News about some of the recent activities of the Urban Poor Development Fund in Cambodia

May 2003



Fifth anniversary of UPDF:

Celebrating five years of active partnership with the city government and with the people:

The Urban Poor Development Fund was set up in March, 1998 as a joint venture of the Municipality of Phnom Penh, the Solidarity and Urban Poor Federation (SUPF) and the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR). The idea was to create a revolving fund which would provide affordable credit to poor communities for housing and income generation, through their savings groups and federations, and use the fund to pool efforts in partnership and development. The fund is governed by a "mixed" board (which includes a majority of community leaders, with representatives from the Municipality, ACHR, NGOs and other development agencies) and managed by a small support staff, with as little bureaucracy and as much flexibility as possible.

UPDF's task is to use its small resources of money *strategically* to make other things happen - it's not just a matter of providing *micro-credit*. Money can be a powerful tool, and if money - and decisions about how money is used - is channeled in ways which bring people in communities together, it can be a potent people's process booster. When poor people see clearly that a fund is available to them, and that it supports what they are doing, it can strengthen their hand in negotiations with the state for land, services and access to other resources, and strengthen their capacity to manage their own development process.

It's hard to imagine a more difficult context than the one in which UPDF operates. Decades of war, political upheaval and unspeakable hardship have torn communities apart in Cambodia, scattered people across the country and obliterated their links with the past. As the country gets back on its feet and money pours into it's capital city's free-wheeling economy, poor migrants from the provinces are drawn to the city for jobs in the new factories, on the construction sites and in the burgeoning service and tourism sectors. For the poor, Phnom Penh is a city of hope and opportunity, but when it comes to finding decent, affordable places to live, most have no option but to build shacks in the city's 550-odd informal settlements, on open land, and along roadsides, railway tracks, canals and rivers, where conditions are unhealthy and insecure.

Cambodia, unlike its neighbors Thailand and Vietnam, still has no formal support systems for the poor: no housing board, no ministry of housing, no legislative mechanisms for regularizing informal settlements, no government programs to provide basic services or to support people's efforts to improve conditions in their settlements. There is no housing finance to any sector - poor or middle class. And the municipality, which has been overburdened with challenges such as flood control, crime and economic development, has had difficulty responding to the needs of the city's growing poor population. On the other hand, Cambodia has been the target of innumerable international agencies and a great deal of development aid, which intervenes in virtually every conceivable sector of the country's development and governance. All this foreign aid and expertise has certainly done many good things for Cambodia, but it has left little space for the urban poor to build their organizations and to explore their own solutions to the problems they face.

Upgrading:

UPDF's anniversary theme is upgrading poor communities where they exist now...

The UPDF has been able to provide housing and income generation loans to only some of the 11,000 families who have been evicted in recent years from their settlements in Phnom Penh. These loans have helped people to rebuild their lives at resettlement sites they purchased themselves or at the big government relocation colonies at the outer edges of the city. Some of these relocation projects involved a high level of community participation, others didn't. The government's commitment to provide alternative land to evicted families has been important, but as Phnom

Penh develops, evictions are increasing, and there is a danger that resettlement becomes the ONLY option. In fact, most of the city's poor settlements are on land which is not needed for urban development or infrastructure projects and these settlements could be very nicely upgraded for a fraction of the cost of resettlement. These communities provide a much-needed stock of housing for the city's workers which neither the poor nor the government can afford to replace. A big investment in housing and services has already gone into these settlements, whose central locations and built-in social support structures are vital to poor people's survival. Upgrading basic services and environmental conditions in these settlements is the cheapest and most practical way of improving the lives of Cambodia's urban poor, while making the city a more beautiful place for everyone to live.



Comprehensive upgrading at Ros Reay: People worked around the clock to dig the trenches and lay the pipes for their new underground serwer and storm drainage system, just part of their upgrading plans.

How to use a fund to mobilize a genuinely people driven development process in Cambodia



SUPF Savings:

People's investment in their individual future and in their collective developement . . .

- Total number of communities with savings groups: 185 communities
- Total savings members : 10,272 members
- Total amount saved (as of 3/2003): 280 million Riels (US\$ 72,000)

Making people the key actors ...

Since 1993, a close network of professionals, NGOs and community federations in India, Thailand and Philippines, which are part of the **Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR)** and **Slum Dwellers International (SDI)**, have been assisting poor communities in Phnom Penh to organize themselves and take control of their own development. These efforts have drawn on wisdom, experiences and borrowed tools from many prominent grassroots-driven processes around the Asia region - tools like community enumeration, settlement mapping, model house exhibitions, collective savings and credit and exposure visits to see community-driven initiatives in other countries. All these activities were new to Cambodia, and applying them here involved a lot of trial and error. Some things caught on, and in 1994, the **Solidarity for the Urban Poor Federation (SUPF)** was established, a city-wide federation of community savings groups.

SUPF and **UPDF** go together . . .

SUPF is today the only large-scale people's organization in Phnom Penh. From the beginning, partnership with SUPF has been one of the central elements in UPDF's work to promote a people-driven development in Cambodia. To break the "hand-out" mentality which has done so much to disempower the country's poor communities, the UPDF has organized all its activities to strengthen and expand SUPF's community savings groups as a strategy for people to organize themselves, strengthen their communities, learn from each other and manage their own development. Strong community savings groups - and a large federation of these savings groups - are the building blocks of a people-driven development process and are vitally connected to housing, and environmental improvement and negotiation. When people in poor communities save together and make collective decisions about money, they acquire the management skills and negotiation capacities they'll need to tackle larger development issues. So boosting savings and credit activities on a large scale in Phnom Penh is a way to boost the basic mechanism by which poor people will begin dealing with their problems collectively, with strength, rather than in weakness and isolation.

UPDF has worked closely with SUFP's various management committees and its seven district *sub-federations* ("Khan units") to bring poor communities within their districts together, pool their own resources and work out their own solutions to problems of land security, housing, toilets, basic services and access to credit for livelihood and housing. In the past eight years, SUPF has:

- Savings groups: helped poor community members (especially women) to set up, manage and expand community-managed savings and credit groups in nearly half of the city's poor communities.
- Surveys: conducted five enumerations and mappings of poor and informal settlements in Phnom Penh.
- Housing: worked with local young professionals to organize projects and design affordable housing types which people can build themselves and which meet their needs and budget constraints.
- Model house exhibitions: held three exhibitions of full-scale house models to present to the city.
- Community-driven relocation: helped informal communities to negotiate, plan and carry out community-driven relocation projects in collaboration with the Municipality, international agencies and NGOs.
- Collaborative projects: collaborated with the Municipality, UNCHS, UPDF, URC, ACHR, SDI on a broad range of workshops, training programs, house-building and environmental improvement projects.
- Exchanges: taken part in dozens of regional exchange visits to community-driven processes in India, Thailand, Philippines, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Pakistan, South Africa and Namibia.

