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CASE STUDIES OF COLLECTIVE HOUSING IN ASIAN CITIES SERIES • MAY 2021

Sengki was a very old land-rent community of market vendors and day laborers in the historic center of Bangkok. After a fire burned down their wooden houses and invalidated their lease contracts, they formed a cooperative and negotiated to buy a portion of the land they had become squatters on, where they made a new plan and rebuilt their houses. Sengki was Bangkok's sixth example of the "land sharing" strategy being used to avoid eviction and allow the people to stay and improve their housing at the same time it allowed the landowning agency to get some of its land back to develop commercially.

- Project
  - Sengki Housing Cooperative
- Location Charoen Krung Road Soi 78, Yanawa District, Bangkok, Thailand
  - 143 households
  - Finished 1992
- Type

Size

Redevelopment of an old community on a portion of the land they used to rent, under a land sharing agreement between the community cooperative and the semi-public land owner.

# **CONTEXT, PROCESS AND PARTNERS**

### Land sharing in Bangkok:

In the late 1980s, there were about a thousand low-income informal communities in Bangkok, and a quarter of them were under threat of eviction, to make way for various commercial developments and urban infrastructure projects. Development pressure on land in the city was heating up, and conflicts between the housing needs of the poor and the development needs of the city were increasing. The losers in those land conflicts were almost always the poor, who lost their housing, their support systems and their access to nearby jobs with eviction. When poor communities did manage to hold on to their inner-city land, a kind of stalemate ensued: the land owners (whether public or private) couldn't develop their land while squatters stayed, and the squatters couldn't invest in better houses since their tenure was so insecure.

Land sharing is Bangkok's home-grown strategy for resolving these conflicting claims in a compromise solution which allows both the land-owner and the community people to benefit. After a period of negotiation and planning, an agreement is reached to "share" the land, where the settlement is divided into two parts. One part (usually the less commercially viable part) is given, sold or leased to the community people for rebuilding their houses, and the rest is returned to the land-owner to develop. There's no rule about how the land is divided: how much land the people get and how much goes back to the owner is all worked out during the negotiations.

At the core of a land sharing negotiation is the ability to translate the conflicting needs and conflicting demands of owners and occupants into a compromise which takes a concrete "win-win" form and is acceptable to all parties involved - not to any abstract policy or set of regulations. Land sharing is a way of dividing the cream of urban prosperity a little more equitably: the community people may end up with less area than before, and the land-owner may get back less-than-all of the land, but the trade-off is that the poor can stay where they have been living and working, get secure land and decent housing, and keep their community intact. And the land owner saves the time, cost and loss of face of a long eviction litigation and finally gets to develop the land. Even the government benefits - it gets an added stock of secure land and housing to meet the city's urban poor housing needs without having to pay for it.

Land sharing is a long and complicated process, and it doesn't work in every situation. Behind a successful land sharing scheme, there must be a very strong community organization and a skillful intermediary. But there are a growing number of cases where informal communities faced with eviction have successfully bargained to rebuild their community on a portion of the land they already occupy.

By the mid 1980s, five land sharing projects had been implemented in Bangkok, and word about those pioneering projects was spreading fast, and catching the attention of government agencies, housing professionals and low-income communities vulnerable to eviction. The land sharing approach was first introduced in the Rama 4 community, and was later successfully applied in projects in the communities of Manangkasila, Wat Lad Bua Khao, Klong Toey and Sam Yod. This case study describes the city's sixth land sharing project, at the Sengki community.

### The community:

The old Sengki community occupied a 2.5 hectare wedge of Crown Property land, running between the Chao Phraya River and the bustling Charoen Krung Road, in the historic center of Bangkok. The community was first settled in the 1930s, when the area was called *Sai Bua Lane* by the Thais and *Kieng Heng Lee* by the local Chinese. The community takes its name from the sawmill that used to operate at the river end of the community. Hardwood logs from upcountry forests - many of them still harvested with elephants - would be floated in rafts down the river and brought to the Sengki Mill to be sawn up into timber for construction. At that time, wood was still the main building material in Thailand, and the sawmill was a thriving enterprise.

