

See discussions, stats, and author profiles for this publication at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/250276565>

# Factors contributing to the development performance of slum relocation projects in Bangkok, Thailand

Article in *International Development Planning Review* · September 2004

DOI: 10.3828/ijdpr.26.3.1

CITATIONS

7

READS

221

3 authors, including:



**Vichai Viratkapan**  
Thai-Nichi Institute of Technology

2 PUBLICATIONS 66 CITATIONS

[SEE PROFILE](#)



**Ranjith Perera**  
Sri Lanka Institute of Information Technology

40 PUBLICATIONS 452 CITATIONS

[SEE PROFILE](#)

Some of the authors of this publication are also working on these related projects:



Monitoring Environmental Quality and Evaluation of Pollution Potential and Carrying Capacity in Urban Communities and Industrial Area in Eastern Region. [View project](#)



South East Asia Urban Environmental Management Applications Project [View project](#)

Vichai Viratkapan, Ranjith Perera and Seisuke Watanabe

# Factors contributing to the development performance of slum relocation projects in Bangkok, Thailand

Slum relocation has become a study issue of increasing importance in Thailand, and especially in Bangkok, in light of the many slum and squatter settlement evictions during the past three decades. In response, two major approaches have been applied to help resolve the issue of displacement of people, namely, 'land-sharing' and 'slum relocation'. In the majority of relocation schemes, the landowners (both private and government) have negotiated with the residents and paid them compensation to relocate, thereby reacquiring their land for redevelopment purposes while allowing those being relocated sufficient resources to minimise negative impacts of the resettlement. These projects have proven the viability of the relocation approach in low-income housing development. This article seeks to investigate factors contributing to the development performance of such relocation projects. The conclusions indicate that there are a number of prerequisites for achieving success, including factors both external and internal to the community. Examples of external factors can be the location of the new settlement and the awarding of compensation, while strength of leadership, unity of community, participation of members and positive attitudes of community members are examples of internal factors. Additionally, the study found that relocation of settlements requires strong leadership in the transition stage and specialised activities at the consolidation stage in order to sustain the momentum generated at the eviction and transition stage of the projects.

Eviction and relocation of slum and squatter settlements<sup>1</sup> has often accompanied the urban (re)development process in many developing countries of Asia. Such evictions usually occur in the inner-city areas where land use undergoes a number of dynamic changes in response to market conditions. Frequently, in such conditions of high

Vichai Viratkapan is a PhD candidate in Urban Environmental Management, School of Environment, Resources and Development, Asian Institute of Technology, Phaholyothin Highway KM 42, Klong Luang District, Pathumthani 121200, Thailand, and Assistant Vice President, Housing Information and Research, Government Housing Bank (GHB), Thailand; email: vichai9197@hotmail.com, vichav@housing.ghb.co.th. Ranjith Perera is an Assistant Professor in Urban Environmental Management, School of Environment, Resources and Development, Asian Institute of Technology, Thailand. Seisuke Watanabe is an Associate Professor, Department of Environmental Design, Nagaoka Institute of Design, Nagaoka, Japan.

Paper submitted June 2003; revised paper received and accepted October 2004.

1 The United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS-Habitat) defines slum and squatter settlements as follows. Slum settlements usually consist of run-down housing in older, established, legally built parts of the city proper. Most residents rent their accommodation, although owners occupy some space or detached structures. In some cases, many of the buildings have more than one floor and house several families. Squatter settlements are mainly uncontrolled low-income residential areas with ambiguous legal status regarding land occupation. They are to a large extent built by the inhabitants themselves using their own means and are poorly equipped with public utilities and community services. The usual image of a squatter settlement is of a poor, under-served, overcrowded and dilapidated settlement consisting of makeshift, improvised housing. The land occupied by

demand among many competing land uses, it is difficult to obtain land in inner-city areas suitable for new urban development activities. The typical result is that developers (both public and private) put pressure on low-income people to vacate the economically attractive land they are occupying (UNCHS-Habitat, 1991, 5). These development activities are usually supported by favourable urban development policies and driven by the financial strength of the real estate sector, resulting in a collective set of 'push factors' for higher and better use (Davidson et al., 1993, 3). While being suited to redevelopment for a higher and better use, these sites also frequently happen to be the living and working areas occupied by the economically and politically weaker strata of the urban society, who have few alternative courses of action. Under this set of conditions, the development pressure eventually leads to eviction of the occupants and in some cases leads to the resettlement or relocation of whole communities.

The dynamic relationship between the urbanisation process and impacts on slum housing has been widely discussed in the literature as a major global issue over the last few decades. Resulting actions, such as relocation approaches, usually attract criticism due to the impacts that they may have on low-income groups and questions over whether they result in any greater security of tenure for these people. The major criticisms arising from studies looking at relocation projects<sup>2</sup> invariably highlight the hardships and suffering caused to those resettled by changes in places of living and livelihood (UN-Habitat, 2003). This focus has been given significant attention by the major international development agencies such as the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and UN-Habitat through their funding activities. Over the decades there has been an apparent shift in attitude regarding treatment of slum communities, evolving from outright eviction to increasing use of relocation. UN-Habitat has continued to emphasise the issues of adequate shelter for all and security of tenure in low-income housing (UNCHS-Habitat, 1991; UN-Habitat, 2001; UN-Habitat, 2003). As outright ownership of land by the poorest strata of society is typically not economically feasible, the form of land tenure applied in these circumstances does not include the issuance of full legal title that could be sold in the market (Gilbert, 2002). In this respect, security of tenure takes different forms, such as leasehold or rental. In response, the World Bank has issued policy guidelines for project formulation, implementation and operation for countries that seek its development assistance in order to ensure the security of tenure of people affected by

---

squatter settlements is often, but not always, located further from the city centre than is the case with slums. Often, but not always, the houses are built and occupied by their owners. The land is often occupied illegally (UNCHS-Habitat, 1982, 14–15).

2 The target group of relocation projects normally consists of slum communities that are displaced by various urban development activities in the inner-city areas.

development projects (Cernea, 1988). The result is that several other international funding agencies have subsequently used these guidelines, or, as in the case of the ADB, have jointly developed such guidelines with the World Bank.

It is within this context that this study strives to contribute to the body of knowledge on appropriate low-income housing solutions in developing countries by examining what contributes to the success or failure of slum relocation projects. It seeks to identify factors that contribute to better performance of relocation projects through examining case studies on a number of such initiatives in Bangkok, Thailand during the period 1984 to 1995. A review of the experiences of a city such as Bangkok can offer valuable lessons for other cities that are going through similar processes and can hopefully be utilised to increase the effectiveness of the planning and operation of slum relocation projects.

## Definitions of 'relocation' and 'resettlement'

In discussions among practitioners and in much of the literature, the terms 'relocation' and 'resettlement' are often used interchangeably. Basically, the general definition of these two terms, in the context of housing, is the removal of people to another location with provision of land and/or housing with basic infrastructure (UNCHS-Habitat, 1991, 2–3).

However, some authors have sought to differentiate between these terms. The term 'relocation' has been used to refer to specific actions related to settlement on new sites (Davidson et al., 1993, viii). UNCHS-Habitat (1991, 27) emphasised that urban resettlement is obviously different from rural resettlement, due to the substantial differences in the nature of the problems involved and the strategies pursued. Rural resettlements mainly impact on farmers, who need to be resettled to new sites where they can continue their farming, but urban resettlements impact on slum people, who need a location conducive to a new livelihood and accessible to good transport services.

In the context of the National Housing Authority (NHA) of Thailand, 'relocation' is synonymous with one of the low-income housing strategies that involve the provision of sites and services in a new location to people evicted from a slum. 'Resettlement', on the other hand, connotes a broader slum improvement programme that might include any of four alternative strategies – land-sharing, reblocking, reconstruction and relocation<sup>3</sup> (NHA, 2002) – but does not include the slum upgrading strategy (NHA, 2002, 5–20; Bijl et al., 1992, v).

In order to avoid confusion when using these terms, this research preliminarily defines 'relocation' and 'resettlement' as having similar meanings, but, more specifically,

3 These approaches can be summarised as follows:

- The land-sharing (LS) approach seeks to share a small part of private land by purchasing or leasing for

the term 'relocation' will be used for resettlement projects with a specified location that is in most cases located on a site distant from the original settlement.

