, 1980, and 1990 Preliminary Report.

TABLE 5

POPULATION GROWTH, BMR CHANGWAT AND THAILAND, 1980-1990

Area	1980	1990	Change	
			No.	%
BMA	4,697,071	5,876,000	1,178,929	25.1
Nonhaburi	369,777	575,000	205,223	55.5
Pathum Thani	319,674	411,000	91,326	28.6
Samut Prakan	484,829	770,000	285,171	58.8
Greater Bangkok	5,871,351	7,632,000	1,760,649	30.0
Samut Sakhon	247,168	321,000	73,832	29.9
Nakhon Pathom	525,906	629,000	103,094	19.6
BMR	6,644,425	8,582,000	1,937,575	29.2
Thailand	44,824,540	54,532,000	9,707,460	21.7

Source: National Statistical Office (NSO). Population and Housing Census. Bangkok: NSO, 1980 and 1990 Preliminary Report.

TABLE 6
HOUSEHOLD SIZE, BMA, BMR, AND THAILAND,
1960-1990

Area	1960	1970	1980	1990
BMA	6.32	6.15	5.18	4.45
BMR	6.23	6.10	5.24	4.47
Thailand	5.69	5.79	5.30	4.44

Source: National Statistical Office (NSO). Population and Housing Census. Bangkok: NSO, 1960, 1970, 1980, and 1990 Preliminary Report. The total number of people and the total number of households for each area were used in calculating average household size for the given years.

TABLE 7
POPULATION PROJECTIONS, BMA, BMR, AND THAILAND,
1990-2010
(In millions of people)

Year	BMA	BMR	Thailand	Percent Shares		
				BMA as % of BMR	BMA as % of Thailand	BMR as % of Thailand
1990	6.162	8.970	56.082	68.7	11.0	16.0
2000	7.149	10.804	64.110	66.2	11.2	16.9
2010	7.977	12.552	71.118	63.6	11.2	17.6

Source: Derived from: Thailand Development Research Institute (TDRI). National Urban Development Policy Framework. Draft Final Report. Area 2: Urban Population, Employment Distribution and Settlement Patterns. Bangkok: TDRI, 1991, Table 1, p. 25. Report prepared for the National Economic and Development Board (NESDB).

Note: 1990 figures for BMA and BMR are approximately 4-5 percent higher than preliminary 1990 census figures. Also, the 1990 figure for Thailand is approximately 10 percent higher than the 1990 preliminary census figure. The differences reflect upward adjustments in census figures made by researchers at TDRI to reflect undercounting of population by census takers.

TABLE 8

POPULATION GROWTH RATES, BMA, BMR, AND THAILAND,
(In Percent)

Time Period	BMA	BMR	Thailand
1960-1970	3.72	3.24	2.74
1970-1980	4.32	3.91	2.68
1980-1990	2.26	2.59	1.98
1990-2000	1.50	1.88	1.35
2000-2010	1.10	1.51	1.04
1990-2010	1.30	1.69	1.19

Note: All figures represent compound annual average growth rates.

Source: See Tables A-8 and A-9.

TABLE 9

GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT (GDP), POPULATION, AND PER CAPITA GDP,
BMA, BMR, NORTHEAST, AND THAILAND, 1980 AND 1988

Area/Year	GDP/1/ (billion B)	Percent of Total	Percent of Pop.	Per Capita GDP (baht)	Percent of National Ave.
BMA					
* 1980	238,291	34.8	10.5	48,930	333.8
* 1988	609,924	40.5	10.7	104,475	378.1
BMR					
* 1980	290,664	42.4	14.8	42,156	287.6
* 1988	754,651	50.1	15.6	87,032	315.0
Northeast					
* 1980	102,841	15.0	35.2	6,253	42.7
* 1988	179,499	11.9	34.7	9,493	34.4
Thailand					
* 1980	684,912	100.0	100.0	14,661	100.0
* 1988	1,506,976	100.0	100.0	27,632	100.0

/1/ In billions of Baht, at current prices.

Source: Derived from: TDRI. National Urban Development Policy Framework. Bangkok: TDRI, 1991, at Table 2-10, p. 52.