Some of Sengki's first residents were mill workers who rented small parcels of land behind the mill, where they built simple wooden houses and raised their families. At that time, land rent was the most common form of tenure in Bangkok for low-income workers, who could always find a bit of land to lease inexpensively, and then build their own house on it. The Sengki residents paid a monthly land rent of 2-3 baht per square *wah* to the Crown Property Bureau (which works out to about about US\$1 per month for a house plot). As the city grew, more families joined the community behind the Sengki sawmill. The houses were rickety, the basic services were primitive and the low-lying riverside land flooded often, but the neighborhood had ample earning opportunities, and relationships within the community were strong. The people worked together to keep the storm drains clean and organized new year festivals, children's day celebrations and other community events. In 1985, they set up a formal community committee, with the

approval of the Yanawa District Authority, which organized different kinds of community activities. In many ways, Sengki was a typical example of the low-income communities that peppered the center of Bangkok.

On April 16, 1978, a huge fire tore through the Sengki community, burning down the sawmill and 80% of the houses. Under Thai law, land lease contracts cease to be valid after a fire burns down the houses, and the people lose their rental rights. But despite this new uncertainty in their tenure status, the residents were determined to stay and worked together to rebuild their houses, as best they could, without any organized plan. Gradually, as the original families grew in size, and more families moved in, the Sengki community expanded and grew more crowded. While social ties within the community remained strong, conditions in the settlement got worse and worse, since the uncertain land tenure after the fire made people reluctant to invest in making any improvements to their houses or living environment. By the 1980s, there were 216 families living in the community, tightly squeezed inside 132 makeshift wooden houses.

While conditions in the Sengki community continued to deteriorate, skyrocketing land prices and increasing demands for inner-city land were putting more and more development pressure on the land. Eventually, the Crown Property Bureau decided to develop land commercially and issued an eviction notice. The community people tried to organize themselves and work out a solution to the problem that would allow them to stay, but they had no experience and didn't know where to start.

### Initiating the project:

In 1982, another run-down informal community that was right next-door to Sengki succeeded in avoiding an eviction by working out a land sharing compromise with the company that had bought the land they occupied after a fire. The land sharing project at the Wat Lad Bua Kao community had a big impact on the residents of Sengki, who now saw a possible strategy for staying in the same place. After the Sengki community committee began negotiating with the Crown Property Bureau, the bureau requested the National Housing Authority (NHA) to intervene and help find a solution in Sengki. The NHA, through its Center for Housing and Human Settlements Studies (CHHSS), began exploring the possibility of applying the land sharing strategy in the Sengki community. The CHHSS organized a series of workshops with the Sengki residents and representatives from the Crown Property Bureau, to look at how the land could be "shared". The CHHSS proposed the project to the United Nations Center for Human Settlements (UNCHS) as a demonstration project for the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless and it was accepted. With technical assistance from the United Nations Development Project (UNDP), the "demonstration project" at Sengki could be implemented with a little more flexibility than with other projects.

**Community mapping and survey:** On the community side, the Sengki residents selected a committee to coordinate with the other stakeholders and manage the project. And on the support side, the NHA assigned a team to work with the community people in ways that would allow Sengki's residents to participate fully in the redevelopment of their community. In 1986, the community committee, the NHA team and representatives from the Yanawa District Authority worked together to map and survey of the community, to gather information they would need to plan their new housing. Some of the information from the survey:

- **Population:** 132 houses in the community, with 216 households and 928 people.
- **Family history:** 68% of the people lived in the community before the 1978 fire, 24% came after the fire and 8% moved away after the fire.
- **Tenure status:** 41% of the households were lease holders, 40% were subtenants and second households, 11% were squatters, 6% were owners of rented houses and 2% were under some other kind of tenure.
- Land: The entire Sengki community covered 25,080 square meters of land, which included 11,012 m2 occupied by people's housing, 3,692 m2 by the defunct sawmill and 10,076 m2 rented by a warehouse.
- **Houses:** 63% of the houses were one-storey, 35% were two-storey, 34% had only one room, 34% had two rooms, and 15% had more than four rooms.
- **Infrastructure:** 93% of the houses had their own toilets, 61% had their own metered electricity connections and only 39% had their own metered water connections.