## Eviction and relocation of slums in Bangkok

Bangkok has seen various stages of accelerated urbanisation, notably since the implementation of its First National Economic and Social Development Plan (1960–66). The most striking period of development for the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA: comprising Bangkok and five adjacent provinces) saw the built-up area increasing from 347.39 square kilometres to 672.33 square kilometres from 1986 to 2000 (BMA, 2003). During the same period, the population trend in Bangkok showed a decrease in the number of people living in the inner-city area and an increase in the immediately adjacent and peripheral areas, reflecting the population growth expanding to the outer area of Bangkok. Recently, the statistical record of the BMA reported that the registered population in Bangkok seems to have declined, which probably reflects the expansion of non-residential uses forcing residential development into the suburban areas. However, there is a significant unregistered population in Bangkok that is largely comprised of migrants and was estimated at 3.21 million in 2000 compared with the official population of 5.68 million (BMA, 2001). The majority of immigrants seeking residential accommodation were poor unskilled labourers and those who were self-employed in the informal sector. In parallel, the urban development of Bangkok has witnessed the associated creation and expansion of a large number of slums<sup>4</sup> that served as the most important housing delivery system for the poorest strata of its population for many years. The number of slums has increased from only 50 in 1968 to 1,020 in 1985. By 2000, of the 2,000 distinct districts within the city and surrounding areas, there were 1,208 slums. Within these, 243,204 households had been recorded (Pornchockchai, 1985; NHA, 2002). During the 1980s, low-income settlements in Bangkok shifted increasingly to suburban areas

building the houses for the evictees.

- The slum reblocking (RB) approach aims to create security of land tenure by leasing or purchasing land from landowners, and then carrying out infrastructure provision, with little rearrangement of the layout.
- The reconstruction (RC) approach is similar to the RB approach, but the old buildings in the project areas have to be demolished and rebuilt.
- The slum relocation (SR) approach aims to move slum people out of a settlement to a new location with completed community infrastructure provided. Usually, the relocation sites are in remote areas.

4 Usually, in the Thai context, the term 'slum' refers to both slum and squatter settlements since the physical conditions of the occupied dwellings are poor in both cases. In 1990, the NHA and the BMA defined a 'slum' as '[a] group of buildings with a housing density of not less than 15 houses per rai (0.16 ha), in an area characterized by overcrowding and flooding with deteriorated and unsanitary conditions that offer stuffy, damp and unhygienic accommodation, and which might be harmful for health, security or as the source of illegal or immoral activities' (NESDB and GHB, 1995).

due to various push factors. Many slums in the central areas of the city have been removed to make way for new urban development projects such as expressways, office complexes and shopping centres. During the same period, new settlements have appeared in the outer-city areas as well as expanding into the adjacent provinces.

Some of the factors pushing low-income residents from the city centre originated in the first economic bubble of 1988–90, when the property market in Bangkok soared, with prices of prime land in the city centre and suburbs increasing up to tenfold (Phongpaichit and Baker, 1998, 111). Related to this, the income of Bangkok's citizens became more skewed. At the top end, a few became extremely rich as businesses boomed and urban land prices rose rapidly. A rather larger handful became very well off because they had the education and skills which were suddenly in demand. But at the bottom end, the mass of city dwellers had little skill or education with which to bargain for a better wage. Between 1981 and 1994, the average income of the top 10 per cent of the nation's households tripled. By contrast, the incomes of the bottom 10 per cent barely changed. The gap between the top and bottom widened from 17 times to 37 times (Phongpaichit and Baker, 1998, 284–85). A combination of the rapidly rising land prices and enormous redevelopment pressures coupled with the widening gap between the rich and the poor during these boom years (until 1995) saw many of the lower-income groups unable to compete for access to land in good locations for their housing and livelihood needs.

By comparing aerial photos taken in 1974 and 1984, the NHA estimated that 150 slums with approximately 30,750 households had disappeared from Bangkok proper and the land changed to other uses. Moreover, between 1984 and 1988 another 107 slums had disappeared (Khan, 1994). It is estimated that the number of low-income settlements increased by 84 per cent in the outer zone of Bangkok during the relatively short time-period of 1990–93 (Pacific Consultants International, 1997). This evidence indicates that low-income settlements have been pushed out of the core urban areas to the suburban fringe. It also reflects the situation of eviction and resettlement of slums in Bangkok during the economic boom period of 1985–96. The Human Settlements Foundation (HSF) reported in 1998 that approximately 36,739 slum households had been evicted (HSF, 1998, 145–48). The NHA has worked to address the housing problems of 39,819 families from 82 settlements who were evicted and resettled during 1978–2001 (NHA, 2002). The fundamental cause of the forced resettlement of slum residents is a lack of secure land tenure in their original location. The NHA reported that in 1994 only 50 per cent of total slum households in Bangkok had some security of land tenure, while the remaining 50 per cent had none (NHA, 1997).

The policy on low-income housing resolution in Thailand since the 1970s has emphasised providing security of tenure. This policy has been implemented through four alternative strategies, as noted above. Among these, slum relocation is the major strategy applied to solve housing problems for evicted slum-dwellers. During the

period of 1984–99, 59 such projects were implemented in 50 locations within the Bangkok Metropolitan Region while the other three strategic interventions were applied to only 10 projects (Viratkapan, 1999). The difficulties in applying the other approaches mainly arise from the landowners or developers wanting to utilise the land for maximum benefits, and the market value of the land in the city being unaffordable for the slum residents.

### Identification of successful slum relocation projects

Identification of successful slum relocation projects is difficult because assessment of success varies according to the particular objectives of each individual project. In more general terms, Davidson et al. (1993, 5) highlighted that the ‘success of relocation’ should be understood in terms of the resettled people benefiting from the process on a sustainable basis or, at the very minimum, not being worse off. The benefits gained can be multi-dimensional, including security of tenure, standard of housing, convenience of infrastructure and services, socio-economic conditions, etc. The ADB (1998) pointed out that the key elements of successful resettlement should comprise housing replacement and restoration of living standards and livelihoods through fair compensation and income restoration programmes. Bijl et al. (1992) used the proportion of original households who benefited from relocation projects as an important assessment criterion for their study in Thailand. Wettaosot’s study (1994) of the Onnut relocation project used the criteria of occupancy rate, ownership transfers, resettlers’ survival ability, and satisfaction in the new location to assess the success of slum relocation projects.

The above studies revealed that assessment of the success of a relocation project should be concerned with the sustainability of both physical and non-physical outcomes. In this context, the term used in this paper for assessing projects is ‘development performance’.<sup>5</sup> This term is useful because it can represent a project’s performance in terms of effectiveness and sustainability in multiple aspects of development, including socio-economic and physical developments.

### Review of the influencing factors

A number of key factors have been cited by various agencies and authors as contributing to the development performance of a relocation project. Cernea (1988, 12–15) identifies five factors as significant for the success of formulation and implementation of resettlement projects: resettlement policy, legislation, pre-planning,

5 ‘Development performance’ does not refer directly to a dualistic model of success or failure; rather, a ‘strong’ or ‘weak’ development performance indicates the *degree* of success of the project.

public participation, and adequate compensation. Subsequent studies have reiterated the same findings (UNCHS-Habitat, 1991, 18–40; Davidson et al., 1993, 4–5). However, Davidson et al. (1993) suggest that location of the new site near the original settlement, basic urban infrastructure and effective socio-economic development in the form of employment opportunities are also key factors. The UNCHS-Habitat has also advocated that the process of relocation in terms of planning and implementation, especially for physical development, social development and consolidation of livelihood in the resettlement area, is of vital importance for the success of such projects (UNCHS-Habitat, 1991, 18–40). Furthermore, the ADB highlighted the role of community participation at every step of the process, compensation or funding of resettlement activities and socio-economic restoration activities as key factors that ensure an effective relocation process (ADB, 1998).

The factors elaborated by international organisations have been mainly conceptualised from the experiences of project implementation that they funded. However, the lessons learnt from the practical level are also a valuable resource contributing to the study of relocation. Boonyabanha (1993, 69–78) agreed with the World Bank, ADB and UNCHS-Habitat that the contribution of CBOs is significant in successful slum relocation, among other factors such as location, public transportation, socio-economic restoration, compensation from landowners and government subsidies. The lessons from the Ceara relocation project in Brazil emphasised that community participation and consultation were needed at every stage of the relocation process. Therefore, the creation and maintenance of social capital, including community organisation, leadership and community structure, are important factors. Moreover, awards of compensation and income restoration programmes also affect the success of relocation projects (Tankha et al., 1998).

The Mirpur project in Bangladesh, developed by the government since 1975, can be identified as a worst-case example in which the non-participation of the community became a factor that negatively affected the project's outcome. After resettlement, many of the residents left their families and returned to the city to find work (Choguill, 1987). The case studies of slum relocations in Cambodia also point out that participation of the affected people, coupled with a suitable site for location, were significant factors in project success (Sok, 2001). A recent relocation project (involving a move from a railway area) in Mumbai, India, is a good example of successful slum relocation, in terms of residents' full participation in building the new community, with strong involvement of a community organisation and community representatives (Patel et al., 2002, 159–71).

The above studies enable us to identify contributing factors that can be broadly classified as external or internal to the community experiencing the process of relocation. External factors consist of aspects such as new location and award of compensation, while internal factors include unity of the community, strength of



leadership, and participation of members in the process. One of the important factors that none of the above studies explicitly addresses is the positive attitude of the community towards the whole experience of relocation. In other words, when people are optimistic about life in the new location, they will contribute to the success of the process. In contrast, if the people are pessimistic about the new life at the new location, the chances of the project's failure become higher. The socio-economic impacts are also a discouraging factor in the relocation process.

