University College London
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The ambivalence of urban obsolescence

Questioning emancipatory design practices in Phnom Penh, Cambodia

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I, Giorgio Talocci, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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ABSTRACT

The research draws on the transdisciplinary debate, emerging within urban studies, which highlights the proliferation of fenced environments in the contemporary city. The research considers such environments to be tangible manifestations of dynamics of securitisation, control, privatisation, commodification, exclusion, depoliticisation. The research analyses therefore the production of the fenced city as essentially revolving around two archetypes: the gated community and the camp, as expressions respectively of phenomena of voluntary seclusion and forced confinement. The research interprets such archetypes from a twofold perspective: drawing, on one side, from governmental studies; and on the other side, from urban design studies. Expanding the trans-disciplinary character of the research (drawing from disciplines such as urban history, political economy, gender studies, performative arts), the research constructs a debate on urbanisms characterised by obsolescing phenomena: spaces of abandonment and dereliction, but also apparently leftover spaces, or interstitial and marginal ones. The analysis of such debate highlights a latent ambivalence: on one side, obsolescence is seen to partake into the production of the fenced city, through cycles of ruination, demolition, displacement; on the other side, obsolescence is read as emancipating from such production, creating the conditions for opening up, decommodifying, repoliticising the contemporary fenced city. Do camp-like or gated-community-like dynamics emerge even within obsolescing urbanisms? Or, conversely, do emancipatory practices emerge? The research attempts to answer such questions, challenging both sides of the debate. It does so investigating, at multiple scales, the reality of several obsolescing urbanisms in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. The research concludes suggesting an epistemological shift, that would place obsolescence at the centre of the understanding of the current dynamics of urban transformation. In so doing, the research questions the relevance of its (theory-driven) method in framing and guiding urban research; and the relevance of its reflections on emancipatory practices – for the current debate on the social agency of urban design and architecture; and for the current dynamics of transformation in Phnom Penh.

IMPACT STATEMENT

The research configures as a threefold contribution to scholarship. Its first contribution is to the current urban studies debate: the research, constructing a transdisciplinary debate on urban obsolescence, addresses knowledge gaps appearing in the current discussion on the proliferation of fenced urbanisms in the contemporary city. Through the introduction of a series of obsolescing archetypes, the research questions the grand narrative behind the manifold conceptualisations of the contemporary city as a fenced one – acknowledging inevitable cracks in the spatial and governmental dynamics of such city.

The second contribution is a methodological one: the research threads on a twofold governmental and urban design perspective, and deliberately embraces the use of theory as method. Not only is theory used to frame research, but also to guide it: a) through the use of the fence as *paradigm*, to understand obsolescing urbanisms as *singularities*, and how fenced archetypes have evolved and obsolesced; b) through the use of the Foucauldian concept of *dispositif*, which allows to grasp the complexity of each fenced urbanism through the identification of its spatial and governmental practices, i.e. c) through framing the possibility of emancipation from the fenced city within the Agambenian ideas of *profanation*, *coming community*, and *destituent politics*. In this regard, this research sets as contribution to the debate on the possibility of an emancipatory architecture – started by those works which have on the proliferation of fenced environments in Asian cities, and to that literature focusing on obsolescing spatialities and phenomena of dispossession emerging in the same contexts. Revealing the intrinsic ambivalent nature of urban obsolescence, the research wants to overcome any dichotomic approach to the critique, on one side, to neoliberal forms of urban transformation and, on the other side, to such transformation's supposedly collateral effects – forms of dispossession, displacement, contestation, dereliction.

Finally, the research has sought to have an agency in the work of research partners in the several grounds of investigation. Methods were developed in a dialogic fashion, in an effort to map out and highlight the presence of otherwise voiceless subjects within an urbanism, and to understand the aspirations toward the transformation of a certain site from a collective perspective. Analysing urban obsolescence in Phnom Penh means, de facto, to map out the presence of urban poor groups: the data and outputs of this research therefore are considered of value for partner organisations concerned with the well-being of traditionally excluded populations.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACHR Asian Coalition for Housing Rights

ADB Asian Development Bank

AusAID Australian Agency for International Development

BABC Bridges Across Borders Cambodia

BAU Bureau of Urban Affairs
BSII Borei Santepheap II

CAN Community Architects Network
CDF Community Development Foundation

CMDP Community Management Development Partnership

CNRP Cambodia National Rescue Party

Col Corridor of Impact

CPP Cambodia's People Party
DPU Development Planning Unit

EC Equitable Cambodia

ELC Economic Land Concession
EYC Empowering Youth Cambodia

GANEFO Games of the New Emerging Forces

GTZ/GIZ German Corporation for International Cooperation

IRC Inter-ministerial Resettlement Committee

K-TV Acronym used to indicate a building with Video-Karaoke activities

LMAP Land Management Administration Programme

MLMUPC Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction

MoEYS Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport

MPP Municipality of Phnom Penh
OPC Open Photography Cambodia
PCL People for Care and Learning
PIO People Improvement Organisation
RGC Royal Government of Cambodia

RoW Right of Way

RRP Railway Rehabilitation Project
SDI Slum/Shack Dwellers Federation

SLC Social Land Concession

STT Sahmakum Teang Tnaut organisation
SUPF Solidarity for Urban Poor Federation

UCL University College London

UN-Habitat United Nations Human Settlements Programme

UNCHS (same as above)

UNTAC United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia

UPDF Urban Poor Development Fund

URC Urban Resource Centre

1. Introduction

1.1. A PROLOGUE

"They started building that wall in front of us one year ago. It seems they are hiding us. It is very frustrating. When we settled, we used to live along with the communities of Boeung Kak lake. Then they filled up Boeung Kak with sand, evicted everybody and built a wall to impede us access. Now they are building one more wall parallel to the first one, to keep us out of the new main road surrounding the former lake, too. They are putting us away; they do not even want to see us" [see Figure 1.1]

[quotation from a dweller of one of the railway settlements in Phnom Penh, in the proximities of the redevelopment of Boeung Kak lake, August 2013]¹

"We have been here in the last thirty years. We don't want to move anywhere. It has been very hard lately, however. After they filled up the lake, all the businesses in the area started suffering. All the hostels for backpackers had eventually to shut down. They tell us our houses are worthless and that we should go away soon, but we will keep fighting against these new developments and for our right to stay here. We have organised many demonstrations and we will keep doing so" [see Figure 1.2]

[quotation from the leader of the Rousreay community in the proximities of Boeung Kak lake, May 2014]²

The redevelopment of Boeung Kak lake has been the most exemplary case of Phnom Penh's urban development. About 4250 households, that were occupying the lake shores and the closest proximities of the lake, have been evicted to make room for a new urban centre spreading over an area of 133ha, leased through a 99-year concession to the private company

¹ Interview 73 (see Appendix 1)

² Interview 329 (see Appendix 1)





1.1. The fencing wall surrounding Boeung Kak's construction site, seen from the adjacent railway settlements (Source: Author)
1.2. Rousreay's community settlement next to Boeung Kak's construction site, with evidence of occurred demolitions (Source: Author)

Shukaku Inc., whose owner had close connections to Prime Minister Hun Sen (Goad, no date; Schneider, 2011; Schuyler House and Billo, 2011; Pho, 2012; STT, Water and Ket, 2012). Fencing walls have been traced to fence-in the land allocated for new upper-middle class developments,³ and to fence-off the informal dwellers of the surrounding communities. Not only were the latter excluded from any planning decision: their very presence in the area was criminalised, while their built environment was deemed as obsolete and disposable.

The fences traced around Boeung Kak lake, and the land they were supposed to conceal and protect, soon started to obsolesce, too. Boeung Kak's fences have been trespassed, leading to informal uses within its perimeter [Figure 1.3]. They have been contested, sparking off instances of community mobilisation [Figure 1.4]. They have been opposed, with fifteen households on the Western side of the lake resisting and impeding the construction of one last chunk of fencing wall [Figure 1.5]. The overall development plans ran into economic crisis and disinvestment, turning the lake's landscape into a giant urban void [Figure 1.6] – 133 hectares of sand (Schneider, 2011; STT, Water and Ket, 2012).

This research sees the production of fenced environments such as Boeung Kak's redevelopment as the main mode of transformation of the contemporary city. The research studies the dynamics through which *fenced urbanisms* are designed and governed – and what and whom such urbanisms try to either fence-in or fence-out. At the same time, the research looks at how fences become obsolete. In so doing, it acknowledges the ambivalent character of urban obsolescence. On one side, as instrumental to the production of fenced urbanisms, as in the criminalisation of Boeung Kak's informal populations and the condemnation of their built environment. On the other side, as potentially leading to emancipate from such fenced, exclusionary, modes of urban development: sparking off resistances, allowing room for informal reappropriations and alternative uses, leading to the emergence of alternative aesthetics.