**Deciding who would have the right to house plots in the redeveloped community:** Because there was such a big variety housing conditions and tenure status within the community, a joint committee was set up (with representatives from the community, the NHA and the District Authority) to develop criteria for selecting which families would be entitled to house plots in the new plan. The first agreement was that to get a house in the new scheme, the family should be staying in the community now and should have been living in the community before the fire in 1979. They also took into consideration need, family size, tenure status, length of time the family had stayed in the community and participation in community activities. The community's selection criteria resulted in a list with 143 house plots.

**Registering the housing cooperative:** On December 17,1986, the Sengki Housing Cooperative was officially registered with the government's Cooperative Promotion Department. The cooperative would from then on become the legal body which represented its members in all legal transactions and collected members' monthly land payments for the Crown Property Bureau.

**Deciding how the land would be shared:** Finally, after negotiations with the Crown Property Bureau, the land sharing agreement divided the land that had been occupied by people's housing into three parts:

- 24% of land: The valuable commercial frontage along the Charoen Krung Road (2,600 square meters) would be returned to the Crown Property Bureau to develop commercially.
- 21% of land: The land behind the sawmill along the Chao Phraya River (2,380 square meters) would also be returned to the Crown Property Bureau for commercial development.
- **55% of the land:** The less commercially viable land in the middle (6,032 square meters) would be sold to the community to redevelop their housing on.

**Purchasing the land:** Once the survey and preliminary land sharing plan was complete, representatives from the Crown Property Bureau, the NHA, the Sengki Community and the Yanawa District Authority met to discuss the next step - the land purchase. In May 1987, the Crown Property Bureau agreed to sell the 6,032 sq. meters of land to the Sengki Housing Cooperative for a very low price of 4,427,000 baht (US\$ 147,567), which worked out to about 734 baht (US\$ 24) per square meter - a rate that was about a third of the prevailing market value of the land at that time. To make the deal even sweeter, the Crown Property Bureau donated the land for building a six meter wide main road through the center of the community.

**Plot layout, cost and allocation:** The division of the site into house plots was constrained a bit by the peculiar shape of the site and the physical conditions of the land. The community decided that the land prices member families would pay for their plots would differ slightly, according to the advantages or disadvantages of different parts of the site, and would offer people different options for location, plot size and affordability. To streamline both the pricing and the plot selection, they divided the site into four price zones:

- Zone A: 35 plots (3.79m x 12m) cost 850 1,000 baht (US\$ 28 33) per square meter
- Zone B: 26 plots (3.75m x 11.5m) cost 725 850 baht (US\$ 24 28) per square meter
- Zone C: 30 plots (3.75m x 11.25m) cost 625 700 baht (US\$ 21 23) per square meter
- Zone D: 52 smaller plots (3.5m x 6m) cost 625 baht (US\$ 21) per square meter

After the community reached consensus on plot layout and prices, a system for people to select their plots was worked out. A household's former location was one consideration in determining the family's new location, as well as family and friends groups, and the commercial potential of shop frontage.

### Support groups and partners in the project:

- **Members of the Sengki Housing Cooperative:** People's participation was the most important element in the implementation of the project. The residents were the main actors and decision-makers at every stage of the project. Before any formal organizations were established, community committees were set up at each stage of implementation to manage various aspects of the project, such as determining membership rights, selecting plots and setting prices for different plots. There were also committees to represent the interests of various sub-groups within the community. All these activities enabled lots of new and potential leaders to get valuable coordinating experience. Later, when the cooperative was established, a cooperative committee was elected to work on behalf of the members, act as their legal representative, develop procedures and manage the implementation of all community projects.
- The Crown Property Bureau (CPB) is the agency tasked with managing the enormous portfolio of semi-public land formerly belonging to the Thai monarchy. The CPB is a landlord for many low-income communities in Bangkok, and despite its focus on profiting from commercial development of its properties, the bureau has been a progressive supporter of many innovative projects to upgrade the housing of low-income communities on CPB land. CPB took active part in facilitating the Sengki land sharing project and enabling the residents to stay on the site and develop decent housing at an affordable cost even though some estimate that the bureau lost development opportunities worth 8 million baht (US\$ 270,000) on the site.
- The National Housing Authority (NHA): Two units from the NHA were involved in the project: the Center for Housing and Human Settlements Studies (CHHSS) and the Community Development Department (CDD). The CHHSS helped develop alternatives for solving problems at various stages of the process, provided training, helped calculate expenditures and allocate plots, and acted as an

intermediary between the residents and the land owner and other organizations. The CDD helped with the coordinating work and managed the construction of infrastructure in the project.