Some grand totals on UPDF creeds (as of 31 March

(as of 31 March, 2003; exchange rate: US\$1 = Riels 3,800)

		Total loans disbursed	Number of households / communities benefitting		Average Ioan	Interest (Annual)	Loan term	Amount repaid
1.	Housing loans	US\$ 346,877	834	(11 communities)	US\$ 416	8%	5 years	US\$ 34,015
2.	Land loans	US\$ 5,388	67	(2 communities)	US\$ 80	8%	5 years	US\$ 4,360
3.	Fish loans	US\$ 212,214	1,526	(61 communities)	US\$ 139	8%	1 year	US\$ 136,339
4.	Income generation loans	US\$ 38,867	976	(62 communities)	US\$ 40	4%	3 years	US\$ 10,796
5.	Bank collapse loans	US\$ 2,023	188	(4 communities)	US\$ 11	_	1 year	US\$ 2,023
6.	Water supply loans	US\$ 494	23	(1 community)	US\$ 21	8%	1.5 years	US\$ 155
7.	Food production loans	US\$ 5,960	113	(2 communities)	US\$ 53	4%	1 year	US\$ 93

Totals: US\$ 611,825 3,727 (145 communities)

US\$ 187,782



It doesn't have to be an awful lot of money:

So far, the UPDF's capital is only about US\$ 450,000, which is very small peanuts compared to the scale of multilateral and bilateral aid being poured into Cambodia's development. But every penny of that goes straight into the communities, where its very small loans and grants have greased the wheels of negotiation, spurred on collaborations, drawn out resourcefulness and created options for poor people where none existed before.

6 principals of the UPDF approach and how they work in practice:

The principal of mutual benefit: If a solution to problems of urban land tenure for the poor works for one group, but causes trouble for another, it won't be sustainable. Only solutions which benefit all the stakeholders are likely to be repeated. In the community-driven relocations for which UPDF has provided housing loans, the municipality has benefited by getting back land it needs for drainage construction or urban infrastructure projects, while the poor families displaced to make way for those projects have benefited by getting alternative land which meets their need to be close to jobs, schools and support structures.

The principal of collaboration: The problems of urban land and housing for the poor are too big and too complex for any group to solve alone. The housing solutions which UPDF (itself a formal collaboration of the Municipality, SUPF, ACHR, SDI and NGOs) has supported have all involved collaboration between many key groups: SUPF's district units have worked closely with communities to help them to organize themselves, save, explore options and negotiate for resources. The municipality has provided land for resettlement and office space for UPDF, while district and ward officials have worked closely with the federation's khan units and helped people's search for alternative land. Young architects at the Urban Resource Center and UPDF have helped communities to design affordable house-types and layout plans, while the UNCHS Project has provided technical assistance and grants for infrastructure development at some of the relocation sites.

The principal of flexibility: For Phnom Penh's urban poor, the situation in the city is changing constantly. To take advantage of the opportunities in all this flux, the UPDF works to develop tools and mechanisms to assist the poor which are light, flexible and easily changed to respond to changing needs. None of the loan and grant programs UPDF has initiated have arisen from any pre-planned project or been imposed by any outside agenda, but have been driven by needs articulated by the poor community organizations in Phnom Penh. All these loans and grants have responded to real situations of urgent need, exactly when they arose, such as unexpected evictions or fires (requiring urgent housing or income-generation loans), sudden availability of affordable land (requiring land-purchase loan assistance), seasonal income earning opportunities (like the Prahok loans) or lack of basic services (requiring infrastructure and upgrading assistance).

The principal of reaching the poorest: For solutions to poverty and tenure security problems to be sustained in the long term, they have to work for the poorest, most vulnerable community members. Poor communities and their organizations are far better judges of who really needs what kind of assistance than any professionals or outside agencies. In all the activities UPDF supports, the communities are the key actors, and those activities are designed in ways which strengthen their capacity to identify their own most urgent problems, develop their own solutions to those problems through mutual learning and networking, and negotiate with other stakeholders in the city to make those solutions part of the city's development.

The principal of not going away: Change takes time and almost never happens according to the short-term schedules of conventional development projects, which have to wind up neatly in three or five year packages. The UPDF is not a "project" but a long-term resource which will continue to be available for poor communities, to help them do whatever they need to do, even if it takes a long time. Supporting the learning, experimenting, sharing and network-building which help scale up community-driven solutions in Phnom Penh is also part of UPDF's commitment to help build a genuinely people-driven development in Cambodia.

The principal of involvement in city planning: The UPDF is not a bank that lends to the poor, but a mechanism which uses a very limited resources to help connect the process of making secure housing and healthy communities with the larger process of planning the city. The fund provides poor people's organizations with an important tool as they negotiate for a more decentralized, community-driven style of development, which makes housing and human settlements the *root* of planning in their city, in their districts, in their wards and in their individual communities.

ways to use a community development fund to build a people-driven development process in Phnom Penh:

If it is used judiciously, a community fund like UPDF can be a flexible but powerful form of intervention, and can help build a strong community process, even in a situation like Cambodia's, where so much has been broken, and where there is a chronic shortage of indigenous professionals, social workers or intermediaries to help support and balance such a process.

If the politics and the delicate relationships in the Cambodian urban context are understood correctly, the fund can be used strategically, in ways which allow the city's poor people to move in the right direction, better. How?

It is possible to set conditions for using the fund which make people come work together, which make them learn to make collective decisions and which make them learn to make compromises together. And depending on how these conditions are set, you can encourage this working together to happen in individual communities, or in groups of communities within a ward or a district, or across the whole city.

In the following pages, we'll take a look at some of the milestones in the UPDF's evolution and see what kind of ideas have been behind the fund's experiments in Phnom Penh.