This paper attempts to identify the factors that have contributed to the development performance of slum relocation projects implemented in Bangkok during the period 1984–95.

## Research methodology

The general assumption of this research is that the present result of any development is the output of different past inputs. Therefore, the research starts from the differences in present development conditions of relocation projects, and attempts to investigate the relative contribution by key factors that influence these differences. Since relocation project development is considered as a development process that occurs over a long period of time, the study was also concerned with the effect of the factors over three specific periods, these being the eviction, transition and consolidation stages.

The study focused on relocation projects that have a history of at least five years (as of 2000) in their new locations. Only slums relocated to the outer zone of the city were selected in order to assess the effect of distance on the development performance of a project. Consequently, the research aimed at assessing the degree of development performance of 25 projects (see Table 1 and Fig. 1), and then identifying the factors that have contributed to their development performance.

The research methodology can be divided into two parts: assessment of the development performance; and investigation of factors influencing development performance (see Fig. 2). The purpose of the first stage was to assess the development outcome of a slum relocation project that reflects the effectiveness of relocation. 'Development performance' is an indicator that is used to assess the process as well as the product of a development project. It is a composite indicator and is considered as manifested in several attributes that have physical and non-physical dimensions. On the basis of a random survey involving slum dwellers, housing professionals and community development experts, the following five attributes were chosen as indicators to assess the development performance of selected relocation projects:

- *Original landownership.* This attribute relates to the percentage of original landowners who are still remaining in the new location of the community. It is

assumed that the existence of a higher percentage of original landowners indicates a strong development performance because land is sold when recipients cannot afford to live in the new location or when they see a chance to make a profit through speculation.

- *Occupation of plots.* This attribute considers the percentage of land recipients who actually occupy the plot of land in relocation projects. A higher percentage shows a strong development performance in that particular project.
- *Completion of house construction.* This attribute considers the rate of completion of the housing units: a higher percentage of completed houses (that is, houses ready to be occupied) in the project is indicative of a stronger development performance.
- *Condition of infrastructure.*<sup>6</sup> This attribute considers the present condition of on-site project infrastructure. A better condition of infrastructure in the project is indicative of a stronger development performance.
- *Participation of community members.*<sup>7</sup> This attribute considers the participation of the members of the community in regular meetings. A higher participation by members is considered an indication of a stronger development performance.

The levels of development performance of 25 resettlement projects selected for the study were assessed by using the ‘conjoint analysis’<sup>8</sup> technique and the above five attributes. This technique was useful to categorise the projects into two groups according to the positive and negative values. A negative value indicates a weaker performance while a positive value indicates a stronger performance.

The case studies were selected using the results of the conjoint analysis, which identified and ranked projects in terms of their development performance. From the groups of the five highest and the five lowest ranked projects only three from each were selected for further analysis (i.e. three cases representing the Weak Development Performance [WDP] projects and another three cases representing the Strong Development Performance [SDP] projects). The selected projects were Romklow zone IX, Subnukul Pattana and Luang Por Kow representing the SDP group, and Kaew Nimitr, Pornpraruang Prasith and Suwanprasith 1 representing the WDP group

6 Assessed using the visible condition of roads, the drainage system, and the water supply system.

7 Assessed using the indicators (1) frequency of meetings, and (2) percentage of members attending meetings, based on the major principle of participation, that is, a process of sharing information, power, attitude and interest (Meshack, 2004, 61–82).

8 The conjoint analysis (CA) technique has its theoretical roots in psychological literature concerning information processing and complex decision-making. It is now also used in other fields of study, such as geography, transport, urban planning, sociology and many other areas, but nowhere has it been so widely embraced and applied as in marketing (Louviere, 1994). A major purpose of CA is to help select features to offer on new or revised products or services. Thus, CA enables the researcher to model the human decision-making process in realistic terms; the researcher then applies statistical modelling to deduce the respondents’ underlying values (AMA, 2000).

**Table 1 Basic information of the slum relocation projects selected for the study and the results of conjoint analysis**

New settlement	Basic information				Attributes for conjoint analysis					Result of conjoint analysis as of 2001	
	Year of first relocation	Age of the project (as of 2000)	Total project area (ha)	Total number of plots	Original landowners (%)	Plot occupation (%)	Completion of housing construction (%)	Condition of infra-structure	Participation of community members	Assessment value of development performance	Rank of project
<b>1 Romklow zone IX</b>	<b>1991</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>4.320</b>	<b>725</b>	<b>74.35</b>	<b>96.89</b>	<b>92.75</b>	<b>good-excellent</b>	<b>strong</b>	<b>2.5434</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2 Subnukul Pattana</b>	<b>1992</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>0.702</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>77.65</b>	<b>64.71</b>	<b>61.18</b>	<b>poor-fair</b>	<b>strong</b>	<b>1.0436</b>	<b>2</b>
3 Onnuth Phase 1 (40 Rai)	1991	9	6.400	416	60.67	79.85	72.82	poor-fair	strong	0.8976	3
4 Romklow zone XI	1993	7	3.520	285	77.20	60.23	52.05	good-excellent	weak	0.7918	4
<b>5 Luang Por Kow</b>	<b>1993</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1.120</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>84.26</b>	<b>71.30</b>	<b>65.74</b>	<b>good-excellent</b>	<b>weak</b>	<b>0.7918</b>	<b>4</b>
6 Klong Jed	1995	5	5.719	426	88.97	70.42	60.33	good-excellent	weak	0.7918	4
7 Klong Song	1995	5	4.607	321	78.50	67.91	60.75	good-excellent	weak	0.7918	4
8 Romklow zone VIII	1989	11	8.320	381	65.29	78.51	68.32	good-excellent	weak	0.6458	5
9 Romklow zone X	1992	8	4.000	356	70.79	84.55	77.53	good-excellent	weak	0.6458	5
10 Suwanprasith 2	1989	11	1.094	100	70.00	75.00	67.00	good-excellent	weak	0.6458	5
11 Onnuth Phase 2 (19 Rai)	1993	7	3.064	269	65.80	75.84	69.14	good-excellent	weak	0.6440	5
12 Romklow zone XI/1	1994	6	8.640	342	71.83	57.82	50.54	good-excellent	weak	0.0834	6
13 Romklow zone XI/2	1994	6	3.200	726	71.43	62.37	55.05	good-excellent	weak	0.0834	6
14 Bangbua	1984	16	1.340	168	75.44	90.06	73.68	poor-fair	weak	-0.2916	7
15 Ruamjai Samakkee (Sena)	1988	12	2.416	169	84.42	89.61	87.01	poor-fair	weak	-0.2916	7
16 Suwanprasith 3	1990	10	1.102	118	76.07	82.90	78.63	good-excellent	weak	-0.2916	7
17 Saithong Pattana	1991	9	0.376	43	87.50	64.71	81.40	poor-fair	weak	-0.2916	7
18 Patch Siam	1989	11	3.184	140	80.13	80.13	61.54	poor-fair	weak	-0.2934	8
19 Sahachumchon Ruamjai Pattana 1	1993	7	0.576	53	67.92	94.34	79.25	poor-fair	weak	-1.0000	9
<b>20 Suwanprasith 1</b>	<b>1988</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>1.664</b>	<b>161</b>	<b>44.74</b>	<b>57.02</b>	<b>44.74</b>	<b>good-excellent</b>	<b>weak</b>	<b>-1.5625</b>	<b>10</b>
21 Fuen Nakorn Romklow zone VII	1985	15	4.672	412	30.34	80.82	75.97	poor-fair	weak	-1.5833	11
<b>22 Kaew Nimitr</b>	<b>1990</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>2.400</b>	<b>247</b>	<b>28.74</b>	<b>76.11</b>	<b>59.51</b>	<b>poor-fair</b>	<b>weak</b>	<b>-1.5833</b>	<b>11</b>
23 Klong Hak (Soon Prasannan)	1994	6	9.653	540	87.99	10.60	7.07	poor-fair	weak	-1.9166	12
24 Or-Ngwen	1988	12	1.560	112	33.03	68.75	55.36	poor-fair	weak	-2.1457	13
<b>25 Pompraruang (Wat Ladprow)</b>	<b>1991</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>0.960</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>71.57</b>	<b>66.67</b>	<b>31.37</b>	<b>poor-fair</b>	<b>weak</b>	<b>-2.6250</b>	<b>14</b>
Average Value		9.12	3.384	272.20	68.99	72.28	63.55				

Sources: Viratkapan (1999), Sananikom (2000) and field survey by Viratkapan (2001).

Note: The names in bold are the settlements that were selected for the study.