I will show how both arguments are present in the literature, although rarely are they mobilised in a dialogic fashion: through the analysis of several grounds of investigation in Phnom Penh, the research will challenge the sheer separation between an understanding of obsolescence either as solely contributing to the production of exclusionary capital-driven urbanisms, or as essentially emancipating from it. Such research interest is in line with my personal biography,

³ One out of seven satellite cities projects – see chapter 5, page 164.





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1.5. A housing unit belonging to a group of fifteen households resisting eviction, in so doing impeding the completion of the fencing wall around Boeung Kak's construction site, Western side (Source: Author)
1.6. The extent of former Boeung Kak's lake landfill: 2003 (left) and 2015 (right) (elaboration by Author; source of satellite images: Digital Globe 2019)

and has developed in a quasi-obsessive manner since my early works⁴ in Rome's interstitial spaces and squat-occupations (the latter usually occurring in previously abandoned and derelict buildings). While wandering within, and engaging with, such obsolescing spatialities and their social fabrics, empirical observation made me constantly reflect on their character – intrinsincally open (toward migrants and invisible populations, for instance) and resistant (against capital-driven and exclusionary visions of urban development). At the same time, however I did question whether their openness actually underlay a potential for inclusiveness, and whether their resistance contributed to the emergence of other forms of socio-spatial exclusion. This research builds upon these early observations and reflections, developing a methodological framework for the analysis of such supposedly ambivalent character of obsolescing urbanisms, and grounding such framework in the reality of Phnom Penh.

1.2. CONSTRUCTING A TRANSDISCIPLINARY DEBATE ON URBAN OBSOLESCENCE

1.2.1. Fenced urbanisms: drawing from a transdisciplinary debate, through a twofold perspective

The research grounds in the transdisciplinary debate, in urban studies, on the proliferation of fenced environments in the contemporary city – as tangible manifestation of dynamics of securitisation, control, privatisation, commodification, exclusion, depoliticisation [Figure 1.7]. Urban geographers (Soja, 2000, 2010; Dikeç, 2001, 2013), urban historians (Davis, 1990), anthropologists (Caldeira, 1999, 2001), sociologists (Bayat, 2000; Wacquant, 2012), artists (Alÿs, 2004), architects and urban designers (Biddulph, 2011; Buchanan, 2013), have highlighted how urban environments have become increasingly gated, and spatial injustices have replicated at multiple scales. Cities attend a shrinkage in accessible housing (De Decker and Newton, 2009), the exclusion of certain populations from the use of public spaces (Madanipour, 2004; Sevilla-Buitrago, 2015), enforced displacements (Brickell, 2014; Talocci and Boano, 2015; Forbes, 2016), uneven design of mobility infrastructures (Graham and Marvin, 2001; Amin, 2016), and the fortification of buildings or entire neighbourhoods (Irazábal, 2006; Li, Zhu and Li, 2012; Datta, 2014). The number and size of wealthy condos, gated

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⁴ As part of my architectural studies, I joined in several occasions members of the research group Stalker / Osservatorio Nomade in their so-called *'transurbances'* across interstitial and marginal spaces of Rome (see for instance: Careri, 2002, 2014). Later on, I co-founded, along with one member of Stalker and others, the research group Laboratorio Arti Civiche (LAC): as LAC, we investigated both squat-occupations for housing purposes in Rome, usually occurring in previously abandoned and derelict buildings, interstitial spaces across the territory of Rome, in abandoned, and informal land occupations in Salvador da Bahia.

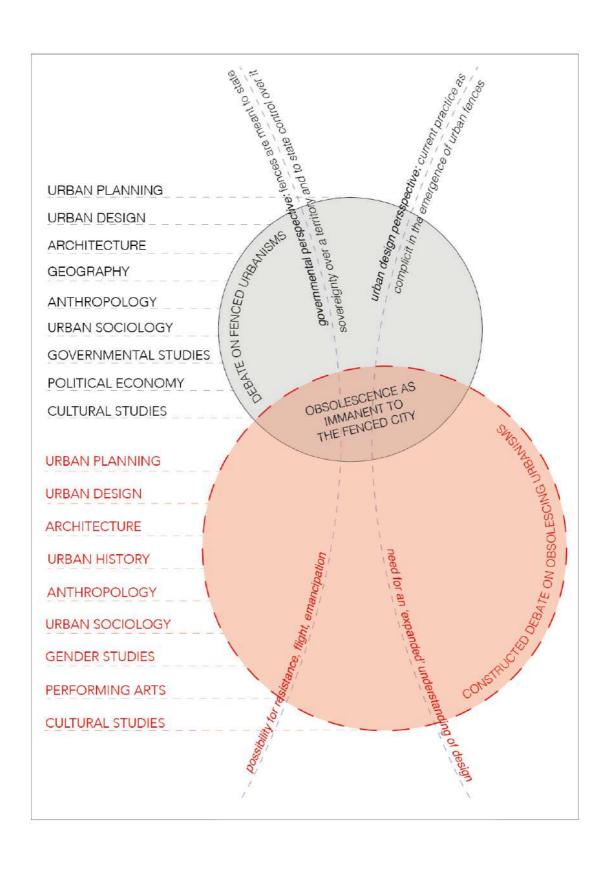
communities, central business districts – born out of a quest for both security and status (Minton, 2009) – is expanding, in sheer opposition to a constellation of derelict areas and slums (Shatkin, 2002, 2004; Roy, 2009b), where lower income classes are confined, ghettoised, displaced.

Such fragmented urban condition has been conceptualised alternately as *carceral* (Soja, 2000), *splintering* (Graham and Marvin, 2001), *enclaved* (Petti, 2007; Breitung, 2012; Douglass, Wissink and van Kempen, 2012), *fractured* (Koonings and Kruijt, 2007), *medieval* (Alsayyad and Roy, 2006), *divided* (Allegra, Casaglia and Rokem, 2012). I will use the terminology *fenced urbanisms*, acknowledging the fence as both spatial and governmental paradigm of the current urban transformation.

I look at the production of the fenced city as revolving around what I consider to be two fundamental fenced archetypes: the gated community (Webster, 2001; Hook and Vrdoljak, 2002) and the camp (Agamben, 1998), as expression respectively of voluntary seclusion and forced confinement. Importantly, I read the above debate and interpret such archetypes from a twofold perspective [see again Figure 1.7]: on one side, through governmental studies; on the other side, through the urban design discipline.

Founding on governmental studies (Burchell, Gordon and Miller, 1991; Foucault, 1991; Appadurai, 2002; Ferguson and Gupta, 2002; Huxley, 2006; Jazeel, 2009; Roy, 2009a; Jardim, 2013), the research sees the fence as fundamental to state sovereignty and exercise control over a territory. I acknowledge the fence as being not only a spatial artefact, but also a complex apparatus allowing disconnection: through the implementation of policies and norms, through surveillance mechanisms, through discursive constructions (Foucault, 1980, 2007; Pløger, 2008; Velasco Arias, 2011). Adopting a Foucauldian terminology, contemporary fences function as *dispositifs*, as "thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble[s] consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions" (Foucault, 1980, p. 194).

Drawing from the discipline of urban design (Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee, 1998; Carmona, De Magalhães and Edwards, 2002; Madanipour, 2006; Banerjee, 2011; Carmona, 2014), I acknowledge how the contemporary practice of urban design and architecture has been critiqued as complicit in the emergence of the fenced city: as instrument in the hands of capitalistic endeavours to commodify urban space, while eroding the commons (Sevilla-Buitrago, 2015; Brantlinger, 2017); as instrumental in the securitisation of the city (Christopherson, 1994; Carmona, 2014); as complacent with dynamics of exclusion (Madanipour, 2007). Far from being a solely contemporary tendency, building fences has



1.7. Overlapping the literature debate on fenced urbanisms to a (constructed) debate on urban obsolescence (elaboration by Author)



1.8. Fenced urban environments in Phnom Penh. Top to bottom: fences around several areas of CamKo satellite city; fences around condos in Olympia City; Fences around the gated communities of Rose Town (left) and Elite Town (right) (elaboration by Author; source of satellite images: Apple Maps 2019)

always been at the core of architecture and urban design. For the architecture historian Di Domenico (1998), the very meaning of architecture lies in the act of marking a space, controlled, through a fencing wall. Another architecture historian, Manieri Elia (2001), puts the symbolic tracing of a fence at the foundation of the very idea of city. The industrial designer Sottsass (1973) stated that tracing a fence underlies the very notion of inner space and its constitution. Fences have been used to sacralise a perimeter, as in temples across all ancient civilisation (Manieri Elia, 2001), to protect cities and villages in the Middle Age (Creighton, 2005), to confine and control indigenous populations in any colonial endeavour (Foucault, 2008a), to create ghettoes (Wirth, 1928; Harris, 1972; Wacquant, 1997, 2010, 2012) and concentration camps (Agamben, 1998, 1999; Diken, 2004; Minca, 2015). Architects and urban designers have used the fence as main element of their compositions (Caniggia and Maffei, 2001), from Speer's agoras to Mies van der Rohe's patio houses, to Aldo Rossi's cemeteries and public squares.