- **The Yanawa District Authority** supported the project from the beginning, with negotiations, permissions and legal issues.
- **The Department of Cooperative Promotion** assisted the Sengki Housing Cooperative with cooperative regulations and auditing procedures.
- United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS) assisted the project and promoted it as a demonstration project for the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless. UNCHS also disseminated information about the project throughout the world.
- United Nations Development Program (UNDP) supported the project implementation with some resources and expertise.
- **Netherlands Habitat Committee** provided a grant (through NHA) to establish a guarantee fund to support community-driven housing projects in creative ways. Sengki was the first beneficiary of the fund, which enabled the cooperative to get a commercial bank loan to buy the land.

# LEGAL FRAMEWORK OF THE PROJECT

## Land tenure:

Before the land sharing project at Sengki, the community members were staying on land belonging to the Crown Property Bureau, under unclear and insecure tenure conditions. Some families had been legal land tenants for decades, but after a fire destroyed their houses in 1978, their lease contracts had become void, even though they continued to stay, and were later joined by more squatters.

As part of the land sharing process, the community registered itself as the Sengki Housing Cooperative, which then purchased a portion of the land they had been living on from the Crown Property Bureau. When the land payments to the Crown Property Bureau were completed, the ownership of the land was passed to the Sengki Housing Cooperative. The original plan was that once the land was paid off, the cooperative would transfer ownership of the individual plots to the occupants, and the cooperative would be dissolved. But after going through the difficult process of securing the land and rebuilding their community together, the people decided to keep the structure of their cooperative in place. Members of the Sengki Housing Cooperative now own their own houses and plots. If someone wants to sell, they can do so, but the houses are only sold back to the cooperative, which then sells to a member's family or friend.

# **PROJECT FINANCING**

# Project costs and who paid for what?

### Land:

The 6,032 sq. meters of land was purchased by the Sengki Housing Cooperative for 4,427,000 baht (US\$ 147,567), which worked out to about 734 baht (US\$ 24) per square meter - a rate that was about a third of the prevailing market value of the land at that time.

- The cooperative paid 20% of the purchase amount 885,400 baht (US\$ 29,513) as a down payment, and the remaining 80% (plus 9.75% interest) was to be paid to the Crown Property Bureau in 60 monthly instalments of 74,813 baht (US\$ 2,495).
- In 1988, the Netherlands Habitat Committee granted a sum of 3,020,362 baht (US\$ 100,680) to the NHA to set up a revolving guarantee fund to support housing projects of low-income communities in creative ways. The Sengki Housing Cooperative was the first community to benefit from the new fund, and used it as guarantee to get a 2,830,000 baht (US\$ 94,335) loan, from the Bangkok Bank (with an interest rate of 7.75%) to complete the land purchase from the Crown Property Bureau and get the land title. During the five years it took to repay the Bangkok Bank land loan, the 143 cooperative members made monthly payments of between 295 baht (US\$ 10) and 850 baht (US\$ 28), depending on the size of the plot and price zone. The cooperative managed all the loan repayments, and the loan was repaid by May 1992.
- The Crown Property Bureau provided additional land for building the main 6-meter road through the center of the community, at no cost to the community.

### Houses:

The families financed the construction of their houses themselves, using savings and whatever other loans and resources they could muster. In many cases, the cooperative helped families to find housing loans. Many families built one of the two house models that were designed with the NHA architects:

- A three-story rowhouse for the big 43 square meter plots cost 430,000 baht (US\$ 14,350) per unit.
- A three story rowhouse for the smaller 21 square meter plots cost 290,000 baht (US\$ 9,700) per unit.