Using the fund to promote a community-driven housing model in Cambodian cities







UPDF housing loans:

- Total housing loans disbursed : Riels 1,318 million (US\$ 346,877)
- Number of beneficiaries :
 834 families in 11 communities
- Average Loan size : Riels 1.58 million (US\$ 416)
- Interest rate: 8% annually
- Loan term : 5 years
- Amount repaid to date:
 Riels 129 million (US\$ 34,015)
- Housing loans are not made to individuals, only to communities, which are responsible for collecting individual loan repayments, dealing with defaults and bringing the monthly bulk loan repayment to UPDF.

Akphivat Mean Cheay:

First housing loan turns an eviction crisis into a city-wide learning opportunity...

The UPDF came into existence in response to an urgent need for housing finance when 129 families in the roadside settlement at Toul Svay Prey found themselves threatened with eviction, to make way for a municipal drainage project. Through their community saving scheme, the people organized themselves and negotiated their own planned, voluntary resettlement to new land at Akphivat Mean Cheay. The community's efforts were helped by some exposure trips to India (where they saw how other poor communities had negotiated alternatives to eviction) and by the enthusiastic District Chief of Khan Chamkar Mon.

The Akphivat Mean Cheay relocation project was training for everyone involved, and was the city's first chance to see how effectively poor communities can plan and undertake a voluntary resettlement process which works for everyone. The project was officially inaugurated by the Prime Minister on April 20, 2000 and made a strategic first case for the UPDF because of the collaboration it involved.

- The Community searched for alternative land and chose the Mean Cheay site from nine options.
- **The Municipality** purchased the land for the people, using funds from the drainage project budget, and will grant each family individual land title when they have repaid their UPDF loans.
- The URC's young architects helped the people draft the layout plan for the new community, which included 54 square meter plots for all the families, a community center and several water points.
- The UNCHS provided land-filling and basic infrastructure through a system of community contracts, in which local community people (instead of outside contractors) were paid to construct roads, storm drains, pit latrines, water pumps, plant trees and pave the lanes.
- The District Chief of Khan Chamkar Mon helped negotiate the whole process.
- The UPDF provided housing loans of US\$ 400 to each of the 129 families
- The People built their own houses, most according to the "core house" model (with loft) they had developed with young architects from the URC and which was affordable to most families.
- SUPF turned each step of the process into training and inspiration for communities around the city, through a constant stream of exchange visits.
- The Women's Savings Group collects loan repayments daily, weekly or monthly, depending on people's earning, with 20% of the repayment going into mandatory saving, as a pad against any repayment problems. Repayments for the whole community are made once a month to UPDF.

The availability of housing loans was one of the key factors in persuading the municipality to give land and the UNCHS to provide infrastructure. With such housing loans available, there was no reason all these collaborative elements couldn't come together again in more projects. To borrow architect's language, with these first housing loans, the function determined the form of what UPDF was about. From day one, everyone agreed the UPDF would work only if the people felt the fund was their resource, and only if they were involved in it fully. So when UPDF was officially set up, SUPF's \$3,000 contribution made them the first share-holders in the fund, and SUPF representatives continue to sit on the UPDF board.



A first for Phnom Penh: The Akphivat Mean Cheay resettlement project was the city's first demonstration of how effective it can be when cities and the poor work together to find solutions to the conflicting needs of urban development and affordable housing. The project allowed the city to proceed with it's drainage project at the same time it provided a secure, healthy and well-located community for people that project had displaced.

4 more cases: UPDF loans for housing:



Housing loans to: 123 families evicted to the old government resettlement colony at Toul Sambo



The Municipality was quick to see the collaborative housing process at Akphivat Mean Cheay as being a convenient supplement to it's own development plans for the city of Phnom Penh. In December 1999, a second batch of loans was made to families being relocated to Toul Sambo, a government resettlement colony 24 kilometers outside the city. Toul Sambo was nobody's idea of a glorious second case for UPDF, being so far from the city and so short on community participation. Nobody was keen to move there, but when federation members from several inner-city communities were evicted, they had little choice but to take up the city's offer of free resettlement plots out there at Toul Sambo, where living conditions were pretty bad. UPDF responded to their need with several rounds of small housing loans.

In the first stage, 37 families took small loans of between \$200 and \$400 to build houses, at 8% interest over a 5-year repayment period. Eventually, 123 families at Toul Sambo, evicted from seven communities around the city, took housing loans from UPDF. Most families began repaying their loans in the end of November 2000, in small, daily installments of 1,000 Riels (about US\$ 25 cents), according to systems set up and managed by their savings groups in the community.



Housing loans to: 111 roadside squatters who relocated to land they chose at Kok Khleang (1)



Toek La'ok 14 was a community of 111 poor families who'd been living on the roadside along three sides of the National Pediatric Hospital since the 1980s. There were complaints that the community created unsanitary conditions around the hospital and interfered with the drainage system, and in 1997, the Municipality posted eviction notices. Within a year, this tightly-organized community had begun a long process of negotiation with the hospital, district authorities and the Municipality, which led to another collaborative resettlement agreement, similar to the Akphivat Mean Cheay.

As part of the agreement, the Municipality and the hospital's donor (World Vision) agreed to share the cost of buying alternative land, which would be chosen by the people and developed by UNCHS. The community members would build their own houses using loans from the UPDF, young architects at the URC would assist in the developing affordable house designs and community layout plans, and SUPF would assist in negotiations and open the process as learning for other settlements. The land the people chose for resettlement is at Kok Khleang (1), six kilometers from their old community and close to a bustling market in the airport suburb of Pochentong. The community haggled the landowner down to a selling price of \$4.54 per s.m., which brought the land cost to US\$ 35,000, of which the Municipality paid \$10,000 and World Vision paid \$25,000. Each family has 42.5 square meter plots, and there is space for a community center and playground. The land sale agreement was signed in June 1999, and by August 2000, the new land had been filled, four wells had been dug, and toilets, roads, drains had been built. By November 2000, all 111 families had moved in.