Today, the fence is still used as tool to divide an inside from an outside, to create a safe space against the outer chaos, or to allow design freedom within a clear perimeter [Figure 1.8]: gated communities and camps are archetypes of such contemporary production of fences. Acknowledging obsolescing processes as immanent to the production of the fenced city, however, obliges to question such archetypes, and to introduce new ones, as I explain below.

1.2.2. Obsolescing urbanisms: constructing a transdisciplinary debate

The term 'obsolete' derives from the Latin *obsoletus*, which refers to something that has grown old or is worn out (Oxford Living Dictionaries, 2019c). Nowadays, obsolescence indicate the process of falling into disuse, or the condition of being out of production, discontinued. Obsolescence has historically been critiqued as essential to the process of capitalistic growth and accumulation (Marx, 2012). Harvey (1985) has read obsolescence as immanent to the capitalistic production of urban space. Using the concept of *creative destruction* (Harvey, 1985, 2010; Weber, 2002; McFarlane, 2008), Harvey highlighted the uneven socio-spatial effects produced by cycles of ruination, demolition and consequent reclamation of urban space: in order to liberate new wealth, some buildings and neighbourhoods are left to decay, flagged as urban blight, put under threat, and eventually sanitised, cleansed, or even demolished.

Acknowledging obsolescing processes, therefore, as immanent to the dynamics of production of the fenced city, the research builds further upon its transdisciplinary character – with an expansion to disciplines such as urban history, political economy, gender studies, performative arts. In so doing, the research constructs a debate on urbanisms that I define as 'obsolescing'

ones. Such an expansion follows Doucet and Janssens' (2011) call to overcome discipline-bound epistemologies and their limits to deal with the world's complexity, in so doing attempting to build upon "a broad range of disciplinary and practical forms of knowledge" (Doucet and Janssens, 2011, p. 2). As shown in Figure 1.7, such constructed debate on obsolescing urbanisms partially overlaps the one on fenced urbanisms, as – as mentioned – urban development is often achieved through letting existing urban environments obsolesce, or rhetorically constructing them as obsolete. As for such rhetorical construction, the idea of obsolescence has largely corresponded to the notion of 'failure' (Brolin, 1976; Amin, 2016): to instil a new modernity in the city – through, for instance, the construction of upper-middle class developments and prime networks of infrastructures – existing realities must be declared as failed, made disposable, no longer apt to meet the needs of contemporary urbanites.

Importantly, part of the debate on urban informalities intersects the one on fenced and obsolescing urbanisms [see again Figure 1.7]. Alsayyad and Roy (2006) list the 'regulated squatter settlement' as one paradigm⁵ of the current condition of *medieval modernity* – developing a parallel between the medieval city and the fragmentation of the contemporary landscape of urban citizenship. Roy herself (2005) speaks of the informal as the expression of a power that can determine the state of exception – de facto creating camp-like conditions. Scholars highlight how the informal and its narratives have been often constructed as disposable, or criminalised as illegal and violent, to justify purposes of social cleansing (Shatkin, 2004; Roy, 2009b) and recolonisation (Herzfeld, 2006; Yiftachel, 2009a), and to gradually remove the poor from urban centres.

From an urban design studies perspective [see again figure 1.7], embracing obsolescence as immanent to the process of urban transformation obliges to understand the design process beyond the domain of the built environment experts and professionals (Findeli, 2012; Tonkiss, 2013; Boano, 2014). Rather, design should be understood in *expanded* terms, through a broad definition: as a non-specialised series of both formal and informal acts (Boano, 2014), related not only to the activities of building the city and strategising its development, but also to inhabiting it, imagining it, organising and controlling it, filling it up with new narratives. I consider, therefore, all the socio-spatial practices I observe and analyse as *design* practices.

From a governmental perspective, obsolescence contributes to the control of urban territories and their populations. Legg (2011), however, points to a possibility, to be found in obsolescing

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⁵ Along with the gated community and the camp, which I consider in this research as fundamental archetypes of what I defined as the fenced city.

dynamics, for flight, resistance and emancipation.⁶ This research questions such possibility. Once fences start showing crevices and malfunctioning, is there room for new alternative (design) practices to appear? A multitude of urban scholars, activists, practitioners, have celebrated obsolescing urbanisms (Nicolas-le Strat, 2007; Tonnelat, 2008; Berruete, 2013; Dillon, 2014; Dobraszczyk, 2014; F. Anderson, 2015; Harbison, 2015; Smith, 2015) as the loci par excellence of such alternative practices. Noticeably, urban informality itself — as a mode of appropriation of obsolete fences (be these idle empty land, or abandoned portions of built environment, or interstices) — has been read as an alternative to the capital-driven and exclusionary production of the fenced city, supposedly putting forward new uses of space, new forms of economic and social organisation, new aesthetics (Shannon, 2001; Groth and Corijn, 2005; King and Dovey, 2013; Boano and Talocci, 2014b).

While acknowledging such perspective, I question whether alternative and emancipatory forms of urbanity might coexist with exclusionary and commodifying dynamics. To do so, I look at the obsolescing city through different, though still fenced, archetypes. I will analyse the *obsolescing* fenced city as made not only of gated communities and camps: rather, as characterised by the ruination of such archetypes, by their displacement and erasure, and by those urbanisms that develop in the interstices of the relentless production of urban fences. In chapters 3 and 4, I identify the archetypes of the ruin (or the *ruined* fence), the void (or the *emptied* fence), the relocation site (or the *marginal* fence), the interstice (*in between* fences, though still possibly affected by fenced dynamics).

Using such archetypes, I investigate the latent tension between oppression and emancipation that characterises urban obsolescence. On one side, I question whether obsolescing urbanisms partake into the production of the fenced city: do camp-like and gated-community-like dynamics appear within obsolescing urbanisms? On the other side, I question whether obsolescing urbanisms potentially lead to an emancipation from the fenced city: which design practices can be understood as emancipatory ones? I expand on such tension between oppression and emancipation in section 1.5 below, outlining my research questions.

⁶ Building upon Foucault's original definition of dispositif, Legg (2011) argues that a governmental dispositif, in its very multiplicity, allows room for the obsolescence of its structures – I expand on this in chapter 4, page 113.

1.3. FENCED URBANISMS AND THEIR OBSOLESCENCE IN THE REGIONAL DEBATE

1.3.1. The debate on Asian and South-East Asian cities

The regional debate on the transformation of Asian and South-East Asian cities has casted an increasing attention on the emergence and proliferation of fenced urbanisms. The literature has been dominated, to an extent, by studies on enclaved urban environments and gated communities in China (Breitung, 2012; Douglass, Wissink and van Kempen, 2012; Hazelzet and Wissink, 2012; Li, Zhu and Li, 2012; Shen and Wu, 2012; Wissink *et al.*, 2012; Yip, 2012). Such studies have emphasised how the practice of gating territories is most often justified with the need of producing 'good' and secure living environments; at the same time, the literature has remarked how urbanites living outside gated developments do not necessarily see these as limiting the possibility of contact and exchange amongst different groups (Douglass, Wissink and van Kempen, 2012). A number of studies have examined the proliferation of gated communities and other forms of privatised urbanisms in Cambodia (Percival, 2012; Percival and Waley, 2012; Fauveaud, 2013, 2016), Vietnam (Duy Luan, 2014; Huynh, 2015; Jung and Lee, 2017; Le and Le, 2018), Philippines (Shatkin, 2011b), Thailand (Suwannasang, 2015), Indonesia (Leisch, 2002).