### Infrastructure:

The cost of laying paved roads and drains came to 3,003,000 baht (US\$ 100,100), which was paid for by the Bangkok Municipal Authority (BMA) and the NHA. The BMA built the 6-meter wide main street, with drains, that goes through the center of the community, and the NHA built the smaller 3-meter lanes and drains throughout the community (using its community development budget allocation from the government).

 The Metropolitan Electricity Authority and the Metropolitan Water Works Authority provided electricity and water supply by installing meters or transferring meters from the old dwelling units. The community members paid a total of 592,200 baht (US\$ 19,740) for individual water and electricity connections in their houses. That worked out to about 4,141 baht (US\$ 138) per household.

### **Community center:**

The cost of building the three-story community center came to 1,128,707 baht (US\$ 37,625). 86,250 baht (US\$ 2,875) of this amount was used to buy two house plots (in Zone A) for the community center, and this amount was paid for by contributions from cooperative members. Another sum of 300,000 baht (US\$ 10,000) was financed by a loan from the cooperative's revolving loan fund, and the remaining 1,042,457 (US\$ 34,750) was covered by grants from three organizations (including 100,000 baht from UNDP; 400,000 baht from the Netherlands Habitat Committee; and 200,000 baht from the Member of Parliament for Bangkok).

# **DESIGN AND CONSTRUCTION**

# House design and layout plans:

The total area of the new community was 6,032 square meters (not including the extra land for the central 6meter road, provided by the CPB), of which 6,000 square meters was allocated for the 143 house plots and 32 square meters for internal lanes. The 143 house plots varied in size and shape, but were mostly of two sizes: 91 large plots (of about 43 square meters) and 52 small plots (of about 21 square meters).

The cooperative members agreed to the idea that each family would build the house that best meets their needs and their resources. But since the rowhouse plots were very small and the community members had no experience with building tall, concrete houses, they worked with the NHA architects to design two house plans which people could opt to build - or to adapt - on their plots. The two house models were designed to provide as much living space as possible on the two different-sized plots - both of which were quite small. The house designs adopted the time-tested shophouse typology, with shared walls and flexible spaces which can be used in different ways, for both earning and dwelling. Some houses fronting on the main road opened shops in the ground floor space, while some inside houses used the ground floor for small home-based industries or for preparing food that would later be sold from vendor carts or in nearby markets.

- **Big 3-storey rowhouse** with a shared roof terrace, which fits on the larger 43 square meter plots (3.75m x 11.5m), has six rooms and costs about 430,000 baht (US\$ 14,350) per unit.
- **Small 3-storey rowhouse** with shared roof terrace, which fits on the smaller 21 square meter plots (3.75m x 6m), has three rooms (one on each floor) and costs about 290,000 baht (US\$ 9,700) per unit.

### **Construction process:**

The process of constructing the new houses in Sengki was tricky, because the new houses had to be built in the same tightly crowded area where the old houses already were. So the demolition of the old houses and the building of the new ones had to be done section by section, to allow people to remain on the site until they were ready to move into their new houses. Some families opted to build their own houses, but a lot of the houses were built collectively, with groups of families purchasing materials together, hiring a local contractor to build the heavy foundation and reinforced concrete frames, and then pitching in to do some of the unskilled labor and finish work themselves, to keep costs down. Construction of the first three sections, which included 37 units on the larger 45 square meter plots (in Zone A), began in early 1991. By the end of 1992, about half the houses - mostly the better-off families with more funds - were finished. The other members of the Sengki Housing Cooperative built their new houses incrementally, as their finances allowed.

By 1998, all but a few of the members had built three-storey concrete-framed rowhouses, and the project looked very much like the many shophouse neighborhoods which surrounded it.

### **Community center:**

The residents all agreed on the need for a community center in the newly rebuilt community, to provide a good space for meetings, community celebrations and other functions like a day-care center, a health clinic, an office for the cooperative and space for vocational training. Because there was no extra space at all in the crowded community, they decided to collectively buy two of the larger house plots in Zone A, and make their generous community center in a 3-story, double-wide shophouse. The cost of building the center was partly supported by grants from UNDP, the Netherlands Habitat Committee and the Member of Parliament for Bangkok. Construction began in July 1990, and the finished community center was inaugurated in August 1991 with a big celebration.