Housing loans to: 165 families evicted from Basaac and resettled at the Prey Tituy colony



Nearly 3,000 families lived in the swampy, sprawling river-front community of Basaac, the city's largest informal settlement. For many years, SUPF has been active in the area, with savings and credit, surveys, toilet-building, house and bridge-building. A lot of energy has gone into exploring onsite redevelopment options for Basaac, including land-sharing, reblocking and upgrading. These ideas have been presented to the local and national governments, but unfortunately the city's master plan for developing Basaac left no room for negotiation or housing for the poor. While the city remained firm in its resolve to evict all of Basaac's residents, it has taken steps to provide alternative land for resettling all those people. At the Akphivat Mean Cheay inauguration in April 2000, the Prime Minister pledged US\$ 200,000 for purchasing such land, and a month later, the Municipality (with some community involvement) identified and purchased a 12.5 hectare site at Prey Tituy, about 15 kilometers from the city. By September 2000, the land had been subdivided into 469 plots (120 square meters each) which were assigned by lottery to families from two Basaac settlements. As part of the relocation deal, the UNCHS provided pit-latrines, roads and drainage (by community contract) and 165 families took UPDF loans to help build new houses.



Housing loans to: 120 families evicted afer a fire destroyed their rooftop community at Block Tan Paa



Over 1,500 people in 278 households living in the Block Tan Paa rooftop community were made homeless when a fire engulfed their homes in March 2002. Besides losing their houses and all their belongings, the people found themselves camping out on the street down below, forbidden by the Municipality to return to their rooftop and facing the prospect of being dumped in one of the government's more remote resettlement colonies 25 kms from the city. But this strong and highly organized community decided to reject the city's resettlement offer and searched themselves for land which was closer to sources of employment. After a big struggle, they persuaded the Municipality to purchase the land they identified at Kraing Angkrang 2, close to Pochentong Market, for which they had bargained the land-owner down to a rock-bottom selling price of \$2.80 per s.m. Because only minimal UNCHS support was available for infrastructure at the new site, the community worked with friends from the Orangi Pilot Project in Pakistan to design a "cluster" layout plan with 300 plots which will allow them to gradually construct their own low-cost underground sewage system. To save the high cost of filling the land, a small flood-control dike was built around the perimeter of the site, using earth taken from what will eventually become an oxidation pond for treating sewage. A first group of 110 families will take small UPDF loans to construct new houses.



Using the fund to break the isolation of individual communities through collective projects

Fish loans in Roessei Keo District:

- Total fish loans disbursed : Riels 806 million (US\$ 212,214)
- Number of beneficiaries :
 1,526 families in 61 communities
- Average Loan size : Riels 529,000 (US\$ 139)
- Interest rate: 8% annually
- Loan term: 1 year
- Amount repaid : Riels 518 million (US\$ 136,339)



Riverside realities : It was a cold and windy day in December 1999, when the riverside communities in Roessei Keo District gathered to celebrate the disbursement of the first round of loans for making prahok. As part of the celebrations, honored quests were taken out in fishing boats onto the rough waters of the Tonle Sap River, where they had a good view of some of the riverside communities under threat of eviction for "beautifying the city."





Khmers really know their prahok: During the months of December through February, the direction of the Tonle Sap River reverses and carries with it schools of tiny silver "riel" fish from the Tonle Sap Lake in northern Cambodia. For centuries, this has been the season when communities along the river buy basket-fulls of these fish from fishermen to preserve in brine in giant clay crocks beneath their stilted wooden houses.

Prahok making loans:

First income generation loans knit strong links between riverside communities...

The UPDF's third loan took a detour from house-building into the pungent realm of fermented fish. Through SUPF's active women's group in Roessei Keo District, 356 families in 19 riverside communities took loans in December 1999 to purchase the silver *riel* fish, earthen crocks, salt and sundry equipment necessary to make *prahok*, the popular Khmer-style fermented fish. In six or eight months, the fully ripe *prahok* comes out of the crocks and goes to market. The loans were scheduled to match this cycle: during the fermentation, families paid only the interest, and only once the *prahok* had been sold did they repay their loans in full. The 1999 - 2000 *prahok* loans were such a success (100% repayment!) that proposals for second and third rounds of *prahok*-making loans were approved and disbursed in subsequent seasons.

When the idea first came to UPDF, everybody saw in it an attractive loan proposition: the objective was clear, the simple procedures for making *prahok* were all well-known, the market was assured, the loan term was short and returns on the investment were guaranteed. But instead of simply issuing income generation loans to individual families, the UPDF proposed a district-wide process in which the women set up a special committee to survey all the families involved in the *prahok* business. In this way, *prahok* became a tool for linking communities in the district and strengthening the community process. The District Chief, who had joined SUPF leaders on exposure visits to Thailand and India, was supportive of the process and sat on the committee. Now every year, when the district gathers all the prahok-making projects into a joint loan proposal, the bottom line is always very high - \$50,000 or \$60,000 · since so many people are vying for this opportunity. And every year, the UPDF plays tough and imposes ceilings that are well below the amount being proposed - \$20,000 or 30,000. And every year it's very painful for committee members who have worked so hard and have had so many meetings! The compromises, the prioritizing and balancing that then happens works as a very potent community-process builder.

The importance of setting loan ceilings:

If you don't have ceilings, which place a limit on how much can be borrowed, people will start looking at UPDF loans as an entitlement - a thing they have a right to - and grab as much as they can, instead of seeing UPDF as a communal (but limited) resource which belongs to everyone and has to be shared. Lowish ceilings force people to talk with each other, to set priorities, to compromise, to negotiate who to pick, who to reject and how much to give. All this work is a potent com-

munity-process strengthener, and brings out all kinds of creativity in the process. Loan ceilings have been one of the key elements in UPDF's strategy for building a people's process in Cambodia. The same technique is applied with housing loans to individuals and groups. In each housing case so far, people have started off asking for very big loans of \$1,000, which they'd have a hard time repaying. The UPDF board pushed these proposals down too, with ceilings of \$400 (later \$500) per family. This ceiling makes people think a lot harder how to economize, recycle, find other resources and use this \$400 to construct the best house they can.



Using the fund to help decentralize the federation process and boost the district federation units



Checks and balances:

There are always problems in people's processes when leaders start getting dictatorial or somebody grabs the power or the money. In order to help the loan system to balance these problems, two conditions were added. First, the loans are made in two installments, and the khan unit can only get the second installment after making a full, public report on the performance of the first batch of loans. Second, the khan unit has to present its loan application to their district's Community Development Management Council (CDMC), as another horizontal check mechanism and another layer of social control.

Loans to districts for income generation:

The need for credit by small entrepreneurs in Phnom Penh is enormous, and after the implementation of the prahok loans, SUPF members in other districts were clamoring for their share of the UPDF kitty. The big question was how to open up the fund for income generation loans in a way that would allow large numbers of people to benefit, but would also create a new system in which communities work as a group, rather than in isolation. The experiment began in May 2000: each of the federation's seven district units were invited to propose income-generation loans up to a ceiling of \$ 5,000 per district. Loans would be issued to each district's federation "Khan Unit" to help establish a revolving fund, from which savings groups could borrow, to on-lend to their members in short-term income generation loans.