TABLE 10

URBAN EXPANSION WITHIN THE BANGKOK METROPOLITAN REGION, 1965-1992

(Area figures in square kilometers)

Year	Urban Area	Increase in Urban Area	Average Increase in Urban Area Per Year	Urban Area as % of BMR/1/
1965	173.0	--	--	2.2%
1971	290.0	117.0	19.5	3.7
1974	466.4	176.4	58.8	6.0
1984	805.0	338.6	33.9	10.4
1988	1,100.0	295.0	73.8	14.2
1992 - A	1,503.1/2/	403.1	100.8	19.4
1992 - B	1,616.8/3/	516.8	129.2	20.8

- /1/ Bangkok Metropolitan Region land area = 7,758 sq. km..
The Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA) land area, for comparative purposes, is 1,565.2 sq. km..
- /2/ Estimate A based on continuation of 1984-1988 urban area expansion rate of 8.12% per year.
- /3/ Estimate B based on assumed relationship between economic growth and urban (area) growth during the 1984-88 and 1988-1992 periods, as follows:

- * Cumulative expansion of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), 1984-1988 = 24.6%
- * Increase in urban area, 1984-1988 = 295 sq. km.
- * Cumulative expansion of GDP, 1988-1992 = 43.1%
- * Increase in urban area, 1988-1992 = x

$$\frac{295 \text{ sq. km.}}{24.6\%} = \frac{x \text{ sq. km.}}{43.1\%}$$

$$x = 516.8$$

Sources:

1965-1988: Planning and Development Collaborative International (PADCO). The Bangkok Land and Housing Market Assessment. Washington, DC: PADCO, November 1990, Table 2-1, p. 15. PADCO prepared the study for the National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB).

1992: Economic growth rates based on Bank of Thailand data.

Source: Derived from: PADCO. Bangkok Land and Housing Market Assessment. Washington, DC: PADCO, Table 2-8, p. 27.

TABLE 11

URBAN LAND DEVELOPMENT IN THE BANGKOK METROPOLITAN ADMINISTRATION
(BMA) AND BANGKOK METROPOLITAN REGION (BMR), 1974-1988
(Area figures in square kilometers)

Year	BMA		Rest of BMR		Total BMR		Urban Land in BMA as a % of All Urban Land
	Urban Land	% of BMA	Urban Land	% of Area	Urban Land	% of BMR	
1974	323.6	21.3	132.8	2.1	466.4	6.0	71.5
1984	547.1	35.0	257.9	4.2	805.0	10.4	68.0
1988	636.6	40.7	463.4	7.5	1,100.0	14.2	57.9
Area (sq. km.)	1,565.2		6,192.8		7,758.0		

Source: Derived from: PADCO. Bangkok Land and Housing Market Assessment. Final Report. Washington DC: PADCO, November 1990, p. 24.

TABLE 12

RESIDENTIAL LAND USE CHANGE, METROPOLITAN BANGKOK,
1974-1988
(Land Use in Square Kilometers)

Year	Residential Land Use	Total Urban Land Use	Residential as a % of Total Urban	Residential as % Share of L.U. Change
1974	185.4	466.4	39.7%	--
1984	299.1	805.0	37.2	33.6%
1988	555.1	1,100.0	50.5	86.8

Sources:

- * Planning and Development Collaborative International (PADCO). Bangkok Land Management Study, Volume I. Washington, DC: PADCO, 1987, Table 3.5, p. 31. Report prepared for the NHA.
- * PADCO. Bangkok Land and Housing Market Assessment. Final Report. Bangkok: PADCO, November 1990, Table 2-1, p. 15.

APPENDIX C: INFORMATION ON JULY 1992 SLUM COMMUNITY SURVEY

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OVERVIEW OF JULY 1992 SLUM COMMUNITY SURVEY

A total of 76 slum communities were selected for survey work as part of this study. The 76 communities are located throughout the Greater Bangkok area, which, again, includes the BMA and the changwat of Samut Prakan, Nonthaburi, and Pathum Thani. The survey area, and the locations of all slum communities surveyed, appears in Map 1 of this Appendix.

Communities were selected on the basis of a known five percent (5%) sample of slums in the case of the BMA (the official 1992 total is 978), and a 5% sample of an assumed distribution of slum communities in the three changwat, based on 1987 NHA data and an assumption of conservative growth in the changwat during the 1987-1992 period. The conservative assumption of changwat growth yielded a total number of 682 slums, or an increase of 271 slums during the 1987-1992 period. Because of the inability to identify new slums developed since 1987, the slums surveyed were those that were also in existence in 1987, according to available NHA data.