Not only did scholars focus on gated communities, but have examined the emergence of other forms of privatised urbanisms such as the *satellite city* type, too. Beyond the residential use, such type includes also business, retail, leisure and service facilities (Douglass and Huang, 2007; Chen, Wang and Kundu, 2009). Percival and Waley (2012) suggests that the satellite city type should be considered as a form of 'augmented' gated community. Analysing Manila's private enclaves, Shatkin (2011b, p. 79) suggests that satellite cities are the "purest form of inter-referenced urbanisms [... as are] based on an interpretation of how a global urbanism should look and function" in terms of urban planning and design principles.

Shatkin's reflections are part of a broader debate on the 'worlding' processes undergone by Asian Cities (Ong, 2011; Roy, 2011; Roy and Ong, 2011; Percival and Waley, 2012; Mccann, Roy and Ward, 2013). The concept of 'worlding' is part of an effort to challenge the established maps of global urbanism, with a particular concern on expanding the otherwise Western-biased canon of urban studies (Mccann, Roy and Ward, 2013). With such purpose, Ong (2011) has highlighted how aspects of the current Asian urban transformation involve practices of inter-city comparison, referencing and modelling. Ong defines such practices precisely as *worlding* ones, as they "attempt to establish or break established horizons of urban standards in and beyond a particular city" (2011, p. 4), while trying to address urban issues related to ageing infrastructures, underinvestment and lack of international profile. While new skylines and urban

images are shaped in competition with one another, planning policies, governance models and urban and architectural forms travel and get replicated across the region and beyond. At the same time, a multitude of privatised urbanisms materialise through the use of intra-Asian investment funds (Ong, 2011; Percival and Waley, 2012). Roy (2011) demonstrates how worlding practices take place at the intersection between modernising projects of development, regimes of governance and neoliberal experiments. In so doing, worlding practices build upon a logic of unlimited possibilities of transformation (Ong, 2011), while establishing regimes of neoliberal governmentality (Peters, 2006; Springer, 2010; Cotoi, 2011) – see chapter 2, page 52 – that affects even those 'actually existing urbanisms' supposedly rooting in *alternative* urban dynamics (Shatkin, 2011a).

A great part of the debate on the transformation of Asian cities has focused on the emergence of urbanisms of exclusion, with a specific eye on the marginalisation and ghettoisation of urban poor communities and their (often informal) settlements (Fernandes, 2004; Lee and Yeoh, 2004; Shatkin, 2004; Candan and Kolluoglu, 2008). A number of scholars have narrowed down their focus on the increasing number of evictions happening across Asia (Goldstein, 2007; Couldrey and Herson, 2008; Kishk, 2010; Springer, 2012; Kipgen, 2013; Brickell, 2014), and on the emergence of multiple (and often marginal) forms of urbanisms of relocation – be these relocation sites (Seekins, 2008; Montvilaite, 2014; Talocci and Boano, 2015, 2016), new towns (Shen and Wu, 2012; Duy Luan, 2014; Huynh, 2015), or simply mass housing developments in either central or peripheral urban areas (Özdemir, 2011; Karaman, 2013).

The interest on obsolescing urbanisms has remained quite limited at a regional scale, and the interconnection between urban obsolescence and dynamics of exclusion and displacement has not been fully problematised. Shannon (Shannon, 2001; Cerise and Shannon, 2010) has explored the significance of interstitial and ruined spatialities in Vietnam, highlighting their potential for creative reappropriation and the emergence of alternative uses of space. Other authors have explored derelict spatialities in Bangkok (King, 2011) and several cities of Vietnam (Schwenkel, 2012), China (Wu, 2004; Wang, Wang and Wu, 2009), highlighting their role in the cities' collective imagination and at the same time their precarious condition. Several studies on derelict spatialities along infrastructural networks, river banks or lake shores have remarked how interstices are often receptacles for otherwise unwanted urbanities across Asian cities: several authors have explored the complex socio-spatial fabric emerging along bodies of water (Wust, Bolay and Ngoc Du, 2002; Shannon, 2008; Vollmer and Grêt-Regamey, 2013), along railway networks (Jones, 2017), over road pavements (Patel, 1990; Biswas-Diener and Diener, 2001), on garbage dumps (Rossi, 2016).

Focusing on Phnom Penh, this research wants to question the role of obsolescing urbanisms in the transformation of Asian cities, and their spatial and governmental nature, as I expand below in section 1.4.

1.3.2. Introducing Phnom Penh and identifying literature gaps

Cambodia is facing a fierce and accelerated urban development. Its cities are marked by the exacerbation of the conflict over space, and by its commodification and privatisation (Springer, 2009b; Paling, 2012b; Percival and Waley, 2012; Fauveaud, 2016). The capital city, Phnom Penh, counting about 1.5 million inhabitants, is exemplary of such trends.

The city's central districts have historically shaped the image and character of what is still today advertised as 'the charming city' (MPP, no date), with heritage landmarks, portions of urban fabric coming from the colonial period, and *modernist* examples of the so-called New Khmer Architecture. Most of such urban fabric is today facing dereliction and potential demolition because of projects of public space beautification, new infrastructure development, programmes of urban boosterism, shopping malls, and the proliferation of new residential developments in the form of fancy condos and gated communities for the upper-middle class (Fauveaud, 2016). The Municipality of Phnom Penh (MPP) aims to create a skyline able to compete with the neighbouring Bangkok and Ho Chi Minh City and overall to instil a new globally competitive image in the city, aiming to attract further foreign investment (Percival, 2012). The fast pace of urban development has put under threat groups of rooftop squatters, dwellers of dilapidated and often overcrowded buildings, informal settlements rising on once idle or interstitial land (ACHR, 2004).

In the outer districts, a number of satellite cities are being built, foreseeing tremendous physical growth, while at the same time founding upon discourses of technological and infrastructural efficiency, urban health and status (Percival and Waley, 2012). Such transformation has been accompanied by the condemnation and destruction of a vast array of natural landscapes: Phnom Penh's recent transformation has been defined as 'ten years of sand' (Urban Voice Cambodia, 2013), citing the massive increase of landfills into the city's wetlands to make room for new developments.

As many construction sites have gotten halted because of failed or slowed-down investments, such landfills have led to the appearance of giant urban voids – as in the case of Boeung Kak lake, as seen above. Urban voids have emerged also in central areas, with the erasure of a multiplicity of informal settlements, the following construction of a fence and, often, the

interruption of the development plans – with newborn ruins in the form of unfinished buildings adding up to the contradictory and contested landscape of the city.

In periurban areas, tens of relocation sites testify the social cleansing and displacement occurred in the city centre, and raise as another tangible manifestation of the obsolescing processes happening at the urban scale (Talocci and Boano, 2015, 2016; Connell and Grimsditch, 2016): relocation sites' geographies look marginal and isolated, their populations are ghettoised and excluded from urban life, their built environment looks already dilapidated – as most displaced households have abandoned their plots or units and got back to central areas in search for livelihoods.

The materialisation of fenced urbanisms such as satellite cities, gated communities and *borei*7 developments, has been one of the main focus of recent studies (Fauveaud, 2013, 2016). Paling (2012a, 2012b) has remarked a wider quest for a new urban modernity (and its corresponding social status) in the development of new transport infrastructures. Springer (2008, 2009b, 2009a, 2010, 2015b) has produced a broad body of works exploring the overall neoliberalisation of Phnom Penh's urban transformation and the connected dynamics of violence and dispossession. Lot of attention has been put over forced evictions (Brickell, 2014; Connell and Grimsditch, 2016) and, to a lesser extent, on the consequent emergence of relocation sites (Talocci and Boano, 2015, 2016). While a few comparative studies (Chi *et al.*, 2010; McMahon, 2015) have focused on the social aftermath of forced displacement, little attention has been placed on the significance of the act of relocation from a governmental and urban design perspective – I consider such shift to be one of the original contributions of this thesis, as I explain below.

1.4. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND EXPECTED ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO SCHOLARSHIP

The research seeks to offer a contribution to the scholarly debate on fenced urbanisms. While drawing from an interdisciplinary body of works, the research deliberately embraces a twofold governmental and urban design perspective to understand the production of fenced urbanisms in the contemporary city. In so doing, the research wants to trace a bridge between such two perspectives, following a series of works (Weizman, 2010; Aggregate Group, 2012; Boano, 2017) that have embraced a similar methodological attitude. Further, building a cross-

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⁷ An approximate translation for the Khmer term *borei* is 'village.' Borei development (*aphiwat borei*) is increasingly used to indicate, in the everyday language and in the literature, new developments that are clearly contained within a well-defined perimeter, often a fenced one.

disciplinary debate on urban obsolescence, the research seeks to overcome the sheer division between literature reading obsolescence as either solely oppressive or solely emancipatory, building on authors who have, in other disciplines, dialectically articulated the concepts of oppression and emancipation (Masaki, 2006; Thomas, 2009; Verduijn *et al.*, 2014; Sopranzetti, 2017; O'Mahoney, Vincent and Harley, 2018).