Each khan unit had to open a joint bank account to receive these loans, in which some of the each group's communal savings would be kept - it was up to them to decide how much stays in the communities and how much goes into the district account. This way, when people took loans from this district revolving fund, they'd partly be borrowing from their own communal savings, and partly from the UPDF capital. Needless to say, this was not an easy process! People who barely trusted the other in their own communities were now being asked to trust all the other communities in their district!

The power of a little outside money can really help get things going, even if it's not very much money. When people know an outside resource like this is available to them, it works as an incentive to pull them together to work as a group. And because they are the ones setting the systems and making the decisions - not professionals or bankers - they're free to do it in ways that fit their needs and suit their realities.

It took three months of hard work and three big public workshops to get these district loan funds off the ground. Each district made its own survey, gathered all the loan requests together and presented its proposal to the UPDF in public meetings, with all the other districts sitting there. Each district set its own systems for managing the loan and repayment process, interest rates and loan terms, and deciding how the members, savings groups and the district would interact. Khan Don Penh, for example, charges borrowers 12% annual interest, which includes 4% which goes back to UPDF, 4% to subsidize the khan's administrative costs, 2% to the community's savings fund, and 2% stays in the district fund for emergencies.



Using the fund to build a community in difficult circumstances where no community exists yet

Food production loans:

UPDF's most recent loans are a response to the urgent needs of hundreds of families who have lost their houses, belongings, jobs and support systems in a series of catastrophic fires which destroyed their inner-city settlements recently and triggered large-scale evictions of informal communities. Most had no choice but to accept the government's offer of unserviced plots in large relocation colonies outside the city, where they are now struggling to survive in bad conditions.

People urgently need to produce food to feed themselves and to sell for income, and both SUPF and UPDF have been looking for ways to help. A set of food-production projects were quickly gathered, budgeted and submitted to the UPDF board. These projects included a wide variety of pig and chicken raising, vegetable gardening and fish farming, all involving different amounts of money and

different loan terms, and added up to a hefty \$30,000. Here were the same problems with individual loans as with the earlier income generation loans, in which loans will become something people feel they have a right to, rather than something which comes from a very limited resource which belongs to them, but has to be shared.

So instead of making individual loans, which would be impossible for UPDF to manage, it was decided to make bulk loans as a revolving fund to the communities, and then let them hold meetings, carry out surveys and go into all the complications of setting up their own collective system for giving and managing small loans for food production projects. A loan ceiling of \$3,000 per community was proposed to start, with very flexible repayment conditions which give the communities room to develop their systems and to use this loan as their own revolving fund. The ceiling is very small, given the scale of



need in these resettlement colonies, but it is a start. Besides boosting food production and incomes, this loan mechanism uses a common need as a mechanism to get people to know each other, work together and start developing their own self-support systems. In this process, people are building up a community out there, in very difficult circumstances, where scattered people from around the city have been dumped, and where no real community yet exists.



Using the fund to seed other partnerships and leverage resources from other places

Environmental improvement grants:

UPDF's environment-improvement grants were another pitch to boost the federation process. First each khan unit carried out a survey of environmental problems in settlements in their district, then helped the communities work up simple project plans for constructing toilets, pumps, wells, sewers, walkways, water supply, up to a ceiling of \$700 per project. When all seven districts presented their projects in the meeting, it added up to tens of thousands of dollars! So as with the income generation loans, the UPDF imposed a ceiling of \$10,000 for the whole city. This forced the districts to go back, adjust their plans, economize, negotiate with other districts and work together as a whole city federation to prioritize the projects into three categories: "most urgent", "less urgent" and "can do later." This was big learning for everybody.

Work began with the "most urgent" projects first, the money was released. The people did all the work themselves, contributing their own labor, materials and cash. Within six weeks, the first 22 projects were completed. These communities had demonstrated that people *can* improve their own communities better, cheaper, faster and more appropriately than the formal system when they are given the opportunity to manage the process themselves. The hands-on experience from this first round of environmental improvement projects gave people the confidence to seek other sources of funding to support their next round of projects. So with a stack of the "less urgent" project proposals, they marched over to the UNCHS project, which was specifically set up to support community-driven infrastructure improvement, and after several meetings persuaded them to grant \$40,000 for the next set of projects.

UPDF environmental improvement grants:

- Total grants disbursed : Riels 46 million (US\$ 11,975)
- Total beneficiaries (phase 1 only):
 1,560 households in 20 communities
- Average project cost :
 Riels 2.3 million (US\$ 600)
- Types of projects: toilets, water pumps, sewers, wells, storm drains, walkways, water supply systems.

6

Using the CDS to explore ways of bringing poor communities into the city's planning process

What is a city development strategy?

The **City Development Strategy** was launched a year ago, as a joint program of the Phnom Penh Municipality, ACHR, UNCHS, URC and SUPF to understand the changes happening in the city, to bring the various actors in the city's urban development process together and to explore ways of managing this change process in a more effective, more equitable way. The CDS has involved an extensive process of research, discussion, planning, training and implementation, using Cities Alliance funds.

In important part of the CDS process has been to develop tools and processes within poor communities which strengthen their position as they negotiate for access to secure land and infrastructure with the local government at city, district and ward levels. In the past five years, over 11,000 families (nearly a quarter of the city's informal settlers) have been evicted from central Phnom Penh and removed to peripheral areas of the city. It's easy to trace the causes of this enormous displacement of the city's poor population to various public infrastructure projects, city "beautification" drives or private-sector commercial developments. What's not so easy to understand are the forces behind these evictions, which are determining how the city develops. It is these forces the CDS has sought to understand.

Phnom Penh has no master development plan and no policies to address the housing needs of the urban poor. A lot of land which is already occupied by poor communities is being taken over for constructing tourist complexes, hotels and commercial real estate development. The large infrastructure projects being developed on an ad-hoc basis in the city by bilateral and multilateral organizations are also big eviction causers. A few communities which have been supported by NGOs have managed to access support in the form of funds for relocation, housing and infrastructure. But most poor communities just get pushed around in this process, victims rather than beneficiaries of these official and unofficial plans.