A five percent (5%) sample of currently official slums in the four-changwat survey area would have resulted in a sample size of 70 slums, based on a 5% sample of the official total of 1,401 slums, while a sample size based on an estimate of conservative slum community growth since 1987 would result in a sample size of 83 slums. While slightly below the "conservative growth" sample size of 83 slums, the actual sample size of this survey, at 76 communities, is slightly above a 5% sample size of the currently official total, and

thus is also partly reflective of the recent slum community growth not reflected in official totals.

A slight reduction in survey slums from 49 to 46 occurred in the BMA, resulting in a 4.7 percent of slum communities surveyed, rather than the intended 5.0 percent. In the case of the three changwat, the desired sample size of 34 communities was not attained, as only 28 communities (4.1% of the assumed total) were actually sampled. The percentage of the "conservative growth" slum total actually surveyed was thus 4.6%, rather than the desired 5.0%.

Key reasons for the slight shortfall include the distance to the workshop site (Klong Toey) from the changwat, and the complaints -- heard quite often by field workers -- of community residents that their community was not a slum. Field workers noted that a typical response from slum community residents included a comparison between their community and Klong Toey, a community long considered as the prototypical slum in Greater Bangkok. The comparison was followed by a conclusion that their community could not be a slum because it was not similar to Klong Toey.

In addition to sampling from an assumed total of slum communities, other criteria were used to ensure a wide range of representative slum community "types", in approximate proportion to the assumed composition of slum types existing in the survey area during the survey period. Briefly, major variables used in selecting the survey sample were:

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- * Age of Community, defined as 1984 or before ("old") and post-1984 ("newer"), based on available National Housing Authority (NHA) data;
- * Land Ownership, defined as public land ownership, private, or mixed (public and private), as defined by the NHA;
- * Rental Status, defined as renter (of land, land and house, house, or some other combination) or squatter (no rent paid);
- * Community Size, defined as slums of 200 or more houses, based on data collected by the NHA in 1987.

To the extent possible, representative slum types in each changwat were identified for sampling, based on the 1987 NHA database. A list containing a number of representative types in each changwat was then developed. To ensure an additional degree of selection randomness, copies of relevant portions of the list were given to field workers with the instructions that they were to:

- 1) Randomly select a pre-specified number of slums from each slum type "pool" in each changwat;
- 2) Visit the slums selected, and meet with community leaders;
- 3) Provide leaders with a copy of a letter inviting them (or another responsible community person) to a training workshop.

Training workshops were held on Sunday, 5 July, and Saturday, 11 July, while actual survey work by slum community residents and non-residents was conducted from 6-20 July.

A summary of survey slum community growth during the 1987-92 period appears in Table 1 below. Table 2 contains a list of all slum communities surveyed, together with 1987 NHA and 1992 survey data on the number of houses in each community. The Tables are followed by copies of key survey documents, including the survey questionnaire administered to a 5-10% sample of households within selected slums.

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF SLUM COMMUNITIES SURVEYED BY CHANGWAT,
AND HOUSING GROWTH IN SURVEY SLUMS, 1987-1992

Changwat	No. of Slums Surveyed	Number of Houses		Change	
		1987	1992	No.	%
BMA	46	4,333	6,253	1,920	44.3
Samut Prakan	20	2,078	2,774	696	33.5
Nontha Buri	8	730	1,370	640	87.7
Pathum Thani	2	550	812	262	47.6
Totals =	76	7,691	11,209	3,518	45.7

TABLE 2

SLUM COMMUNITIES SURVEYED, BY KHET AND CHANGWAT

1. Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA) (n = 46)