From an urban design perspective, I aim to discuss the relevance of my findings for the current debate on the social role of architecture and urban design (Fuad-Luke, 2009; Awan, Schneider and Till, 2011; Schneider, 2013; Boano and Talocci, 2014b, 2017), questioning how design processes can actually lead to emancipate from the production of the fenced city. From a governmental perspective, I want to question the idea of emancipation through the Agambenian concepts of *profanation* (2007, 2009b) and *destituent politics* (2014), to question whether obsolescing urbanisms configure as *coming communities* (Agamben, 1993), i.e. as communities immune to exclusion, isolation, discrimination, violence, abandonment.

As a contribution to the regional debate, the research, partakes in the effort toward considering all cities as ordinary (Robinson, 2005) and toward the expansion of the Western canon of urban studies (Mccann, Roy and Ward, 2013) – avoiding to consider research in the South⁸ as just an addition to Northern/Western theory (Robinson, 2003; Parnell and Robinson, 2012). I seek therefore to contribute to the wider *provincialisation* of the debate (Chakrabarty, 2008; Parnell and Robinson, 2012), building a narrative of and *from* Phnom Penh that is dependent on neither a global city perspectives nor a developmentalist one, in so doing following recent studies such as Percival and Waley's (2012), Paling's (2012b), Springer's (2011b). In so doing, I want to offer a contribution to the regional debate on the production of exclusionary environments in South-East Asian cities, while at the same time questioning the role of urban obsolescence in such production [Figure 1.9].

Finally, the research has sought to have an agency in the work of research partners in the several grounds of investigation in Phnom Penh, developing methods and research questions in a dialogic fashion. I sought to highlight the presence of otherwise voiceless subjects within an urbanism, and to understand the aspirations toward the transformation of a certain site from a collective perspective. Analysing urban obsolescence in Phnom Penh means, de facto, to analyse urban poor settlements and their everyday lives: the data and outputs of this research therefore are considered of value for partner organisations concerned with the well-being of traditionally excluded populations. I will discuss this contribution, and the limitations I have encountered, in the conclusive chapter.

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⁸ See chapter 4, page 106, for an explanation of how I understand global South in this research.



Research question 1: what are those design practices that, emerging in obsolescing obsolescence as oppression urbanisms, partake into the production of the fenced city? sub-research question 1.1 sub-research question 1.2 practices leading to the emergence of practices leading to the emergence of GATED-COMMUNITY-LIKE DYNAMICS CAMP-LIKE DYNAMICS - obsession for security - obsession for control phenomena of exclusion - privatisation and commodification of space iconisation / fetishisation of the urban form - dynamics of de-politicisation :----THE AMBIVALENCE OF URBAN OBSOLESCENCE obsolescence as emancipation sub-research question 2.1 sub-research question 2.2 sub-research question 2.3 practices OPENING UP practices DE-COMMODIFYING practices RE-POLITICISING an obsolescing urbanism an obsolescing urbanism an obsolescing urbanism establishing uses that do not having an agency in recalibrating the power relations between actors establishing social or spatial depend on, nor revolve around. within such urbanism, and leading profit; or, introducing or connections between actors inside developing an to the empowerment of those and outside such urbanism or aesthetics freed from processes of actors whose political agency was between actors within such iconisation and fetishization otherwise depleted urbanism itself Research question 2: what are those design practices that, emerging in obsolescing urbanisms, emancipate from the production of the fenced city?

1.9. Fenced and obsolescing urbanisms in Phnom Penh: the construction of the Vattanak tower, on the background of an urban poor settlement at risk of eviction because of the Railway Rehabilitation Project (Source: Author) 1.10. Research questions and how they build on an understanding of urban obsolescence as intrinsically ambivalent (elaboration by Author)

1.5. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research questions aim to analyse the intrinsic ambivalence of urban obsolescence: on one side as partaking into the production of the fenced city, on the other side as possibly emancipating from such production. The questions therefore read:

Research question 1: what are those design practices that, emerging in obsolescing urbanisms, partake into the production of the fenced city?

Research question 2: what are those design practices that, emerging in obsolescing urbanisms, emancipate from the production of the fenced city?

In such questions, I understand:

- design practices as either formal or informal acts, aimed at strategising, building, organising, controlling, imagining or simply inhabiting urban spaces (Boano, 2014). I elaborate further on such expanded understanding of design in chapter 4 (page 117);
- fences as spatial and governmental dispositifs as outlined above (page 24) and, consequently, the fenced city as the ensemble of such fenced dispositifs. I will expand on the concept of dispositif in chapter 4 (page 113);
- *urbanisms* as the ensemble of practices present in a specific urban environment, building upon Lefebvre's idea of lived space (1991);
- obsolescing urbanisms as those urbanisms that while still fenced ones are characterised by the apparent ruination, interstitiality, marginality or even emptiness of their socio-spatial fabric, as explored above and as I will explore further in chapter 3;
- *emancipation*, building upon the etymological original of the term, as the freedom from a form of control (Oxford Living Dictionaries, 2019b) in this case from the spatial and governmental restraints of the fenced city.

In section 1.2, I problematised the fenced city as tangible manifestation of dynamics of securitisation, control, privatisation, commodification, exclusion, depoliticisation. I explained how such dynamics affect, to an extent, those urbanisms that I defined as obsolescing ones. I therefore ascribed such dynamics to two fundamental fenced archetypes, the gated community and the camp, as I show in Figure 1.10 and as I will explore in detail in chapter 2. With research question 1, I seek therefore to highlight the possible emergence of gated-community-like dynamics and camp-like dynamics within obsolescing urbanisms. I articulate such research question in two sub-research questions:

- **sub-research question 1.1:** what design practices lead to the emergence of gated-community-like dynamics i.e. to the emergence of phenomena of security-obsession, privatisation and commodification of urban space, fetishization and iconisation of the urban form within an obsolescing urbanism?
- **sub-research question 1.2:** what design practices lead to the emergence of camp-like dynamics i.e. to phenomena of exclusion, control and depoliticisation of a subject, or a group of subjects within an obsolescing urbanism?

Conversely, I consider as emancipating from the production of the fenced city those practices that contribute to open up, decommodify and repoliticise an obsolescing urbanism [see again Figure 1.10]. The three dimensions of openness, decommodification and repoliticisation articulate into three sub-research questions:

- sub-research question 2.1: what design practices open up (or contribute to open up) an obsolescing urbanism? Such practices will establish social or spatial connections between actors inside and outside such urbanism, or between different actors within such urbanism itself. In the former case, such practices might favour the entrance in the fence of new actors, or create a way-out for actors otherwise entrapped within the fence:
- sub-research question 2.2: what design practices decommodify (or contribute to decommodify) an obsolescing urbanism? Such practices will establish uses that do not depend on, nor revolve around, profit. Or, such practices will introduce or develop a new aesthetics freed from processes of iconisation and fetishization (see chapter 2, page 65);
- sub-research question 2.3: what design practices repoliticise (or contribute to repoliticise) an obsolescing urbanism? Such practices will have an agency in recalibrating the power relations between actors within such urbanism, and in so doing lead to the empowerment of those actors whose political agency was otherwise depleted.

1.6. On the use of theory as method, and on design research

As Schmid, Stanek and Moravanszky (2015, p. 16) posit, "the transversal heterogeneity of the social practices, institutions, policy and norms" can be better stressed and understood through the use of theory. Theory can be defined as an acceptable general principle or body of principles offered to explain phenomena occurring in a certain reality, or as a model or

framework for observing and understanding such reality (Thomas, 2007) – in so doing shaping both what we see and how we see it. In this research, I want to emphasise the potential, in both Agamben's and Foucault's theory, to be used to frame and guide urban research and analysis. In so doing, I make use of such theory in framing my ontology, epistemology and methods.

Firstly, I embed Foucault's (1980) concept of *dispositif* – bearing in mind its later re-elaboration by Agamben (2007, 2009b) – in my research ontology, using it as a lens to read the city and its design as an ensemble of practices, subjectivities, discursive formations. Secondly, building on the use that Foucault (1995) and Agamben (2009a) make of paradigms, I set the fence as paradigm of the current urban transformation, embedding it in my research epistemology and using it thus to enquire reality – deconstructing it through looking at the spatial and governmental practices that constitute the fence as such. Thirdly, such deconstruction informs my methods of data collection and analysis, geared toward understanding discursive and non-discursive practices underpinning the rise and functioning of urban fences. In chapter 4 (page 99) and in the conclusive chapter (page 410), I will discuss to what extent the use of Western theory can be acceptable and useful in analysing processes of transformation in cities of the so-called Global South.