It doesn't have to be like this. In most planner's minds, the needs of the city to develop and the needs of the poor to have decent, secure housing are not reconcilable. As a result, most urban development solutions tend to be planned by one group which gets all the benefits, but victimize and impoverish the other. In fact, cities around Asia are gradually realizing that when space is created for city governments, poor community organizations, NGOs and other stakeholders to talk to each other and plan together, they can design "win-win" solutions which work for the poor AND for the city. The problem is, Cambodia is still a society with a shortage of planning knowledge. From the poorest people right up to the university, it's hard to find anyone who understands how the city really works or what is really possible. The CDS offers a chance to create room for this kind of interaction and planning, so it's not just a few experts, and not just a few poor communities, but a broad cross section of stakeholders in the city.

"Phnom Penh's urban poor are not helpless..."

"The urban poor in Phnom Penh are not destitutes; they are not helpless. They are people who are capable of solving their own problems and controlling their own destiny. What is required is for NGOs and the city to understand what they are doing to improve their own lives and settlements and to support it. When people start making improvements to their own communities, the process empowers them to do many other activities."

(Arif Hasan, from the OPP in Karachi, Pakistan, on a recent visit)

CDS in Phnom Penh so far:

First step: Gathering information . . .

The first step was to create a common understanding between the different development actors in the development process of the forces which shape the city today, through a series of in-depth studies, carried out by professionals from the URC and UPDF, but from the perspective of urban poor communities.

- **Study of development plans:** The first study gathered information about all the major development projects being planned in the city, many of which are likely to have a big impact on poor communities. Big items on the list include water supply, sewage, drainage, flood control and ring-road projects being developed by ADB, World Bank or JICA, and a city conservation plan by the French. The study revealed that most of these major projects do not fit into any larger city development plan and are completely ad-hoc in nature. To make matters worse, most of these organizations have little or no knowledge of each other's work and often carry out parallel development.
- Relocation study: The second study examined the economic, social and physical repercussions of relocation on 7,800 families evicted to 14 resettlement sites since 1998. In all the relocation sites, income levels dropped, but less where people were able to select land close to sources of employment. In the big government relocation sites farthest from the city, people have suffered the most dramatic income reductions and highest unemployment rates, while shouldering the greatest transport costs. The study made clear that the farther people are pushed from the city, the worse they fare, prompting many to move back to inner-city slums. The study also showed that communities which bought their own land found ways to provide basic services with only minimal assistance or through their own initiative, while communities given land by the government have tended to wait passively for these things (which never come) and been "disempowered" by the whole process, as their health and living conditions deteriorate. The study also analyzed Cambodia's new land law, which defines ownership in terms of occupation for a certain number of years, but has not prevented land from being bought and sold without the knowledge of the communities which have occuped that land.
- **Study of vacant land in the city:** The third study identified 4,000 hectares of unused or vacant land suitable for development purposes, in 358 parcels of 0.5 hectares or larger, in 7 Khans, representing about 10% of the city's total area. Only 3% of this land is under government ownership, while the other 97% is privately owned by individuals or companies, mostly speculators. 21% of this land is suitable for immediate resettlement use and another 67% would require some land filling. Only 12% is too far from the city center, infrastructure and transport to be practical for resettlement. So far, the government has no policy to earmark any of this land for social development purposes and no land distribution policy which takes into account the needs of the urban poor.



No room for the poor in Phnom Penh?

The next time somebody tells you there's no room for the poor in Phnom Penh, don't believe them. If only 25% of the remaining vacant land in the city (1,000 of the total 4,000 hectares) were set aside for housing the poor, that land would very comfortably accommodate 150,000 families (with 50 square meter house plots and 30% extra land for roads and open spaces) or nearly 300,000 families with 25 square meter house plots.

Second step: Presenting and discussing it with all the stakeholders . . .

To bring communities, NGOs and all levels of the local government (district, ward and municipality) into the learning process, and to prepare for the next phase of planning, the information from the studies described above was then presented in a series of public "khan consultations" in each of the city's seven districts.

Third step: Taking a fresh look at poor settlements . . .

After the khan consultations, SUPF's seven *khan units* got busy updating their information on the situation of poor communities in their districts by surveying and mapping all the poor and informal settlements within their districts (*see page 12*) and plotting them on large-scale district maps. For planning purposes, an important element was added to this survey whereby all these settlements were classified into three categories:

- settlements which are secure and can be upgraded in their existing locations.
- settlements which could redevelop through land-sharing or other compromise land-adjustment.
- settlements which may have to relocate to alternative land.

Fourth step: Upgrading training by doing . . .

So what is all this studying, participatory information gathering, discussing and mapping leading to? Getting poor communities involved in planning and getting them to work with ward, district and city officials and NGO allies to implement *real* solutions to problems of land, housing and infrastructure - within their own districts.

- Comprehensive community upgrading in 3 communities: All seven khans were then asked to select three pilot communities within their districts to improve (one to upgrade in-situ, one to relocate and one to land-share), and then from these 21 communities to select three to be implemented immediately, as a city-wide training process to show how these three strategies can transform informal settlements into beautiful, secure neighborhoods. The comprehensive upgrading of the Ros Reay community (see following pages) was the first to break ground, and is now nearing completion.
- Comprehensive upgrading in another 35 communities: The next step will involve broadening the scale of this "training by doing" work. Each Khan will then select three communities to upgrade in-situ, one to relocate and one to redevelop through land-sharing or land-adjustment.
- Comprehensive upgrading in 1 district and 1 ward: The next step will involve an experiment in integrating all this detailed information on poor communities, development plans and vacant land into a collaborative process of planning secure housing for all within one district and within one ward.



When it all finally gets put together:

When the development plans and vacant land parcels identified in the studies were plotted on maps of each district, along with all the poor communities, people got their first clear picture of the link between the information they've collected and the planning they are undertaking within their districts. These maps have become a vital planning tool for communities, and the process of producing them is creating a large number of informed community activists who will be an asset for the city in the future.

7

Demonstrating that upgrading communities within the city is a viable alternative to relocation

Why upgrade communities?

It's cheaper, it's easier, it reduces rather than increases poverty, it improves the lives of the working poor as it improves the whole city . . .