Name of Slum	Khet	NHA #	No. of Houses	
			1987	1992
Kusoanthong	Sathorn	6/7	100	290
Paak Klong Chongnonsee	Yannawa	6/54	300	261
Lung Talard	Klongsaan	7/13	60	63
Chankasem	Bang Sue	7/21	60	186
Soi Si Kaam (Sapan Kwa)	Dusit	7/29	80	173
Rattapan	Ratthevi	8/19	72	43
Lang Wat Makkasan	Ratthevi	8/37	40	62
Rim Klong Bang Sue	Huay Kwang	9/1	100	110
Ruamjaipiboon 2	Huang Kwang	9/4	80	113
Soi Pavanaa	Bang Khen	10/16	34	34
Anusavaleelark 4	Bang Khen	10/19	40	38
Sit Luang Poo Khaow	Don Muang	10/52	280	182
Nuan Jit	Klong Toey	11/4	170 (500)	514
Rim Klong Wat Sapan	Klong Toey	11/18	70 (200)	540
Huakoang	Klong Toey	11/60	400	523
Klong Paisingtoe	Klong Toey	11/69	97	136
Soi Paikrasuang	Prakhanong	11/139	30	23
Sukhapiban 1 Road	Prakhanong	11/141	25	25
Klong Prawet	Prakhanong	11/146	32	28
Soi Pratit	Pra wet	11/148	20	14
Soi Patjamit	Bangkap1	12/2	25	20
Soi Sanongkhun	Bangkap1	12/41	25	34
Liab Klong Saamwaa	Minburi	14/1	193	427

Table 2 (continued)

Farm Lard Krabang	Lard Krabang	15/12	37	43
Prachatipok Rd.	Thonburi	16/22	30	15
Prajoa Taaksin Rd.	Thonburi	16/25	20	15
Sahakit Company	Thonburi	16/52	26	25
Saarapee 3	Klongsaan	17/14	76	196
Wanaawan	Klongsaan	17/21	27	130
Wat Suwannaaraam	Bangkok Noi	18/14	360	305
Wat Ruaksuttaraam	Bangkok Noi	18/37	350	504
Wat Wimutiyaram	Bang Plad	18/48	20	24
Watpakineenat	Bang Plad	18/94	30	23
Samakki	Bang Plad	18/95	50	30
Phetkasem Soi 1	Bangkok Yai	19/19	70	90
Nakhorn Sangphet	Pasichareon	20/10	25	53
Sapaanklongyai Tieb	Paasichareon	20/12	37	39
Soi Petkasem 39	Paasichareon	20/17	25	48
Nang Nong 2	Chomthong	21/1	80	278
Wat Chaiyapruemaalaa	Taling Chan	22/4	80	173
Wat Noi Nai	Taling Chan	22/11	60	180
Saamyag Thonburi	Ratburana	23/19	30	12
Tai Ror Ror Wat Bang.	Ratburana	23/20	40	43
Wat Muang	Nong Kham	24/6	19	129
Liab Klong Paasichareon	Nong Kham	24/9	30	27
Lang Sor Nor Lark 2	Nongkham	24/11	18	32
			Total =	4,333
				6,253

44.3% increase

2. Changwat Samut Prakan (n = 20)

Name of Slum	Khet	NHA #	No. of Houses	
			1987	1992
Soi Wat Ratpoethong	Muang	258	80	450
Moo7 Tambon Bangboomai	Muang	268	40	296
Soi Thongsuk	Sumrongklang	6	200	48
Yak Bang Prong	Prapradang	190	1,000	352
Nua Klongsumrong	Prapradang	8	30	132
Trongkhaam Baan Lakethai	Prapradang	124	50	200
Rim Klong Mahaawong	Muang	219	50	50
Ninrat	Bangprong	187	30	60
Tidaakaa	Bangprong	186	70	60
Soi Wat Bangpueng	Prapradang	56	34	52
Soi Benjasuk	Prapradang	77	30	123
Paaket	Prapradang	48	20	208
Taangoang Wat Sumrong Nua	Sumrongklang	155	30	23
Kokmaa	Muang	222	127	103
Khaang Rongkradaad	Sumrong	146	70	100
Soi Chawaan 2	Muang	200	50	100
Kangboo	Sumrong Tai	148	62	196
Rongrian Satrikao	Sumrong	173	30	61

BEST AVAILABLE DOCUMENT

(Table 2 continued)

Soi Montaatip 1	Sumrong Nua	201	60	150
Lang Baan Yai	Prapadeng	139	15	10
			-----	-----
		Total =	2,078	2,774
33.5% increase				

3. Changwat Nontha Buri (n = 8)

Name of Slum	Khet	NHA #	No. of Houses	
			1987	1992
Klong Suay Samaki	Muang	23	40	60
Bonkai	Muang	38/39	60	445
Pattana Kaaloong	Muang	61	40	283
Moo4 taa Sai Wat Tamnaktai	Muang	62	100	252
Klong Lampoolai	Paak Kret	65	350	90
Klong Baan Gao (Baan Moen)	Paak Kret	96	120	53
Sapan Nontaburi	Paak Kret	102	20	187
			-----	-----
		Total =	730	1,370
87.7% increase				

4. Changwat Pathum Thani (n = 2)

Name of Slum	Khet	NHA #	No. of Houses	
			1987	1992
Taamjaimia	Moo 3	5	400	251
Wat Hong	Muang	26	150	561
			-----	-----
		Total =	550	812
47.6% increase				

Source: Field survey directed by author, July 1992. 1987 housing totals in parentheses indicate slum community leader estimate of slum housing total; official NHA total also appears for comparison. 1987 estimates were requested because of large differences between 1992 totals and the 1987 NHA data.