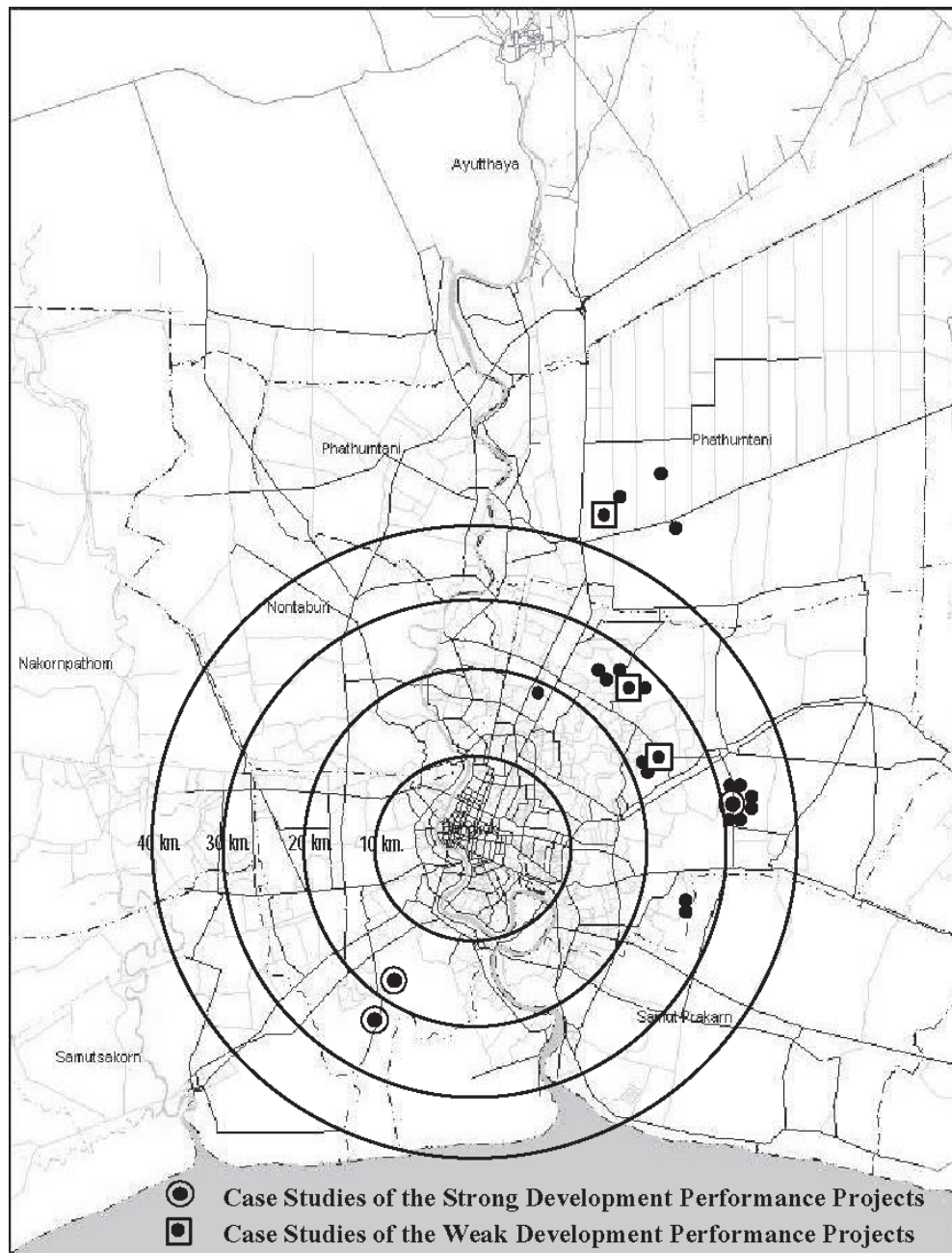


Figure 1 Locations of the studied projects in the Bangkok Metropolitan Region

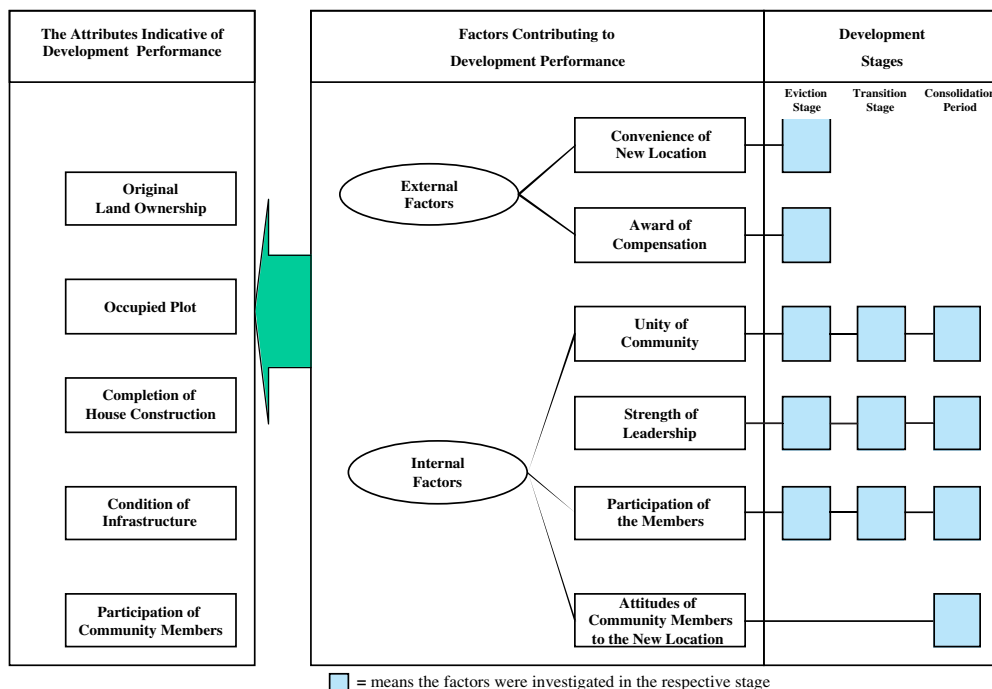


Figure 2 The relationship between attributes indicative of development performance and the factors contributing to development performance

(see Table 1). Although these projects had been implemented at different times, there was not much difference in terms of project history, as they had typically been implemented during a span of four years (with an age range of 8–12 years, as of 2000).

A questionnaire was employed as the format for data collection to reflect the factors and variables studied in this research. The questionnaire dealt with five major areas:

1. personal and household data;
2. previous and present settlement;
3. community participation;
4. leadership; and
5. attitude towards living at the new location.

A sample of 215 randomly selected respondents representing about 80 per cent of the original settlers was derived from the six settlements for the survey. This sample comprised 130 household leaders from the SDP group (56 from Romklow zone IX, 36 from Subnukul Pattana and 34 from Luang Por Kow), with another 85 household leaders from the WDP group (19 from Kaew Nimitr, 32 from Pornpraruang Prasith and 35 from Suwanprasith 1). No re-settlers who had moved away were interviewed.

## Socio-economic background of the re-settlers

### Occupations

The study investigated the occupation of the family head over the three consecutive stages: the eviction stage, the transition stage (the first two years of relocation) and the consolidation period. It revealed that most of the respondents had low educational levels, with the majority (~60 per cent) of respondents having been self-employed or casual workers while at their previous settlement sites. Another 26 per cent were employed in the private sector. Unemployment was a serious issue that re-settlers faced during the transition period, with one-third of the respondents being unemployed immediately after relocation.

The WDP group had been more affected by unemployment than those in the SDP group: unemployment in the WDP group increased from 4.8 per cent to 34.5 per cent with resettlement, whereas that in the SDP group increased from 12.5 per cent to 32.8 per cent. The main group who lost their jobs were the self-employed and casual labour group, with the private sector employees being affected to a lesser degree. The result was that the unemployed re-settlers became self-employed/casual labourers in the informal sector. During the consolidation period, those who were self-employed were still mainly those opening their own stores, such as small grocery stores, food stalls, etc. Another employment group was the subcontracted home workers who made artificial flowers and garments for larger enterprises.

The number of unemployed during the consolidation period (44 per cent in the WDP and 38 per cent in the SDP) was even higher than in the transition stage. However, it was found that unemployment was not occurring within the main household income-earning group during the consolidation stage. The explanation is that the largest group of unemployed respondents were the older residents, the family leaders, who had subsequently transferred their income-earning responsibilities to the younger family members, who were in a more employable age group and better educated. As a result of this new generation having higher educational levels, the occupational trend in the relocation settlements is expected to shift increasingly to the formal sector (both private and public) in the near future.

### Monthly household income

The study also investigated monthly household income over the three stages in the settlement, revealing that the overall average monthly household income in the eviction stage was 10,247 baht.<sup>9</sup> During the transition stage, the overall average monthly household income dropped to 8,107 baht per month. The overall monthly household income of most re-settlers dropped, particularly the group earning 10,001–15,000 baht, which dropped from 21.4 per cent to 12.3 per cent of the total, whereas

the group in the 5,000 baht or less range increased from 15.1 per cent to 31.6 per cent of the total, and the group earning 5,001–10,000 baht remained the main income group and relatively constant at 48.6 per cent of the total.