About two-thirds of the 11,000 families who have been evicted from their homes in the past five years have been resettled. A small percentage of these families are doing all right at relocation sites they've chosen and planned themselves. But many are camping out in shacks without water, toilets, roads or flood protection in remote resettlement colonies that are far from employment opportunities, support structures, schools and clinics. Resettlement has deprived these families of the means to develop themselves, deepened their poverty, compromised their health and their survival. But for lack of better ideas, resettlement continues to be the city's automatic response to any land conflict that comes up in the city's development.

Of the 569 poor settlements in Phnom Penh today, only a small percentage are on land likely to be needed for public purposes such as roads, flood control projects or government buildings. The other settlements provide much-needed affordable housing for the people whose hard work underpins the city's economic growth. What if these people could fix up their settlements (in the same place or on land nearby) and by putting in basic infrastructure and upgrading their houses they could transform their slums into beautiful neighborhoods, proud parts of the city? As cities around Asia have realized through experience, helping people to secure their land and improve their living conditions inside the city, rather than chucking them out, is in the best interests of the city, the poor and the whole urban economy. Asian cities are filled with celebrated examples of community upgrading, but in Phnom Penh, upgrading is still an unknown strategy. Nobody knows how it works, what it looks like, who does the work or how much it costs. In recent years, individual communities and the UNCHS have made some improvements here and there, but these scattered efforts haven't shown what can happen when the whole community (not just a few pit latrines or a wooden walkway) gets a face lift. So the idea came up of using the momentum from the UPDF and the CDS process to begin creating a stock of local examples of comprehensive community upgrading for people to see and learn from. Through a broad process of community discussions and prioritizing in all seven districts, three pilot communities have been selected to be improved, as a powerful training and learning opportunity within the CDS process. Here's an update on the three pilot projects:

\$2,500 per family: Relocation isn't cheap!

When you add up the real costs of resettling those 129 families at Akphivat Mean Cheay (including the cost of purchasing the new land, filling it, developing roads, drainage, water supply, toilets and planting on it, and including UNCHS staff costs, overheads and consultancies) it comes to approximately US\$ 330,000, or about US\$ 2,500 per household. At that rate, resettling the remaining 50,000 poor households in Phnom Penh's informal settlements would cost a staggering US\$ 125 million! And that figure doesn't include any of the huge costs that are shouldered by the families themselves: moving costs, lost investment in their old housing, new house construction costs, lost employment, lost income and increased transport costs. Who would ever call this a "sustainable" option?

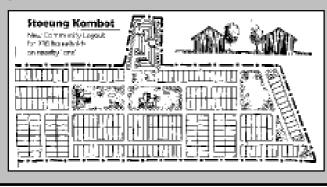
Stoe

First pilot project at **Stoeng Kambot** rebuilds its community on adjacent land, to make room for the city's dike-building project.

Stoeng Kambot is a poor settlement of 210 families living in wood and bamboo houses built in a long line, on a narrow strip of land between a dirt road and a drainage canal in a remote part of Roessei Keo District. Many of the community's grown-ups and children work as laborers in the brick kilns across the road or in nearby factories. There are trees and plenty of fresh air and open space out here, but conditions in the settlement are pretty bad - families have no electricity or water supply, and have to pay upwards of \$50 a year to the brick kiln owner to use the stagnant water from his pond across the road. The people first settled here in 1984. In 1998 they linked with SUPF and began organizing themselves through a collective savings scheme. For several years, the community has been under threat of eviction to make way for a municipal project to construct a new road and dike on land the community now occupies. After surveying and mapping their settlement, the community explored several redevelopment options, including squeezing their houses into a narrower strip to make room for the new dike. But now the Stoeung Kambot community, along with the federation's Khan unit, is negotiating for compensation in the form of some nearby farmland they have identified, where they would be willing to redevelop their community, according to layout plans they've developed with young architects at the UPDF.

Here's how upgrading can work:

Comprehensive settlement upgrad-ing training is now happening in three pilot communities...







more upgrading ...

2

Second pilot project at **Ros Reay** upgrades existing community with drains, paved roads, house improvements and landscaping.

The 72 tightly-packed houses in Ros Reay are part of a larger neighborhood of over 1,000 households behind the French Embassy, most of whom settled here in 1979, immediately after the Pol Pot period. Even though it's right next to the city's largest natural drain, Boeung Kak Lake, Ros Reay experiences serious flooding during the rainy season, so building a drainage system was the community's first upgrading priority. Because they own the land they occupy and are already well organized through their savings group, Ros Reay was the least complicated and the most ready of the three pilots. And because it was the first to start work, Ros Reay has became the first comprehensive upgrading *training-by-doing* for the whole federation and the whole city. Lots of people have visited and taken part in every stage of the work, as the process is carefully kept in the learning spotlight.

The first step was to survey and map the settlement, which community people did themselves, with some help from UPDF's technical team and groups of "upgrading apprentices" from communities in other khans. On the map, they plotted all the houses, trees, water points and problem areas, and used this to discuss what needs improving, in what order. Once they'd decided what improvements to make, they estimated the costs and drew up a budget for their upgrading plan, which was submitted and approved in January 2003. Municipal officials and community members from around the city were invited to the ground-breaking ceremony, where the first \$500 handed over to the community was immediately matched by \$500 in cash contributions from community members.

With this \$1,000 in hand, they set to work the following day moving back the fences and compound walls, to straighten the lanes and make room for laying the underground sewage and storm drain system, which involved enormous labor. A system was worked out by which each family was responsible for digging up the ditch in front of their house. Even pregnant women pitched in, and men returning from their day jobs dug by lantern-light into the late night, under the unflagging guidance of Ros Reay's energetic leader, Keo Yin, whose husband, a construction subcontractor, provided "in-house" technical assistance determining slopes, pipe sizes and manhole design. The finished drains were given their first test during a torrential rainstorm in early April. Everyone was out under their umbrellas, all eyes on the manholes, through which the water was reported to flow beautifully! The lanes are now being paved, after which trees and flowers will be planted in the half-meter planting strips along the lane-edges, and all the houses will be freshly painted in matching colors.





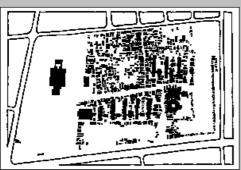
How good ideas spread out: This ambitious community is already discussing the possibility of "reblocking" the house plots in part of the settlement to make room for a small playground, while neighboring communities are also starting savings groups and discussing upgrading in their areas.