As for research methods, I will expand in chapter 4 on the use of interviews, design workshops, exploratory walks and photographs. Noticeably, throughout the empirical chapters, I make a vast use of in-text illustrations, following the prominent role of photographic methods of data collection in my research (see chapter 4, page 123), and seeking to give exposure to the complexity of the urbanisms I investigate. Representing their materialities and everyday uses through the use of photographs – along with their narratives, textually – has been a way of legitimising and documenting the existence of such locales, in light of their often-precarious condition.⁹

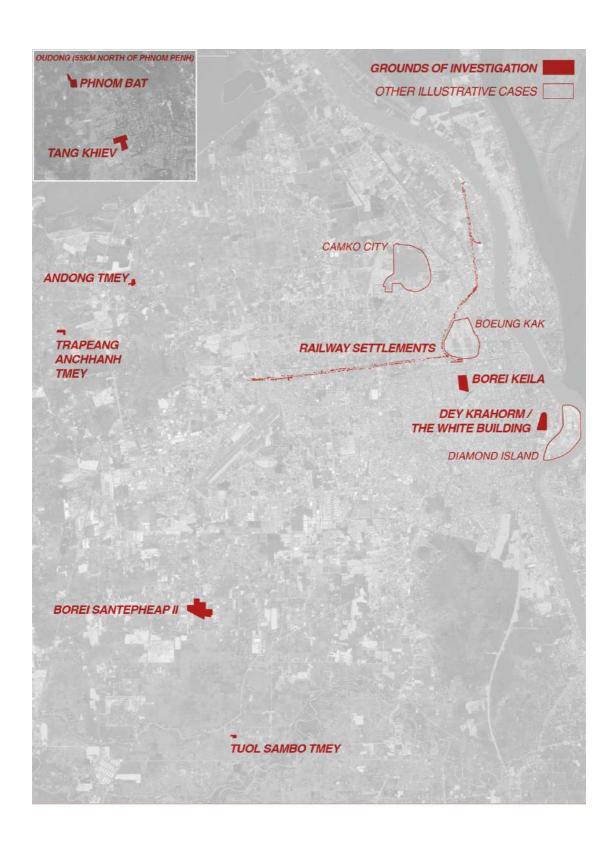
Importantly, the multi-dimensional approach outlined above develops along with a multi-scalar one: I investigate urban environments at different scales and seek to explain the connections between such scales, especially for what concerns dynamics of social cleansing and displacement and their governmental significance. The map in Figure 1.11 shows how such multi- and cross-scalar research attitude has articulated in Phnom Penh.

In shaping the research methodology, I followed a design-oriented and projective attitude, which emphasises the possibility for this research to have an agency in the transformation of

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⁹ I explain in chapters 5, 6, 7 the relentless process of transformation of obsolescing urbanisms in Phnom Penh, and the fact that the White Building and Borei Keila's illegal settlements were almost completely demolished over the course of my research.



1.11. Research grounds of investigation: a multi-scalar investigation across Phnom Penh (elaboration by Author)

the grounds of investigation and in the work of research partners. Such attitude is in line with my own biography as architect and community-architect working within experiences of local and transnational activism:¹⁰ I see indeed design and design research as aiming to *modify* human-environment interactions and to transform them into preferred ones (Findeli, 2012). Understanding the dynamics of an urban reality (descriptive stance), and what is going *wrong* within it (diagnostic stance), leads to consider such reality as a project rather than as an object.

Building on Findeli (2012), I consider a research question as generating from a *design question* and, in the same fashion, a research answer to be found along with a design answer. I recall here the second research question of this research, which asks what design practices emancipate from the production of fenced urbanisms. Drawing on my above definition of emancipatory practices, it is possible to state that such research question emerges from a design question, which reads

how to open up, decommodify, repoliticise the fenced city?

and spells out the projective stance of this research. At the end of each empirical chapter (5, 6, 7), I will interrogate the grounds of investigation of this research through the research questions, highlighting both oppressive and emancipatory dynamics. In the conclusive chapter, I will reason on opportunities for design capitalisation, in line with the design question above.

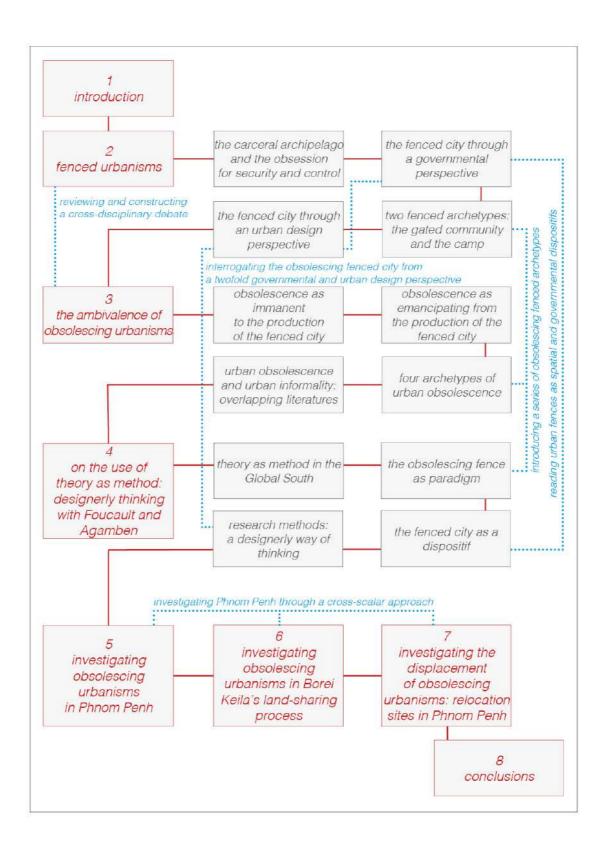
1.7. STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

The thesis is organised, after this introduction, in seven more chapters [Figure 1.12]. Each chapter closes with a summary of the presented argument, facilitating the reading and the connection between chapters.

Chapter 2 reviews the transdisciplinary debate in urban studies on the emergence of fenced environments, as by-product of dynamics of securitisation and control, privatisation and commodification, fetishization and iconisation, exclusion and depoliticisation. As stated, I look at such dynamics from both a governmental and an urban design perspective. Grounding in Foucault's body of work, I explore the interpretation of the modern city as a *carceral archipelago*

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¹⁰ I did work with, and support the activities of: communities of squatters in Rome, Italy (2011-2014); neighbourhood forums in London (2014-2019); dwellers of urban poor settlements in Turkey (2010), Brazil (2012), Vietnam (2012), Philippines (2013), Cambodia (2012-15), Myanmar (2017-19). The work in South-East Asian countries has always been in collaboration with the Community Architects Network, a programme of the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights – I expand on this in chapter 4 (page 103).



1.12. Structure of the thesis (elaboration by Author)

(Foucault, 1995), a paradigm of socio-spatial order aimed at controlling territories and their populations. I therefore review literature on governmental studies, highlighting a shift of focus, in Foucault's work, from the panoptic view of the carceral archipelago to a biopolitical perspective, centred around the government of disciplined bodies (Foucault, 1975, 1991, 2007). Such shift allows me to trace a bridge toward Agamben's (2011) work on oikonomia, and on the overall process of depoliticisation that affects the contemporary society (Flinders and Buller, 2006; Swyngedouw, 2009; Talocci and Boano, 2018). The archetype par excellence of such depoliticised condition is the camp (Agamben, 1998; Minca, 2015): I explore the emergence of camp-like spatialities in the contemporary city, as manifestation of phenomena of forced confinement and ghettoisation. Drawing on the idea of neoliberal governmentality (Ferguson and Gupta, 2002; Peters, 2006; Hamann, 2009; Springer, 2010) and on the interpretation of capitalism as religion (Benjamin, 2005), I counterpose to the camp another fenced archetype: the gated community, as expression of a desire for voluntary seclusion, of a quest for safety and status (Webster, 2001; Hook and Vrdoljak, 2002; Irazábal, 2006; Minton, 2009). I close the chapter reviewing urban design literature concerned with the emergence of such archetypes, exploring the role of design in the production of urbanisms obsessed with the quest for security and control (Newman, 1973; Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee, 1998; Carmona, De Magalhães and Edwards, 2002), and affected by an overall process of fetishization and iconisation of commodified spatialities (Julier, 2005; Sklair, 2005, 2006).