### **Project timeline:**

- 1930: First Sengki residents rent land behind the sawmill and build their houses.
- **1978:** Fire burns down 80% of the houses in the community and the land leases become void.
- 1982: Wat Lad Bua Kao community, next to Sengki, avoids eviction and does land sharing.
- 1984: Sengki community begins negotiations with CPB to stay and redevelop their housing.
- **1985:** CPB asks NHA to help find a solution in the Sengki community.
- **1986:** Residents work with NHA to survey and map the community, start planning. Community registers as Sengki Housing Cooperative.
- **1987:** CPB agrees to sell 0.6 hectares of the land to the cooperative, at a below-market price.
- **1988:** Guarantee fund set up and the cooperative uses it to get bank loan to pay off land.
- 1991: Construction of the first batch of 37 new houses begins.
- 1992: All 143 houses are finished.

# **IMPACTS OF THE PROJECT**

### Impacts:

The land sharing project at Sengki allowed families who had stayed for generations on the land, as insecure renters and squatters, to stay and get secure land tenure, good housing and full infrastructure. While the land sharing agreement left the community members with only half the land they used to occupy, the trade-off was that they could redevelop their houses legally and properly, and the rest of the land could be developed by the Crown Property Bureau. In the process, a community which had become illegal and run-down, was transformed into a fully legal, fully beautiful community. It was a win-win project for everyone.

The Sengki project was also an early example in Bangkok of an innovative new kind of housing development in which the residents fully participated in every aspect of the negotiation, planning, house design, construction and financial management. Sengki was the first low-income community to form a housing cooperative to manage their housing redevelopment, and became an inspiration for the formation of housing cooperatives in hundreds of other poor communities around Bangkok and in cities around Thailand.

For other slum communities facing eviction, the Sengki project become a much-needed example of land sharing as a potential strategy to avoid eviction and redevelop housing without the people being displaced. The project also showed how much could be accomplished when space is created for the community to be the main actor and at the center of the housing development process. When a housing project is driven by a community, it will happen faster, be cheaper, better, more appropriate and more efficient than anything the government or private sector could make - and Sengki offered vivid proof of that.

It so often happens that as a city develops, the poor get evicted and banished to the periphery of the city, in a cycle of impoverishment that pushes them far away from jobs, schools, transport links and opportunities. The Sengki land sharing project showed that urban development can successfully accommodate lowincome urban housing development, and showed that keeping low-income people in the city is good for the poor and good for the city, making for a more inclusive, equitable and healthy form of urban development.

The Sengki project also illustrated dramatically a shift in the role of government in housing development, from being the planner, builder and deliverer of housing to being the supporter and facilitator of a housing development process by people. In this new kind of housing process, the community people are strengthened, and a more efficient housing delivery mechanism is enabled - a mechanism that can easily be scaled up to solve the large-scale housing problems in Thai cities.

### **Problems:**

Moving from a dilapidated informal slum into proper, formal, legal housing is a great step forward, but not always easy. Expenditure on housing is usually very low for those living in an informal slum. But in a formal housing project, the need to make regular land and housing loan repayments may be quite difficult for people who still have irregular and low-paying jobs in the informal sector. That transition requires some serious adjustments to a family's household economy.

The Sengki project happened years before the UCDO or CODI funds were established, at a time when there was still no source of accessible, affordable, collective finance for poor people's housing in Thailand. Although they were able to buy their land at a price that was far below the market price, they still had to make the land payments every month, at the same they were having to finance the cost of building their new houses. Because the new houses were quite expensive, the residents were in need of low-interest loans with a long repayment term that would make the repayments affordable to them. But the lack of sources for such loans back then put many of the Sengki residents into great difficulties.