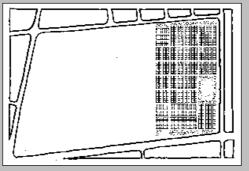
3

Third pilot project at **Borei Keila** uses a land-sharing strategy to rebuild its community on a small portion of the land it now occupies, and returns the rest to the government for its development plans.

Borei Keila is a crowded inner city settlement of 1,482 families in 7 Makara District, living in and around two rows of 4-story apartment blocks built in the 1960s to house athletes. Some families live in the apartments while the rest live in wood and brick houses on the ground. The land is owned by the Ministry of Sport and Youth, which for years has been trying in vain to evict the settlement to construct a new stadium. First settled in 1979, the community is now very strong, with both SUPF and USG savings groups and strong community leadership. The idea of upgrading Borei Keila has united this large community, which is 100% determined to stay. After surveying, measuring and mapping the entire settlement, the people have worked with UPDF architects to explore a range of land-sharing redevelopment options which involve rebuilding the community on a small portion of the land and returning the rest to the Mi4nistry. Their first plan involved developing 5-story blocks of flats on 25% of the land. But this would be extremely expensive and the community is now looking at a much cheaper and more efficient layout plan of 1,500 tiny row-houses on 30% of the land. Borei Keila is an important test case for land-sharing, which makes room for poor people's housing while alowing the government to go ahead with its stadium plan.



BEFORE land sharing



AFTER land sharing



Everbody wins:

This is one of the three landsharing plans the community people have designed for Borei Keila. In this scheme, the people keep the swampy, least useable 30% of the land for their own development of small row-houses (on 18.6 square meter plots), and return the other 70% of the land to the Sport Ministry to construct the stadium it's been trying to build for years and years.



The poor in Phnom Penh :

The poor who live in the city's informal settlements are only part of the picture. If you add all the people living in relocation sites, in makeshift rental rooms around the factory areas, in crowded rental spaces in dilapidated old buildings around the city center and the homeless living in the streets and around the markets, that makes at least 500,000 poor people, or about 50% of the whole city's population of 1 million people.

2003 Survey of poor settlements:

SUPF's fifth survey of Phnom Penh's poor and informal settlements becomes an important tool in a process of planning secure housing for all within each district...

Over the past nine years, the **Solidarity for the Urban Poor Federation (SUPF)** has conducted five enumerations of poor and informal settlements in Phnom Penh, each more accurate and more comprehensive than the last, each representing an important milestone in the federation's growing understanding and ownership of information about the city's poor. The 1997 survey yielded the most detailed, comprehensive picture till then of the city's poor settlements. The 1999 survey process was broadened considerably to include settlement profiles for each community, detailed household information, mapping of many settlements showing houses, land area and basic services, and computerizing all the survey data. The 2003 survey has been carried out as part of the CDS process, and has focused on gathering data which will help the district federation units to find secure housing for all the settlements in each district. This time, friends at the UPDF and URC have plotted all the surveyed communities on computerized maps which will help track these settlements in future surveys. Here are a few numbers from the past three surveys:

2	Surveys of a fast changing city								
	1997 survey		1999 survey		2003 survey				
Population									
	379 settlements 30,150 households 171,730 people		472 settlements 35,165 households 172,624 people		569 settlements 65,759 households 374,826 people				
Land owner	Land ownership								
on public land	227 settlements 22,067 households	(73%)	272 settlements 24,420 households	(69%)	183 settlements 21,904 households (33%)				
on private land	152 settlements 8,083 households	(27%)	200 settlements 10,745 households	(31%)	386 settlements 43,855 households (67%)				
Settlement history									
settled 1979-1990	326 settlements 27,765 households	(92%)	410 settlements 26,734 households	(76%)	497 settlements 50,395 households (77%)				
settled 1991-1997	53 settlements 2,385 households	(8%)	47 settlements 6,681 households	(19%)	52 settlements 7,261 households (11%)				
settled 1998-2003	_		15 settlements 1,750 households	(5%)	20 settlements (relocations) 8,103 households (12%)				
Problems									
eviction problems	80 settlements 9,966 households	(33%)	137 settlements 13,362 households	(38%)	190 settlements 25,034 households (38%)				
flooding problems	146 settlements 18,140 households	(60%)	116 settlements 16,879 households	(48%)	357 settlements 41,957 households (64%)				
water supply problems	327 settlements 24,359 households	(82%)	404 settlements 28,835 households	(82%)	387 settlements 46,688 households (71%)				
lack of toilets	128 settlements 18,827 households)	(62%)	340 settlements 24,264 households	(69%)	(no information available)				
lack of paved roads / access	274 settlements 27,452 households	(91%)	299 settlements 24,615 households	(70%)	370 settlements 43,851 households (67%)				

the Urban Poor Development Fund at a glance

• Started: 1998

• Total capital in fund : Riels 1.71 Billion (US\$ 450.000)

- Source of capital: Contribution from SUPF Federation, grant from Municipality of Phnom Penh, Prime Minister's monthly contribution, donors (Selavip, Homeless International, Misereor, Rausing, ACHR-TAP)
- Purpose of loans: Housing, land, income generation, environmental improvements, food production, emergencies
- Interest charged: 8% annually (for housing and land loans); 4% annually (for bulk income generation loans to district federations, which on-lend at 6 12%).

Loans disbursed: Riels 2.3 billion (US\$ 611,825)

Loans repaid: Riels 714 million (US\$ 187,782)

• Total Beneficiaries: 3,727 households

- How it works: UPDF makes housing, land purchase and food production loans directly to communities (not to individuals), after a consideration process by the district units of the UPDF's CBO partner, the Solidarity and Urban Poor Federation. Community savings groups manage collection and repayment of loans. UPDF also makes bulk loans for income generation and grants for infrastructure projects to the federation's district units, which on-lend to communities, which in turn on-lend to individuals. UPDF was established by an M.O.U. with the Municipality of Phnom Penh, and is governed by a mixed board (community leaders, Municipality, ACHR, NGOs, SDI).
- Operational costs: UPDF has only two fulltime staff members and is assisted by volunteers from poor communities. The budget for all of UPDF's administrative costs, staff salaries and development support activities is subsidized by a US\$ 20,000 annual grant from ACHR (which includes donor funds from Homeless International, Misereor and ACHR-TAP).

CONTACT:

Urban Poor Development Fund Contact person: Mr. Sok Visal P.O. Box 2242

Phnom Penh 3 CAMBODIA

Tel / Fax (855-23) 218-674 e-mail: updf@forum.org.kh