Chapter 3 focuses on the obsolescence of the fenced city. Using a cross-disciplinary approach, intersecting literature from disciplines such as urban planning, architecture, sociology, urban history, geography, gender studies, I construct a debate on obsolescence with a specific focus on urban transformation processes. I show how, in such a debate, obsolescence assumes an ambivalent character. Firstly, obsolescence is read as immanent to the commodifying and exclusionary dynamics of the fenced city (Harvey, 1985; Bulow, 1986; Bryson, 1997; Abramson, 2016): I discuss how discourses of obsolescence have pervaded the discussion on urban transformation, supporting the criminalisation, social cleansing, or demolition of areas deemed as blighted and derelict. Secondly, I investigate obsolescence as a possibility of emancipation from the dynamics of the fenced city. I group the literature that has read obsolescence as emancipatory along two axes: literature concerned, on one side, with spaces of ruination, abandonment and decay (Ruskin, 1889; DeSilvey and Edensor, 2013); on the other side, with interstitial, marginal, empty spaces (de Solà-Morales Rubió, 1995a; Careri, 2002). I show how the (constructed) debate on obsolescing urbanisms and the one on urban informality (Groth and Corijn, 2005; Alsayyad and Roy, 2006; Yiftachel, 2009a; Cerise and Shannon, 2010; Dovey and King, 2012) partially overlap. Building on such debates, I introduce four more archetypes of transformation of the (obsolescing) fenced city – the ruin, the interstice,

the margin, the void – and discuss their relevance in understanding the intrinsic ambivalence of obsolescing urbanisms.

Chapter 4 explains the research methodology. I remark the use of theory as method, not only to frame a perspective on urban reality but to guide my investigation (Schmid, Stanek and Moravánszky, 2015). I reason on the use of theory in the Global South, and on how such use can be conducive to provincialise the regional debate (Raghuram and Madge, 2006; Chakrabarty, 2008; Parnell and Robinson, 2012) and to have an agency in favour of otherwise subaltern populations. I present research partners and the ethics of working with them. I therefore explore the use of paradigms in research and in the works of Foucault and Agamben, and clarify the use of the fence as paradigm (Foucault, 1995; Göktürk, 2005; Agamben, 2009a). In a similar fashion, I reconstruct the genealogy of the dispositif concept in Foucault and Agamben, review the use of the concept in research, and embrace it as conceptual lens to look at the fenced city (Foucault, 1980; Deleuze, 1992; Pløger, 2008; Agamben, 2009b; Velasco Arias, 2011). The chapter closes explaining the use of design as method, emphasising in particular the use of urban design categories for the analysis of the grounds of investigation, the *projective* stance of the research (Findeli, 2012), and the use of an *expanded* definition of design (Tonkiss, 2013; Boano, 2014).

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 present the case of Phnom Penh. In chapter 5, I investigate Phnom Penh's transformation at the city-wide level, following a historical trajectory. I show how, in the post-colonial period (after 1953),¹¹ Phnom Penh's built environment was *modernised* following discourses of beautification, sanitisation, and monumentalisation of public housing, facilities and infrastructure (Grant Ross and Collins, 2006). I show therefore how such modernity was *informalised*, after the fall of the Khmer Rouge Regime (1979)¹² and the following reappropriation of the built stock (and of idle land)¹³ on a first-come first-served basis (Khemro, 2000; Khemro and Payne, 2004).¹⁴ I therefore set the beginning of a new modernity in 2001, with the promulgation of the Land Law (RGC, 2001) and the consequent transformation of urban land in a tool for the accumulation of capital by powerful Cambodian elites and foreign investors (Springer, 2011b, 2012). In such modernity, several urban realities are de facto declared obsolete: derelict buildings are left in their decayed state and eventually demolished;

¹¹ Cambodia gained independence from the French Protectorate on the 9 November 1953.

¹² The Khmer Rouge regime was established on the 17 April 1975 and eventually overthrown on the 7 January 1979.

¹³ The Vietnamese authorities ruling Cambodia after the fall of the Khmer Rouge had established the *dey samaki* policy. *Dey samaki* is translatable as 'land solidarity': following the policy, newcomers were allowed to settle on public land – I expand on the classification on Cambodia's regimes of land tenure in chapter 5 (page 160).

¹⁴ With significant exceptions such as the White Building (see chapter 5, page 187) and Borei Keila (see chapter 6).

informal settlements are forcibly evicted and erased; interstitial forms of informality are reappropriated for the sake of infrastructural modernisation. I reflect on such dynamics exploring the cases of, respectively, the White Building and its demolition, the eviction of Dey Krahorm's settlement and following development of its land, the Railway settlements and the Railway Rehabilitation Project.

Chapter 6 presents extensively the case of Borei Keila (UPDF, 2003c; Rabé, 2005, 2010; Boonyabancha, 2014; Talocci and Boano, 2018), zooming onto the scale of the neighbourhood and analysing its spatial upgrading process (following a land-sharing process). Again, I present the site's evolution from a historical standpoint, and show how the transformation of the site can be understood as a continuous cycle of processes of modernisation and obsolescence. I navigate a series of urban voids, of ruins, of interstitial urbanisms, surviving at the core of the site in spite of (or as by-products of) its overall profit-driven transformation.

Chapter 7 navigates six relocation sites (STT, 2012d; Connell and Grimsditch, 2016; Talocci and Boano, 2016), currently hosting populations displaced from the localities explored in chapters 5 and 6.

Each of the previous three chapters concludes with the analysis of the empirical data. Chapter 8 discusses the research findings and original contributions to scholarship – along with research limitations and potential trajectories for future studies.

¹⁵ Land-sharing is a tool of slum upgrading. I expand on it in chapter 5, page 156.

2.1. Introduction: The city as an ensemble of fences

The research grounds in the transdisciplinary debate, in urban studies, focusing on the proliferation of fenced environments in the contemporary city. Fences are tangible manifestations of dynamics of securitisation, control, privatisation, commodification, exclusion. This chapter explores such debate, highlighting how urban environments have become increasingly gated, and spatial injustices have replicated at multiple scales, leading to a fragmented urban condition. I define such condition as *the fenced city*, acknowledging the fence as spatial and governmental paradigm of the current urban transformation.

In this chapter (see Figure 1.7), I start my exploration grounding in Foucault's body of work, and interpreting the modern city as a *carceral archipelago* (Foucault, 1995), as paradigm of socio-spatial order aimed at controlling territories and their populations. I therefore introduce urban studies literature concerned with the proliferation of urbanisms obsessed with a quest for security and control. I discuss the production of such urbanisms as essentially revolving around two fenced archetypes: the gated community (Webster, 2001; Hook and Vrdoljak, 2002) and the camp (Agamben, 1998) — expression respectively of voluntary seclusion and forced confinement.

I read the emergence of such archetypical fenced figures from a twofold perspective, a governmental one and an urban design one. As for governmental studies, I remark a shift, in Foucault's work, from the *panoptic* view of the carceral archipelago to a *biopolitical* perspective, centred around the government of *disciplined bodies* (Foucault, 1980, 1991; Bazzicalupo, 2006; Esposito, 2012, 2013): such shift allows me to trace a bridge toward Agamben's work on *oikonomia* (Agamben, 2011), and on the overall process of depoliticisation that affects the contemporary society (Flinders and Buller, 2006; Lazzarato, 2009; Swyngedouw, 2009, 2010a; Talocci and Boano, 2018). From an urban design perspective, I close the chapter reviewing literature concerned with the role of design in the emergence of security- and control-obsessed urbanisms (Newman, 1973; Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee, 1998; Minton, 2009), and affected

by an overall process of fetishization and iconisation (Julier, 2005; Sklair, 2005, 2006; Carmona, 2009).

2.2. THE CARCERAL ARCHIPELAGO: THE OBSESSION FOR SECURITY AND CONTROL

The idea of *carceral archipelago* was elaborated by Foucault (1995 [1977]) across a series of reflections, lectures, publications tackling the surveillance and control of territories and their populations (Foucault, 1975, 1991, 1995). In *Discipline and Punish* (Foucault, 1995, p. 524) the French philosopher argues that while "in penal justice, the prison transformed the punitive procedure into a penitentiary technique, the carceral archipelago transported this technique from the penal institution to the entire social body." The spatial organisation of the prison as *panopticon* was dictated by the necessity of controlling the prisoners' behaviour: the prisoners, occupying cells at the periphery of a circular structure, could have theoretically been observed at any time by a guardian, who – working from an inspection house at the centre of the building – stayed invisible to the prisoners' eyes.