There were also problems of formal building bylaws and planning standards (which are designed for middleclass people, not the poor) clashing with the reality of lots of people having to make their housing as cheaply as possible on a very small site. The size of the house plots and the width of the internal lanes in Sengki were quite decent, and a great improvement over conditions before the project. But all of them were lower than the local building regulations allow, and the negotiations to get permissions and building permits for construction that was technically *sub-standard*, caused long delays in the building process. The taxation system also added troubles and expense for the members of the Sengki Housing Cooperative, who had to pay heavy taxes on the land purchase, even though it was not for profit but for social housing purposes.

# FOR MORE INFORMATION ABOUT THE PROJECT

This case study was drawn from a historic document describing the Sengki land sharing project that was published shortly after the project was completed, as a special International Year of Shelter for the Homeless demonstration project. Please follow this link to see that report: http://achr.net/upload/downloads/file\_07012020160216.pdf

And please also have a look at this article which describes other early land sharing projects in Bangkok: http://achr.net/upload/downloads/file\_07012020155521.pdf

And for more information about community-driven and collective housing supported by CODI in Thailand, please visit the English part of the CODI website: https://en.codi.or.th/

For more information, please contact:

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# **PHOTOS**



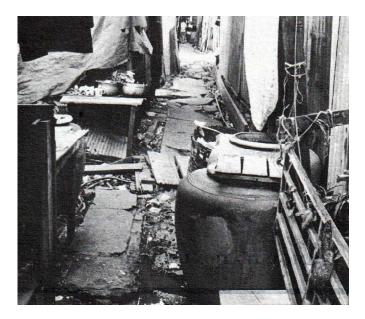
This is a photo of the bustling Charoen Krung Road in the late 1940s, which ran right outside the Sengki community.



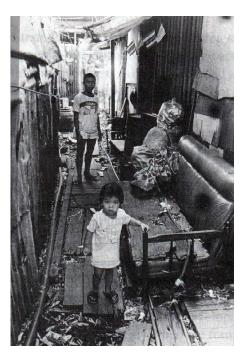


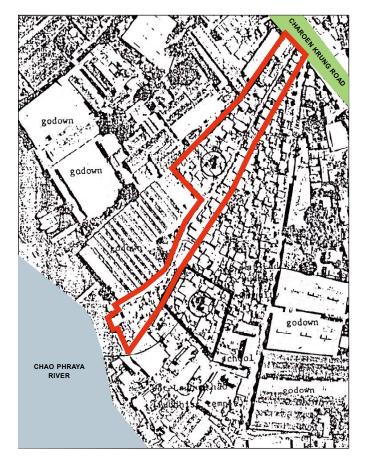


By the 1970s, the crowded old wooden houses of the Sengki community were already being surrounded by expensive new developments.

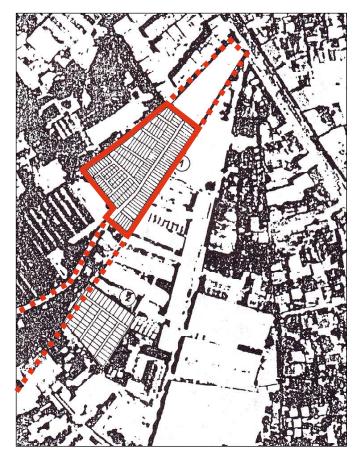


Conditions in the Sengki community just before the land sharing project. Because their tenure was uncertain, the community people gave up making any investments in improvements to their houses or living conditions.

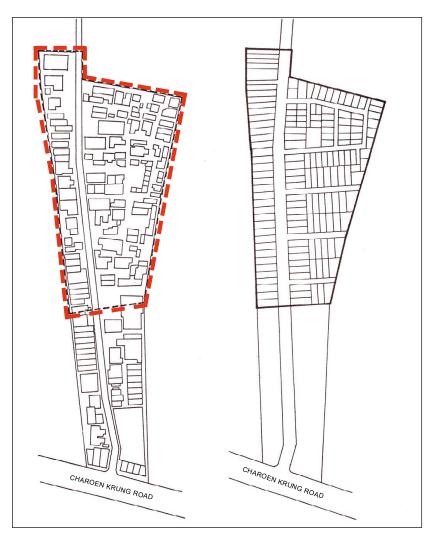




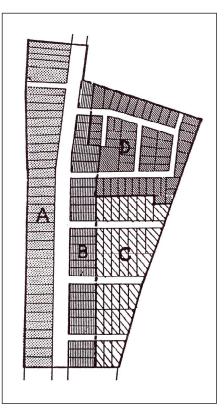
This grainy aerial photo from the 1980s shows the full land occupied by the Sengki community, running from the river to the Charoen Krung Road.