The survey further revealed that overall average monthly household income in 2001 was higher than in the transition stage at 10,064 baht per month, with a significant difference between the WDP and the SDP households at 11,718 and 8,966 baht per month respectively. Although the SDP re-settlers' households earned less monthly income on average than the WDP households, per capita monthly income in the SDP group was only slightly less than that of the WDP (WDP: 2,468 baht, and SDP: 2,296 baht).

It can be noted that average household income of the WDP was higher than that of the SDP over all three periods of relocation, reflecting the fact that the members of the WDP group had a slightly better income background than those of the SDP when they were in the original settlements, which implies a stronger economic background of the WDP. Furthermore, this also suggests that the difference in income between the groups was not a significant factor in relation to differences in development performances.

## Factors contributing to development performance

The analysis of factors contributing to development performance presented in this article centres on both external and internal factors (comprising unity of the community, strength of leadership and participation of the members). In addition to these standard internal factors, the attitude of community members to the new location was also identified as an additional factor that was not previously addressed in the available literature.

### External factors

Examination of the external factors includes assessing the convenience of the new location and the award of compensation.

#### *Convenience of the new location*

Location is always considered as the critical factor in relocation planning because it ultimately determines access to land, social support networks, employment, business, credit and market opportunities (ADB, 2000). The argument is that new sites should be geographically close to the original settlements to preserve existing social networks and communities (ADB, 2000; Davidson et al., 1993), and by extension this implies that the appropriate resettled location should be close to the city or sub-centre/community area.

9 US\$1 = 40 baht.

In this study, the investigation of the influence of location and quality of new relocation sites used distance and convenience of transport as indicators affecting development performance. The distance included proximity to the nearest main road, sub-centre, local market, previous settlement and CBD. Convenience of transport is analysed in terms of mode of transport, time taken and expense incurred in travelling to work.

The study revealed that the relocation projects in the SDP group had been, on average, located nearer to the CBD than the projects in the WDP group. On the other hand, the projects in the WDP group had been better situated in terms of proximity to a main road, sub-centre and local market, as well as in relation to the location of the original settlements. However, the detailed information on each project showed that there are no obvious differences between the WDP and the SDP in terms of distances to important places (see Fig. 3 and Table 2).

The mode of transport, time involved and daily expenses of travelling to work were also investigated. The majority of the respondents from both the WDP and the SDP used public transport and motorcycles as their major modes of transport, with approximately 80 per cent of respondents spending 0–60 minutes and around 50 baht to travel to work (see Tables 3–5).

These findings show that there are very small differences in terms of location between the WDP and the SDP, indicating that location is not a major critical factor influencing the success or failure of slum relocation projects in these cases. This supports the view expressed by UNCHS-Habitat (1991, 37) that location is not the only factor that determines the success of a relocation project and that it should be considered together with other factors such as social organisation and employment potential at the new location.

### *Award of compensation*

The review revealed that two out of the three case studies of the SDP group were offered compensation for displacement, whereas only one case study of the WDP group received such an offer. The field survey also confirmed that almost 75 per cent of the households in the SDP group received compensation compared with about 40 per cent of the households in the WDP group. Compensation given in the form of cash and/or land to the community (not to individual households) was another factor in the successful cases. Romklow zone IX and Subnukul Pattana<sup>10</sup> are two good

10 In the case of Romklow zone IX, the government compensated the evictees with approximately 90,000 baht per household and assigned the NHA to provide site and services plots for them. The compensation was divided into two parts, the first part being 50,000 baht which was allocated to the NHA for land and infrastructure provision, and the second part being 40,000 baht which was paid directly to households for housing and other expenses. In the case of Subnukul Pattana, the reason for eviction was land redevelopment by the private landowner. Following a long period of struggle, the landowner decided to pay compensation of around 11.11 million baht in



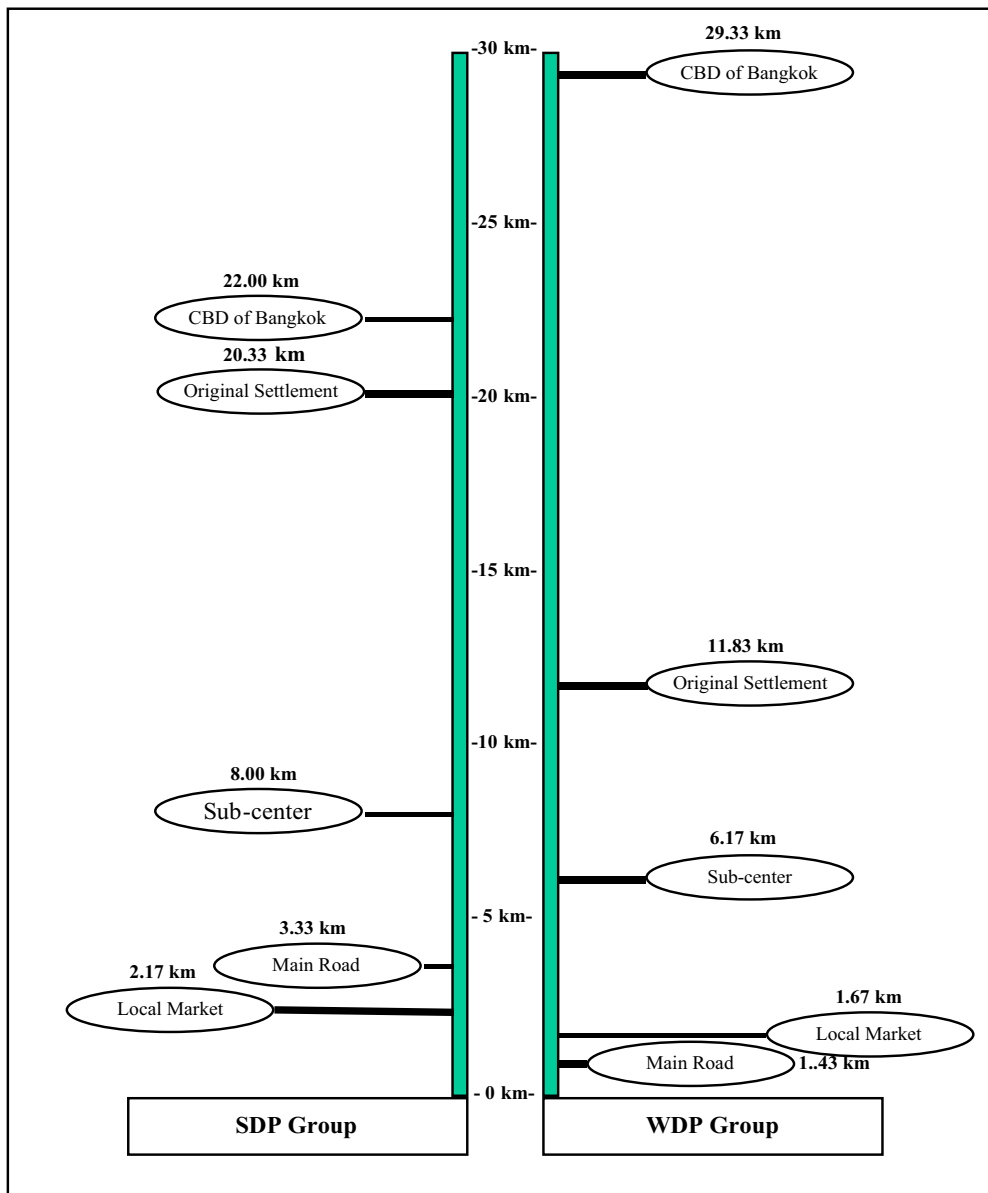


Figure 3 Comparison of location attributes between the SDP group and the WDP group

the form of purchase of new land and fill for the relocation site. The CBO had autonomy to select the location for their new resettlement. The full support of the landowner was important for the relocation development because the biggest burden, land cost, was eliminated.

**Table 2 Differences in distance indicators between the WDP and the SDP**

Relocation project	Distance from Bangkok CBD (km)	Distance from main road (km)	Distance from nearest sub-centre (km)	Distance from original settlements (km)	Distance from nearest market (km)
SDP group					
Romklow zone IX	32.00	1.55	7.00	30.00	1.50
Subnukul Pattana	14.00	5.50	8.00	16.00	3.00
Luang Por Kow	20.00	2.95	9.00	15.00	2.00
Average	22.00	3.33	8.00	20.33	2.17
WDP group					
Pornpraruang	25.00	1.10	7.00	15.00	2.00
Kaew Nimitr	45.00	1.70	6.50	6.50	2.00
Suwanprasith 1	18.00	1.50	5.00	14.00	1.50
Average	29.33	1.43	6.17	11.83	1.67
Difference between SDP and WDP	-7.33	+1.90	+1.83	+8.50	+0.50

Note: + means that the SDP is more distant than the WDP; - means that the SDP is closer than the WDP.

examples from the SDP group that received high amounts of compensation from the landlords for the new land and housing construction, resulting in a stronger development performance. These findings suggest that such compensation is an important factor in development performance, which supports the recommendations of the World Bank, the UNCHS and the ADB that an award of compensation is essential for the success of a relocation project.