USA'D LETTERHEAD

28 June 1992

Dear Slum Community Leader:

The Regional Housing and Urban Development Office (RHUDO) of the U.S. Agency for International Development is funding a research study of slum communities in the Greater Bangkok area to gain a better understanding of recent changes in the number and size of slum communities, the availability and cost of services (eg., water and electricity), and the views of slum residents regarding their communities.

Your community, along with about 80 other slum communities, was selected at random by the research team for detailed study. The research study is different than previous studies of slum communities in that residents of the slums will be actively involved in the study of their own communities as interviewers, rather than just responding to questions from outsiders, as in the past.

The study team would like to ask for your help in identifying a member of your community who can ask questions clearly and write down responses clearly, and who is willing to attend a training session to learn more about how to conduct an interview.

Selected interviewers will be paid Baht 150 per day for each day worked, including the day spent at the training session. Work will last approximately eight (8) days.

The training session is scheduled for Sunday, 5 July, from 1:00PM to 5:00PM, at the Human Development Center, 3797/15 Soi 40, Rama IV Road, Klong Toey. Slum community residents interested in becoming survey interviewers will be trained in interviewing and receive the necessary survey forms and materials. In addition, residents will be served a refreshment and receive Baht 150 for attending the training session.

If you have any questions regarding the survey or the 5 July training session, please call members of the research team at 212-2545, or the Human Development Center at 392-7981.

Respectfully yours,

Charles A. Setchell
Research Team Member

Pacharin Streckfuss
Research Team Member

USAID LETTERHEAD

7 July 1992

Dear Community Leader and Residents:

The U.S. Agency for International Development is funding a research study of slum communities in the Greater Bangkok area to gain a better understanding of recent changes in the number and size of slum communities, the availability and cost of services (eg., water, and electricity), and the views of slum residents regarding their communities.

As you remember from our letter of 28 June, your community, along with 80 other slum communities, was selected at random by the research team for detailed study. The research study is different from previous studies of slum communities in that residents of the slums will be actively involved in the study of their own communities as interviewers, rather than just responding to questions from outsiders, as in the past.

Unfortunately, a representative from your slum was unable to attend the 5 July workshop. The study team would again like to ask for your help in identifying a responsible member of your community who can ask questions clearly and write down responses clearly, and who is willing to attend a training session on 11 July to learn more about how to conduct an interview.

Selected interviewers will be paid Baht 150 per day for each day worked, and 300 baht to attend the 11 July training session. Work will last up to six (6) days.

The training session is scheduled for Saturday, 11 July, from 1:00 PM to 5:00 PM, at the Human Development Center, 3797/15 Soi 40, Rama IV Road, Klong Toey. Slum community residents interested in becoming survey interviewers will be trained in interviewing and receive the necessary survey forms and materials. In addition, residents will be served a refreshment and receive 300 baht for attending the training session.

This is the last time your community's participation will be requested because the survey has to be completed very soon. If you have any questions regarding the survey or the 11 July training session, please call members of the research team at 212-2545, or the Human Development Center at 392-7981.

Respectfully yours,

Charles A. Setchell
Research Team Member

Pacharin Streckfuss
Research Team Member

8. Just before your family moved here, what type of house did you live in?

- A. ___ Another house in this slum.
- B. ___ A house in another slum located in the Bangkok area.
- C. ___ Construction site house.
- D. ___ Shophouse.
- E. ___ Rural house.
- F. ___ Flat.
- G. ___ Other (DESCRIBE) _____

H. How long did you live there? _____

9. Why did you choose to move here from your previous residence?

- A. ___ Our family was evicted.
- B. ___ We wanted to be closer to our relatives.
- C. ___ We wanted to be closer to our friends.
- D. ___ This house provides us with better tenure security than our previous house.
- E. ___ This house is less expensive than our previous house.
- F. ___ Jobs are easier to find nearby than where we used to live
- G. ___ Other (DESCRIBE) _____