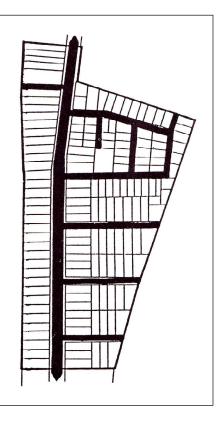


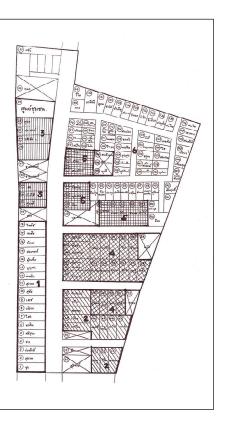
And this equally grainy aerial photo shows the land sharing plan - in the middle - superimposed over the old community land.



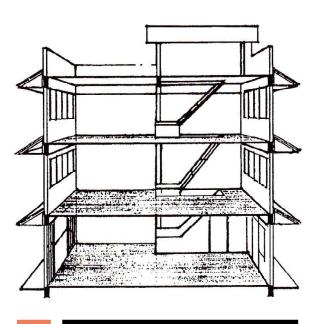
Here is a drawing that shows more clearly how the houses were arranged before the land sharing project (on the left) and after (on the right), when the community members squeezed onto 55% of the land they used to occupy, on the less commercially valuable middle part of the site.





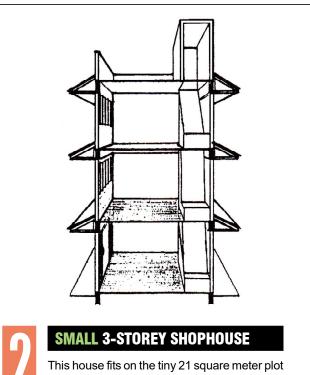


The community decided that plots in different parts of the new community would have slightly different land costs, according to their advantages and disadvantages. This plan shows the four cost zones, with Zone A (along the main street) being the most expensive, and Zone D (tucked inside the smaller lanes) being the cheapest. This plan shows the infrastructure development in the new community, with the city building the 6-meter main road and drains, and the NHA building the smaller inside lanes and drains. This plan shows the allocation of house plots to cooperative members, overlaid by shading which shows the sequence of the first six batches of houses, which were built collectively, in groups.





This house fits on the larger 43 square meter plot (3.75 x 11.5 m), has 129 square meters of living space and costs about US\$ 14,350.



This house fits on the tiny 21 square meter plot (3.75 x 6m), but has 63 square meters of living space and costs about US\$ 9,700.



This sketch was made by the NHA architects to give community members an idea what the 3-story rowhouses in Zone A would look like.





The enthusiastic Sengki Housing Cooperative members giving the thumbs-up to their land sharing plan, just before the construction began.



This somewhat blurry photo was taken in 1991, at the auspicious first column-raising ceremony, which marked the start of the construction of the new houses in Sengki.



In this photo, one of the Sengki community leaders, Thongchai Suansakaew, shakes hands with Max van der Stoel, from the Netherlands Habitat Committee, which provided financing assistance to the project.





The photo above (left) shows someone explaining to members of the Sengki cooperative how the collective system for repaying the land loans works - with a little help from one of Ruengyuth's wonderful cartoons. The photo on the right shows one of many ceremonial transactions in a project where new and unconventional financing arrangements were part of the experiment.



That's the gate into the community, on the busy Charoen Krung Road (above), and a photo of the main road inside the Sengki community (right).







These photos were taken during a visit to Sengki in 1998, when most of the houses were finished. That's the community center (right).





These photos show the houses fronting onto the more narrow inner lanes, and how intensely and harmoniously the shared public space is used.