### Internal factors

For the purpose of analysis, the following characteristics were selected as indicators: unity of the community and strength of leadership; participation of community members; and the attitude of community members to the new location.

#### *Unity of the community and strength of leadership*

Community unity and leadership are important ingredients in the level and form of community participation and successful demand-making (Desai, 1995, 47–60). In slums, leaders take on the role of mediators and spokespeople between slum dwellers and government agencies, they act as a buffer between groups, and they are the ones who resolve conflicts (De Wit, 1985, 24–25).

Once a community is aware that it might be displaced, the members usually become engaged in two types of activity: organising opposition to eviction and preparing

**Table 3 Mode of transport for travelling to work**

Mode	WDP		SDP		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Public transport	15	35.7	29	41.4	44	39.3
Walking/bicycle	3	7.1	2	2.9	5	4.5
Private car	5	11.9	8	11.4	13	11.6
Staff bus	7	16.7	6	8.6	13	11.6
Private motorcycle	9	21.4	20	28.6	29	25.9
Other	3	7.1	5	7.1	8	7.1
Total	42	100	70	100	112	100

**Table 4 Time spent on travelling to work**

Travelling time	WDP		SDP		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
30 minutes or less	16	47.1	27	42.9	43	44.3
31–60 minutes	8	23.5	24	38.1	32	33.0
61–90 minutes	3	8.8	5	7.9	8	8.2
91–120 minutes	5	14.7	5	7.9	10	10.3
More than 120 minutes	2	5.9	2	3.2	4	4.1
Total	34	100	63	100	97	100

**Table 5 Daily expenses of travelling to work**

Expense per day (Thai baht)	WDP		SDP		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
50 or less	28	84.4	43	81.1	71	82.6
51–100	4	12.1	9	17	13	15.1
More than 100	1	3.0	1	1.9	2	2.3
Total	33	100	53	100	86	100

Note: US\$1 = 40 baht.

for relocation if opposition to eviction eventually fails. During the eviction stage, the strong pressure of the situation creates new community leaders if they do not already exist. Thus, the presence of strong leadership and community involvement is a significant factor at this stage. Strong leaders can both unite community members and mobilise them for protesting against eviction. If such protests are unsuccessful,

they can negotiate with the involved agencies to obtain suitable land and resources for a resettlement project.

The opinions of respondents reveal that at the eviction stage the unity of all the communities had been typically strong, with the SDP group exhibiting slightly stronger unity than the WDP group (see Table 6). Similarly, the performance of the community leaders at the eviction stage had been equally strong in both WDP and SDP groups. A clear majority of the respondents in both groups confirmed that the community leaders received very strong support from community members during the eviction stage. These findings indicate that pressure of eviction, which is an external threat, united people and, as a result, the two groups showed equally strong development performance at that stage.

During the transition stage (the first two or three years in the new site), the communities continued to be strongly united (see Table 6), possibly due to the initial insecurity associated with new and unfamiliar surroundings. During this period the strength of leadership (see Table 7) and the relationship between the leaders and the community members (see Table 8) were also sustained. However, it was noted that the leaders' performance in the SDP group had slightly improved by this stage, while in the WDP group it had slightly declined (see Table 7). There are two reasons for the continued strength in leadership: (1) the leaders who had already established a good relationship with the community members were the same persons who actively provided leadership during both the eviction and the transition stage; and (2) the severe difficulties faced during this stage propelled the re-settlers to cooperate closely with the leaders in order to overcome their individual problems. The changes in strength of leadership coincide with the differences in development performance

**Table 6 Unity of the communities in the eviction stage and consolidation period**

Unity of community*	WDP		SDP		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
(a) In eviction stage						
Weak	27	31.8	32	24.6	59	27.4
Strong	58	68.2	98	75.4	156	72.6
Total	85	100	130	100	215	100
(b) In consolidation period						
Weak	84	98.8	108	83.1	192	89.3
Strong	1	1.2	22	16.9	23	10.7
Total	85	100	130	100	215	100

\*The information in this column is based on respondents' perceptions of community participation at different stages. Reported participation rates of 0–60 per cent of the community are classed as 'weak' and 61–100 per cent as 'strong'.

between the WDP and SDP groups that began to appear during the transition stage. This implies that continued strong leadership is crucial at the very beginning of a relocation project in order to sustain the momentum of development initiatives.

Respondents indicated that the unity of the community was relatively unchanged during the eviction period and the transition stage. However, by the time of the field

**Table 7 Performance of leaders in the three stages of the resettlement process**

Leaders' performance	WDP		SDP		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
a) In eviction stage						
Weak	12	14.5	16	13.1	28	13.7
Strong	71	85.5	106	86.9	177	86.3
Total	83	100	122	100	205	100
(b) In transition stage						
Weak	23	27.4	12	9.7	35	16.8
Strong	61	72.6	112	90.3	173	83.2
Total	84	100	124	100	208	100
(c) In consolidation period						
Weak	44	53.0	68	57.6	112	55.7
Strong	39	47.0	50	42.4	89	44.3
Total	83	100	118	100	201	100

**Table 8 Relationship between leaders and community members in the three stages of the resettlement process**

Relationship	WDP		SDP		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
a) In eviction stage						
Weak	4	4.8	11	9.0	15	7.3
Strong	80	95.2	111	91.0	191	92.7
Total	84	100	122	100	206	100
(b) In transition stage						
Weak	10	11.9	10	8.0	20	9.6
Strong	74	88.1	115	92.0	189	90.4
Total	84	100	125	100	209	100
(c) In consolidation period						
Weak	23	28.0	29	24.8	52	26.1
Strong	59	72.0	88	75.2	147	73.9
Total	82	100	117	100	199	100

survey (about ten years after the initial relocation), the unity of communities in both SDP and WDP groups had become significantly weaker.

Parallel to the decline in the unity of community, the relationship between the leaders and the community members had also declined sharply in both groups over the period since initial relocation. Two reasons have been identified for this declining trend: (1) as the individual households gradually consolidated and infrastructure improved, collective action ceased to be necessary; and (2) the new generation of community members or the newcomers who replaced the original settlers may not have become equally involved in community activities. Data reveal that about 70 per cent of the original settlers had moved out from the WDP sites, while in the SDP group, the number was about 30 per cent. These figures help to explain why there is a significant difference in terms of development performance between the two groups, and also help us to understand why community unity and the relationship between leaders and members were also weak, as observed during the field survey.

It is clear that the respondents of the survey (the original re-settlers) believed that the unity and cooperation which had existed at the eviction and transition stages were no longer there. They also believed that the performance of the community leaders at that time was generally weak. This is because the leadership has now passed to the next generation, or even to the new settlers. These leaders do not have to perform as intensely as their predecessors due to the lack of external pressures such as eviction and the hostility of landlords.

### *Participation of the members*

Since people themselves know best what they need, what they want and what they can afford, only close cooperation between authorities and the community can result in projects that satisfy both the community and the authorities. People's participation has been widely accepted as the foundation for community development because it is a form of grassroots democracy (UNCHS-Habitat, 1991, 6; Desai, 1995, 47). Participation in planning and managing resettlement helps to reduce the re-settlers' fears, and gives those most affected an opportunity to participate in key decisions. Resettlement projects implemented without consultation may lead to inappropriate strategies and eventual impoverishment. The ADB (1998) defines participation as a process of (1) decision making and (2) contributing to the development efforts. Usually the poor are expected to participate actively in project implementation and maintenance, but are often left out of the design stage – the most critical phase from the point of view of ensuring that programmes meet their real needs. In this study, in relation to participation, we looked at the activities that could best reflect the process of decision making and that contributed to development both equitably and beneficially.

Participation is a complex phenomenon that varies with the stage of the project. For the purpose of detailed analysis, the following types of participation were

**Table 9 Participation of community members in eviction activities**

Activities	WDP		SDP		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
(a) Protesting						
Did not participate	21	24.7	33	25.4	54	25.1
Participated	64	75.3	97	74.6	161	74.9
Total	85	100	130	100	215	100
(b) Determining conditions for negotiation						
Did not participate	28	32.9	41	31.5	69	32.1
Participated	57	67.1	89	68.5	146	67.9
Total	85	100	130	100	215	100
(c) Final decision making						
Did not participate	25	29.8	46	35.7	71	33.3
Participated	59	70.2	83	64.3	142	66.7
Total	84	100	129	100	213	100

considered: (1) participation in activities against eviction and participation in pre-relocation activities; (2) participation in post-relocation activities; and (3) participation in community development activities during the consolidation period.

The study revealed that participation of community members at the eviction stage was very strong, with members of the SDP and WDP groups participating more or less equally in protests against eviction, determining conditions for negotiations with authorities and landlords, and in collective decision making (see Table 9). Participation in these activities helped to foster unity among community members during the eviction stage and it contributed positively to development performance. Savings and credit group activities also helped to consolidate community members at the eviction stage, and such groups were effective tools for organising, training and strengthening the leaders in management and administration skills.