10. The people living here pay rent every month for:

- A. ___ Both the land and house.
- B. ___ Just the land; we own the house.
- C. ___ Just the house.
- D. ___ We do not pay rent for the land or the house. (GO TO 12)
- E. ___ Other (DESCRIBE) _____

11. IF YOU RENT:

- A. How much is the rent per month for all of the people living in this house? _____ Baht
- B. Do you rent from someone who lives in this slum? Yes ___ No ___
- C. Do you rent from another family in this house? Yes ___ No ___

12. Do you have electricity in this house? Yes _____ No _____

If YES: A. How much does it USUALLY cost per month? _____ Baht

B. What is the source? Government ___ From a Neighbor ___

13. What is the source of the water that you use for MOST household activities)?

- A. ___ Municipal water with large meter
- B. ___ Municipal water with small meter
- C. ___ From a neighbor
- D. ___ From a vendor
- E. ___ From a well
- F. ___ Other _____

14. How much do all of the people in this house USUALLY pay per month for water that is used for these activities? _____ baht

15. Do you pay to have your garbage disposed of? Yes ____ No ____

IF YES: A. How much do you pay per month for collection? _____
B. How often is the garbage collected? Every ____ day(s)
C. Who collects your garbage?
____ The local authority.
____ The community organization.
____ Someone else (WHO?) _____

D. Do recyclers pick up part of your garbage? Yes ___ No ___

IF NO: How do you usually dispose of your garbage?
E. ____ We put the garbage under or around the house.
F. ____ We get rid of the garbage somewhere else.
(WHERE?) _____
G. ____ Other (DESCRIBE) _____

16. Is there a toilet inside your house? Yes ____ No ____

IF YES: A. What kind of toilet do you have?
White ____ Red ____ Other (DESCRIBE) _____
B. Does your bathroom have a slab cement floor?
Yes ____ No ____
If YES, did you have the floor installed? Yes ___ No ___

IF NO: Where does your family go when they want to use a toilet?
(DESCRIBE) _____

17. If you were willing to pay an amount equal to your monthly water expenses to construct or improve community facilities, which three of the following would you pay for on a monthly basis? (RANK 3)

- A. ____ Drainage facilities (for nam phon; nam chai)
- B. ____ Garbage collection
- C. ____ Sanitary septic tanks (and collection) for the entire slum
- D. ____ A portion of a monthly payment to purchase the land here
- E. ____ Outdoor lights along roads and walkways
- F. ____ Police box and security services
- G. ____ Roads and walkways
- H. ____ Other (DESCRIBE) _____

18. Finally, to get a better idea of how much of your monthly income is spent on water, electricity, and other services, and to assist the research team in better understanding your community, what is the total amount of money USUALLY earned each month by everyone living in this house?

Total amount = _____ baht

THANK YOU FOR TAKING THE TIME TO RESPOND TO ALL THE QUESTIONS!
I KNOW THE QUESTIONS WERE NOT SO EASY TO RESPOND TO, SO
I APPRECIATE YOUR HELP VERY MUCH.

GUIDELINES FOR INTERVIEWING

Step One: Counting the Number of Houses in Your Community

- A) Before you start interviewing people at their houses, you will need to count the number of houses in your community. The leader of your slum community may have a current total for you, which you can use as an estimate. However, the information your leader may have may not be current, so you should conduct your own survey to count the number of houses in your community.
- B) Plan a walk through your community so that you can count all of the houses. Make sure you do not count the same house more than one time, so that the total number of houses you count is really the total number of houses in your community.
- C) As you are walking through your community, ask people if their houses are registered or unregistered. Because you live in the community, you may know this information, but please obtain this information for all of houses in your community so that others will also clearly know how many houses are registered in your community. Write the information you collect in the spaces below:

Name of slum community: _____

Location: Khet _____ Changwat _____

_____ = Total number of registered houses in community

_____ = Total number of unregistered houses in community

_____ = Total number of houses in community

Step Two: How to Select Houses for Your Survey

- A) If your community contains fewer than 100 houses, please survey 10 percent of the total number of houses as part of your effort. For example, if your community contains 80 houses, please survey eight (8) houses, or 10 percent of the total. Other examples: If your community contains 63 houses, 10 percent of this number would equal 6.3 houses. In this case, you would only survey 6 houses. If the total number of houses is 45, a 10 percent sample would be 4.5. In this case, you would round off 4.5 to 5.
- B) If your community contains 100 or more houses, you only need to survey 5 percent of the houses. If your community contains, for example, 173 houses, a 5 percent sample would be equal to 8.65 houses, which can be rounded to 9.
- C) Once you have determined the number of houses that you will visit as part of the survey, you will then need to identify the "start" house. We want to have a "random sample", so please pick a number

between 1 and the total number of houses to be surveyed so that you can identify your "start" house. For example, if you need to sample 12 houses, pick a number between 1 and 12.

An easy and fun way to do this is to write one number on twelve separate pieces of paper, place the pieces of paper in a cup and have your child or a friend pick a piece of paper out of the cup. If the number is, for example, an 8, your "start" house will be 8 houses from your house. The "start" house you select will be the first house you survey. The second house you survey will be 12 houses away from your "start" house, the third house 12 houses from the second, the fourth house 12 houses from the third, etc.

- D) Please make sure that you keep moving in the same direction when you survey houses in your community, so that you do not go to the same house, or one next to a house you have surveyed.

Step Three: Start an Interview

- A) Each interview will take about 15-20 minutes to complete. We expect that you will be able to complete 5-6 interviews per day. If you have 6 or fewer interviews, you should be done in one day.
- B) Please approach a house that you have selected as part of the survey you conducted during the first part of your work.
- C) Ask if you can speak with the person who is considered the head of a family living in the house. PLEASE REMEMBER THAT THERE MAY BE MORE THAN ONE FAMILY PER HOUSE. YOU DO NOT HAVE TO INTERVIEW EACH FAMILY IN THE HOUSE.

The head of the family may be a man or a woman. This person may be considered the head of the family whether or not he or she is responsible for financial support or welfare of the family.

- D) If the head of the family is not present at the time you are at the house, ask if you can speak to the spouse of the family head. If he or she is also not present, ask when you can return to the house to interview the family head or his or her spouse.

If the family head or his or her spouse is not present when you return, remove the house from your interview list, and select another house for interviewing purposes. The other house you select should be next to the house you have removed from your interview list, and located in the same direction that you are using to walk through your community during the survey.

Once you have identified the family head or his or her spouse:

- E) Explain that you and residents in about 80 other slums in the Greater Bangkok area have been hired by researchers working for the U.S. Agency for International Development to interview families in their own slums to gain a better understanding of:

- * Whether slums are increasing or decreasing in size and population;
- * What services are available in slums, and how much those services cost on a monthly basis;
- * The number of registered and unregistered houses;
- * What improvements slum residents would like to have; and
- * Family characteristics of slum residents (eg., where residents are from; what type of house they lived in before they moved to the slum, where residents are registered, etc.)

- F) Tell the family head or his or her spouse that if they are willing to be interviewed for a period of about fifteen minutes, they can be assured that anything they say will be combined with the information provided by about 700 other family heads so that all comments will be very confidential.
- G) Ask the family head or his or her spouse if they are willing to be interviewed. If the person agrees, start the interview by asking Question 1 on the questionnaire. If the person refuses to be interviewed, go to the next house and repeat the introduction.

Step Four: During an Interview

- A) Please be as cheerful and courteous as possible while you are interviewing someone.
- B) Please do not comment on statements made by the person you are interviewing. If you do so, it may cause the person to stop the interview, or get angry, or not want to be so helpful.
- C) Do not "lead" the person being interviewed by providing responses for them. However, please help the person being interviewed by repeating or briefly explaining a question, if necessary.
- D) If someone is not clear on the meaning of "family", tell them that we mean one or more people living together who are related by blood or adoption (eg., brother and sister), related by marriage (eg., husband and wife), are unrelated (eg., friends or boarders), or a combination of these form of relations.

We want to know more about the number of people in each family who are related to the family head, so please be clear about this during an interview.

As stated earlier, there may be more than one family per house. Previous studies of slum communities indicated that about 30 out of every 100 houses in slum communities contain more than one family. Please be clear when asking for the number of families in the house you are surveying. For example, if married children and their spouses are living with the children's parents, they can be treated as two families. Also, boarders and lodgers should be treated as a family separate from the family the boarders and lodgers are paying for living quarters and/or meals.

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