When the decision to re-settle was finalised, community members normally turned their attention from protesting to relocating to a new place. Activities at this stage normally include selection of the new site, physical relocation and construction activities and basic infrastructure development. In addition, special activities such as savings and credit group activities and vocational training for generating livelihoods<sup>11</sup> may take place depending on the needs of the community (see Table 10).

The research revealed that the majority of community members had participated in selecting a suitable location from several alternatives presented to them by the

<sup>11</sup> Such courses were usually conducted by government agencies, NGOs or private firms, but were initiated, in most cases, by community leaders and representatives.

**Table 10 Participation of community members in relocation activities**

Activities	WDP		SDP		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
a) Location selection						
Did not participate	13	15.3	15	11.5	28	13.0
Participated	72	84.7	115	88.5	187	87.0
Total	85	100	130	100	215	100
(b) Relocation planning						
Did not participate	41	48.2	65	50.0	106	49.3
Participated	44	51.8	65	50.0	109	50.7
Total	85	100	130	100	215	100
(c) Infrastructure development						
Weak participation	22	26.2	31	24.2	53	25.0
Strong participation	62	73.8	97	75.8	159	75.0
Total	84	100	128	100	212	100
(d) Meetings						
Weak participation	17	20.0	16	12.4	33	15.4
Strong participation	68	80.0	113	87.6	181	84.6
Total	85	100	129	100	214	100
(e) Savings and credit group						
Weak participation	67	79.8	56	43.8	123	58.0
Strong participation	17	20.2	72	56.3	89	42.0
Total	84	100	128	100	212	100
(f) Occupational training						
Weak participation	82	96.5	105	81.4	187	87.4
Strong participation	3	3.5	24	18.6	27	12.6
Total	85	100	129	100	214	100

authorities or landlords. There was no difference in the extent of participation between the WDP and SDP groups. However, only half of the members in both groups had participated in activities pertaining to relocation, subdivision of plots and construction of houses. Planning of actual relocation and subdivision of plots had been organised by community leaders, and the members had usually accepted their decisions. Construction of houses had been the responsibility of each household and therefore it had not gone through a participatory process except in the case of mutual assistance between two or more households. Participation in constructing infrastructure networks had been equally high in both groups, particularly because the activities involved supplying basic necessities to the communities such as water and transport access.



Participation at meetings between leaders and members had been very high in both groups at the time of relocation. However, a similar level of participation had not been observed in the savings and credit societies (see Table 10). Particularly, in the WDP group such activities had been very limited, whereas in the SDP group only a moderate level of participation had been reported by the respondents. There was a clear difference between the two groups in terms of involvement in savings and credit societies at the time of relocation. Even in the vocational training activities organised to support the livelihoods of the community members, participation was reported as having been very low in both groups. These findings revealed that participation in activities during the relocation stage had been relatively similar in both the SDP and WDP groups. The only differences had been in secondary activities such as savings and credit groups and vocational training. Therefore, the present differences between the two groups in terms of development performance emerged after the initial period of relocation.

During the consolidation period the participation of community members took place in several ongoing as well as new activities. The ongoing activities included community meetings, infrastructure development and improvement, savings and credit societies, and vocational training. The new activities included women's groups, youth groups and anti-drugs groups as well as public health voluntary services.

In contrast to the general expectation, participation of members in community meetings was lower in the SDP group than in the WDP group. Similarly, participation in infrastructure development work was also lower in the SDP group. Detailed discussions with original settlers revealed that most households were well established now and as a result they did not have compelling reasons to participate in general meetings of the community. For example, the study of Romklow zone IX, which was identified as a strong development performance project, revealed that the participation of the members in general meetings was weaker than participation in the other activities, from which they felt that they benefited more. There was a clear difference between the SDP and the WDP groups in terms of participation in new activities (see Table 11). While there was negligible participation by the members of the WDP group in these new activities, there was a sizeable portion of respondents in the SDP group who regularly participated in such activities. Similarly, participation of members in the SDP group was significantly higher in relation to the savings and credit group and vocational training, which are in fact ongoing activities (see Table 11). This indicates a preference to participate in activities with a specific purpose. Moreover, the WDP group had fewer original inhabitants remaining than in the SDP group. This means that the number of potential participants in the WDP group was expected to be lower than in the SDP group. This participation had undoubtedly contributed to the higher level of development performance in the SDP group. These findings confirm that the difference in development performance in the two groups

**Table 11 Participation of community members in the major development activities in the consolidation stage**

Activities	WDP		SDP		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
(a) Meetings						
Weak participation	22	25.9	52	41.6	74	35.2
Strong participation	63	74.1	73	58.4	136	64.8
Total	85	100	125	100	210	100
(b) Infrastructure development and improvement						
Weak participation	22	25.9	51	39.5	69	34.1
Strong participation	63	74.1	78	60.5	141	65.9
Total	85	100	129	100	214	100
(c) Savings and credit group						
Weak participation	43	51.2	51	39.2	94	43.9
Strong participation	41	48.8	79	60.8	120	56.1
Total	84	100	130	100	214	100
(d) Occupational training						
Weak participation	83	97.6	96	75.0	179	84.0
Strong participation	2	2.4	32	25.0	34	16.0
Total	85	100	128	100	213	100

emerged after the initial time of relocation. It can also be inferred that the strengthening of specific activities – such as savings and credit groups, vocational training, and groups focused on youth concerns and women’s concerns – will contribute to the state of development once people are reasonably settled in their new location.

On the other hand, a new, younger, and more educated generation is gradually replacing elders as household leaders. Additionally, this group is gradually entering the formal employment sector. This may potentially affect the amount of time that they can commit to community development activities. At the same time, they may not realise the needs of the community as the previous generation did. In the near future, as the younger generation continues to relate less to community unity than their parents did, this generates a decrease in inhabitants’ participation in associated development activities and can also be reflected in the transferring or selling of original plots to ‘outsiders’. Considerably more attention needs to be paid on this issue in order to maintain and/or improve the development performance of slum relocation projects. This expected change to a more process-oriented approach may pose hard questions for the agencies and organisations involved.

### *Attitude of community members to the new location*

It must be noted that the lower level of development performance in the WDP group may also be attributed to out-migration of a large number of original settlers. While those who decided to stay have already consolidated their homes and plots, the newcomers who replaced the original settlers are still trying to adjust. The percentage of original re-settlers who have consolidated in the new location is used as an indicator of the development performance. If a large percentage of original beneficiaries has been replaced by new settlers, it is not a successful relocation project. Therefore, it is vital that adequate support is given until people consolidate in the new communities. The survey findings reveal that only 10 per cent of the SDP group intend to leave for a new place, while 20 per cent in the WDP group intend to leave during the next two years. As such the SDP group has expressed a greater commitment to living in the relocation sites. The main reasons for wanting to sell plots were family debt and drug-related problems. It can also be noted that the major reasons WDP group members gave for not planning to sell their plots were (1) having no other place to move to (49.2 per cent), (2) wishing to keep the plot as family property (15.4 per cent), and (3) having a sense of belonging (13.8 per cent). Among the SDP group, only 31 per cent cited the lack of anywhere else to move to as a reason for staying, while keeping the plot as family property and having a sense of belonging were cited by 25.7 per cent and 20.4 per cent of respondents respectively.

In any community, there may be households who plan to move elsewhere for a variety of reasons. However, if a significant proportion of the re-settlers have already moved out or plan to do so, that will affect the motivation of those who continue in the community. Therefore, positive attitudes need to be built in the community towards the new location until all households are firmly consolidated and show signs of upward mobility to the next stage, a phenomenon that Turner (1967) termed the 'status-seeking' stage.

## **Conclusions and policy implications**

The preceding analysis has sought to demonstrate factors that have been hypothesised as effective in contributing to the development performance of slum relocation projects. In this regard, the paper discussed and subsequently confirmed the following points when comparing communities exhibiting 'strong' and 'weak' development performance.

External factors:

- No significant differences could be determined between weak and strong communities in relation to location factors such as aspects of distance, mode of transport, and travelling times and expenses.

- The awarding of compensation significantly influenced a project's outcome and was able to strengthen the development performance of relocation projects. This confirms the viewpoint of the World Bank and the ADB on the significance of awarding compensation.
- The awarding of higher amounts of compensation (in cash or land) directly to the community (rather than to individuals) was significantly related to a strong development performance.

#### Internal factors:

- Community unity was strong in communities with both weak and strong development performance during the eviction stage and subsequently declined in both groups during the transition and consolidation stages due to a lessening degree of pressure on the evictees once the eviction had been finalised.
- The SDP group exhibited a higher 'strength of leadership' than the WDP group, especially in the transition stage.
- Participation of community members was obviously important but it was revealed that the members of the SDP group generally participated more in the new activities.
- The attitude during the consolidation stage towards remaining in the new location was more positive in the SDP group than in the WDP group.

Additionally, communities with a high level of participation by members in savings or credit groups and occupational training activities had a better chance of enhancing the development performance of the relocation project beyond the first two phases and into the consolidation stage. It was also noted that people in relocated communities are typically left to themselves after the completion of the project once tenure has been gained (immediately after the transition stage), with little or no support provided during the consolidation phase.

#### Policy implications

It is recommended that low-income housing programmes dealing with relocation projects should put increased emphasis on issues surrounding the determination and awarding of compensation, so as to more effectively support achieving security of tenure, maintaining and generating livelihoods and ensuring basic social welfare.

Given that housing policies and related actions typically place emphasis on issues at the eviction and transition stages but not necessarily on issues that emerge at the consolidation stage, policy-based recommendations are proposed that build on a number of identified community strengths and seek to overcome a number of programme weaknesses. In order to sustain the development performance, specialised

community activities need to be introduced and supported through a partnership mechanism involving community-based organisations, housing professionals and also the local authority in the project area. The findings on active participation in specialised activities such as women's groups, youth groups and vocational training lead to the recommendation that housing professionals and local authorities should shift their attention from relocation to community development when a project progresses from the transition stage to the consolidation stage. For the long-term sustainability of projects, there is a need for community development workers to place more emphasis on fostering community activities that will support community empowerment and a sense of togetherness and belonging within the relocated communities during the consolidation stage.

The wider policy implications of these findings are that relocation projects should not be formulated only with the objective of giving security of tenure and social welfare, and should not end when beneficiary families are physically relocated in a new place with secure tenure. Support needs to be continued with a new set of objectives targeting social welfare and community development that takes a time-frame well into the consolidation phase until the beneficiaries are firmly integrated within their surrounding context and the next generation takes over the community leadership. Without such interventions, it is foreseen that development performance will be adversely affected as most of the original beneficiaries will move out of the project, weakening the community fabric as new households move in who lack the original residents' commitment and attachment to the community.

## References

- ADB (ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK) (1998), *Resettlement Policy and Practice in Southeast Asia and the Pacific*, Proceedings of Workshops, Manila and Port Vila, Asian Development Bank.
- ADB (ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK) (2000), *Handbook on Resettlement: A Guideline to Good Practice*, Manila, Asian Development Bank.
- AMA (AMERICAN MARKETING ASSOCIATION) (2000), *Performance Structure Measurement: Conjoint Analysis and Related Techniques – A Guide for Designing and Interpreting Conjoint Analysis*, second edition, New York, American Marketing Association.
- BIJL, J., JANSSEN, E., MEIJER, M. and WILLEMSSEN, E. (1992), *Slum Eviction and Relocation in Bangkok: A Study Concerning the Eviction and Relocation of Slums, Resulting in Recommendations for Improvement of Slum Resettlement*, Delft, Delft University of Technology.
- BMA (BANGKOK METROPOLITAN ADMINISTRATION) (2001), *Bangkok State of Environment 2001*, Bangkok, BMA.
- BMA (BANGKOK METROPOLITAN ADMINISTRATION) (2003), 'Progress report on city planning of Bangkok Project – 2nd revision' (in Thai), Bangkok, BMA.
- BOONYABANCHA, S. (1993), 'Urban relocation in Bangkok; with a case study on Ruamjai Samakki resettlement project', *Urban Relocation Policy and Practice*, Proceedings of an Expert

- Meeting on Urban Relocation, Rotterdam, Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies (IHS), 69–78.
- CERNEA, M. M. (1988), *Involuntary Resettlement in Development Projects: Policy Guidelines in World Bank-Financed Projects*, Washington, DC, World Bank.
- CHOGUILL, C. L. (1987), *New Communities for Urban Squatters: Lessons from the Plan That Failed in Dhaka, Bangladesh*, New York, Plenum Press.
- DAVIDSON, F., ZAAIJER, M., PELTENBURG, M. and RODELL, M. (1993), *Relocation and Resettlement Manual: A Guide to Managing and Planning Relocation*, Rotterdam, Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies.
- DESAI, V. (1995), *Community Participation and Slum Housing: A Study of Bombay*, New Delhi, Sage.
- DE WIT, J. (1985), *Slum Dwellers, Slum Leaders and the Government Apparatus Relations between Actors in Slum Upgrading in Madras* (Urban Research Working Papers No. 8), Amsterdam, Amsterdam Free University.
- GILBERT, A. (2002), 'On the mystery of capital and the myths of Hernando de Soto – what difference does legal title make?', *International Development Planning Review*, **24**, 1–19.
- HSF (HUMAN SETTLEMENTS FOUNDATION) (1998), 'Swept under the carpet of affluence: evictions in Bangkok' in K. Fernandes (ed.), *Forced Evictions and Housing Right Abuses in Asia – Second Report (1996–1997)*, Karachi, City Press, 145–48.
- KHAN, S. A. (1994), 'Attributes of informal settlements affecting their vulnerability to eviction: a study of Bangkok', *Environment and Urbanization*, **6**, 25–39.
- LOUVIERE, J. J. (1994), 'Conjoint Analysis' in R. P. Bagozzi (ed.), *Advanced Methods of Marketing Research*, Cambridge, MA, Blackwell Business, 223–59.
- MESHACK, M. V. (2004), 'Potential and limitations of stakeholders' participation in community-based projects: the case of Hanna Nassif Road and drains construction and maintenance in Dar es Salaam', *International Development Planning Review*, **26**, 61–82.
- NESDB (NATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT BOARD) and GHB (GOVERNMENT HOUSING BANK) (1995), 'An analysis of slum and squatter settlements in Bangkok', *Housing Situation Report, 1994–1995* (in Thai), Bangkok, NESDB and GHB, 108–15.
- NHA (NATIONAL HOUSING AUTHORITY) (1997), *Slum Settlement Bangkok – A Survey Report* (in Thai), Bangkok, NHA.
- NHA (NATIONAL HOUSING AUTHORITY) (2002), *Housing Development Program for Slum and Urban Poor for National Economic and Social Development Plan IX (2002–2006)* (mimeo in Thai), Bangkok, NHA.
- PACIFIC CONSULTANTS INTERNATIONAL (1997), *The Study on Urban Environmental Improvement Program in Bangkok Metropolitan Area: Sector Plans and Technical Studies* (volume 3), Bangkok, Japan International Cooperation Agency.
- PATEL, S., D'CRUZ, C. and SUNDAR, B. (2002), 'Beyond eviction in a global city: people managed resettlement in Mumbai', *Environment and Urbanization*, **14**, 159–71.
- PHONGPAICHIT, P. and BAKER, C. (1998), *Thailand's Boom and Bust*, Chiangmai, Silkworm Books.
- PORNCHOCKCHAI, S. (1985), *1020 Bangkok Slums – Evidence, Analysis, Critics*, Bangkok, School of Urban Community Research and Action.
- SANANIKOM, D. (2000), 'A study on classification of slum relocation projects in the Greater Bangkok from 1984 to 1995' (unpublished MSc thesis), Bangkok, Asian Institute of Technology.

- SOK, S. (2001), 'Assessment on slum relocation in Cambodia: a case study of Kop Sreou and Boeung Krapeur' (unpublished MSc thesis), Bangkok, Asian Institute of Technology.
- TANKHA, S., BURTON, J. and SCHMANDT, J. (1998), *Relocation and Resettlement in Ceara* (Second Interim Report on Finding to the Secretary of Water Resources), State of Ceara, Austin, USA.
- TURNER, J. F. C. (1967), 'Barriers and channels for housing development in modernizing countries', *Journal of American Institute of Planners*, **33**, 354–63.
- UNCHS-HABITAT (1982), *Survey of Slum and Squatter Settlements*, Dublin, United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat).
- UNCHS-HABITAT (1991), *Evaluation of Relocation Experience*, Nairobi, United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat).
- UN-HABITAT (2001), *Cities in a Globalizing World – Global Report on Human Settlements 2001*, London, Earthscan Publications, United Nations Human Settlements Programme.
- UN-HABITAT (2003), *The Challenge of Slums – Global Report on Human Settlements 2003*, London, Earthscan Publications, United Nations Human Settlements Programme.
- VIRATKAPAN, V. (1999), 'Relocation of "slum" and squatter housing settlements under eviction in the Greater Bangkok area: case studies of three relocation settlements' (unpublished study submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for a PhD), Bangkok, Asian Institute of Technology.
- WETTAOSOT, B. (1994), 'An evaluation of slum relocation to urban fringe areas: a case study of the Onnut Project' (unpublished MSc thesis, in Thai), Bangkok, Chulalongkorn University.

## Acknowledgements

This article has benefited from the help of many people. First, we sincerely thank all the community leaders and members in the relocation projects for kindly contributing their time to help with our fieldwork. Second, we are very grateful to Dr Katie Willis for her valuable comments and suggestions on an earlier draft of this article, and also to the two anonymous referees for their useful comments. Third, we would also like to thank Ms Sandra Robinson for her administrative coordination. Finally, we cordially thank Mr David Villeneuve for kindly helping with the written English of this paper.