With the carceral archipelago, such structure of total and constant control expands to the scale of the social body, concretising in measures against what, for Foucault (1995), are the two paradigms of modern urban management: the *plague* and the *leprosy*. On one hand, there lay the extreme measures of control in an urban context against the plague: partitions, inspections, continuous registrations. On the other hand, there existed measures of exclusion against those lepers that were trying to enter the city: borders and protection from the outside.

The *modern* city became thus controlled through a dual level of partitions and regulatory techniques: a multiplicity of inner ones (the plague paradigm) and an outer one (the leprosy paradigm). Foucault (1995) points out how modern urbanisms have been permeated and inextricably linked to *biopolitical* regimes of security: "from the eighteenth century on, every discussion on politics as the art of government of men necessarily includes a chapter or a series of chapters on urbanism, on collective facilities, on hygiene, and on private architecture" (Foucault, 2004, p. 108). The functionality of urbanism in the management of a given population complements Foucault's comments on the architecture of hospitals and prisons, revealing how the instrumentalisation of urbanism within biopolitical regimes of security and control went hand-in-hand with the development of disciplinary techniques, including urban ones.

The dual paradigm leprosy/plague has been inherited in different forms and conceptions in the evolution and morphology of contemporary cities: for instance, controlling stability at all costs

by purging inner contestation; or protecting the city from external pressures, rhetorically constructed as threats, such as for instance an increasing number of migrant; or discouraging gatherings and using temporary or permanent barricades [Figure 2.1]. A paradigm of sociospatial order, therefore, translates into the design and construction of fenced and partitioned urbanisms.

2.2.1. Urban fear and the obsession for security and control

Foucault's (1995) concept of carceral archipelago has greatly inspired the work on Los Angeles' urbanisms of both Davis (1990) and Soja (2000). Davis speaks of a 'fortress L.A.', of a city attending the destruction of its public space, the mushrooming of walls around the plots of richer neighbourhoods, and the rise of what at the time was the largest corporate citadel. Davis describes such citadel as "segregated from the poor neighbourhoods around it by a monumental architectural glacis" (1990, p. 223), and by the construction of temporary barricades as part of a wider 'war on drugs'. Davis, ironically, also remarks a sort of competition between L.A.'s carceral system and its commercial developments, noticing how, for instance, the towers of the county jail were opposite to a new secluded complex of skyscraper hotels and offices.

Soja (2000, p. 154) elaborates further the idea of *fortress urbanism*, speaking of a city with sophisticated surveillance technologies – responding to an ecology of fear "by increasingly substituting police for polis". Soja's Los Angeles becomes thus filled with protected and fortified spaces, rich enclosures offering protection against the dangers of daily life – be these real or imaginary ones. Luxury lifestyles get translated into the repression of space and movement – to the extent that fortressed space gets 'normalised', embedded into urban life [Figure 2.2].

For both Davis and Soja, the urban realm takes the form of a collection of islands where individuals and communities barricade themselves – either voluntarily or not. ¹⁶ Both authors highlight the process occurring once the carceral system spreads till affecting wider urban dynamics. On one side, fear gets spatialised through the installation and proliferation of security apparatuses, which affect the perception and use of public space, too. On the other side, fear produces a polarised urban condition, with fenced wealthy developments in opposition to

¹⁶ Soja (2000) expands his argument listing another possible feature of islands that voluntarily barricade: their potential invisibility, the capacity of being overseen by public and private power and authority.





- 2.1. Barbed wire in central Phnom Penh, August 2013, ready to be used to fence off roads against the rally of the political opposition party CNRP (Source: Author)
 2.2. Pictures from the work Wrapped Futures, by Phnom-Penh-based artist Lim Sokchanlina (Source: Barsch, Gleeson, and Fischer 2013)

'partitioned' and 'controlled' spaces where to confine the poor, the unruly, the outlier, the unhealthy.

Published in the same year than Soja's Postmetropolis (2000), Caldeira's book City of Walls. Crime, Segregation and Citizenship in São Paulo (2001) - along with the earlier Fortified Enclaves. The New Urban Segregation (Caldeira, 1999) - revolves around a reflection on a divided contemporary city that, ultimately, creates different regimes of citizenship. Caldeira describes an urban realm overly dominated by a landscape of secure apartment complexes in the centre and gated communities in the periphery: planners and designers responded to a higher level of fear with a higher insulation, destined to characterise the urban realm far more than the fenced plots of the richer neighbourhoods of Los Angeles. Although the range of techniques of segregation encompasses the use of walls, gates, surveillance cameras and private security guards, Caldeira (1999, 2001) remarks how the new housing revolves around more than security and seclusion: its upper-middle class inhabitants indeed seeks for social homogeneity, amenities and services. Such shift - that I will investigate in depth in section 2.4 below - is for Caldeira a paradoxical response to a democratisation process occurred while both a social gap and violent criminal acts were increasing, with the consequent criminalisation of the lower-income strata of the society. Caldeira links the construction of urban walls and fences to the rise of discourses of differentiated citizenship (with different social classes entitled to different sets of rights) and of human rights abuse - I will explore such aspects further in section 2.3 below.

The spatialisation of fear has been therefore accompanied by an increasing privatisation of the city and by the consequent shrinkage of its public space: under discourses of security, public spaces have been fenced and *protected*, while public buildings have got fortified, and entire neighbourhoods secluded from the rest of the city. Minton (2009) has investigated London's Docklands to show how urban regeneration processes have meant the enclosure of wealth behind gates, the diffusion of surveillance dispositives, and the transformation of public space in a retail playground.

Dikeç (2013) has expanded on such multidimensional character of urban fences, highlighting how French *banlieues* and their immigrant populations have been constructed as 'dangerous things' in the discourses of politicians and media and in the development of a *securitarian* ideology. Authors as Bannister & Fyfe (2001) and Cozens (2011) have explored the need for security as a social demand, as crime and the fear of crime have contributed to deplete cities of the possibility of celebrating difference. Similarly, Minton (2009) analyses how discourses around security turn into urban segregation and spaces that are constantly patrolled. Other authors have investigated the rise of security-obsessed urbanisms in contexts of violent conflict

and war, in relation to urban planning (Abu-orf, 2012), to the production of protection spaces (Boano, 2011) and to the effects of terrorism on urban transformation (Sorkin, 2008; Barnard-Wills, Moore and McKim, 2012).

Tulumello (2015, 2017) has reviewed extensively the literature on security-obsessed urbanisms and built a taxonomy of urban *fearscapes*, linking them to forms of voluntary seclusion (as in gated communities) and spaces of forced exclusion (as in camps). I will explore the archetypes of the camp and of the gated community in section 2.3 below.

2.2.2. The use of infrastructures as means to enhance security and control

Tulumello (2015, 2017) deconstructs processes of fortification and privatisation in their multidimensional nature, highlighting not only the use of physical barriers and security regulations, but also the reduction and polarisation of rights of mobility toward and through, access to, and use of enclosed spaces and the infrastructural networks connecting them. Tulumello uses the term *barrier* to refer to those infrastructural networks for mobility that have developed as means of connection on one side and of fragmentation on the other side – allowing some places to get mutually closer while excluding others. At the same time, he remarks how the access to these infrastructures is regulated and sometimes restricted by the obligation of paying tolls, and how their physical impact might also impede a movement in the direction that is perpendicular to their flows.

A fundamental contribution in understanding infrastructural networks as systems of, at the same time, connection and disconnection, has been provided by Graham and Marvin (2001), who have focused on the role that infrastructural nets play in *splintering* the urban realm and excluding supposedly dangerous populations — taking to the extreme the analysis of infrastructures when they are radically transformed into *premium* ones, accessible only to members of the urban elites. Petti (2007) has used precisely the Foucauldian concept of archipelago to remark the presence of disconnected enclaves¹⁷ lying outside a system of secluded settlements connected through premium infrastructures. Considering infrastructural networks and the formation of camp-like spatialities (see following section) at a territorial scale, Weizman (2007) has shown how in the case of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict infrastructural nets have been used as means of war — reducing distances for the Israeli army while at the same time fragmenting the Palestinian territory. Graham (2009, 2010) has developed further

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¹⁷ Petti uses the term enclave to indicate camp-like spatialities, rather than in the more conventional meaning of wealthy gated communities (see for instance: Alsayyad and Roy, 2006).

such idea, speaking of *military* urbanism, highlighting how militarised practices of tracking and targeting urban circulation have by now been normalised, and how political violence is systematically deployed against and through urban infrastructures. For Graham (2009, p. 393), the spread of political violence has turned the city into a conflict zone where borders and fences around defended enclaves and security zones are proliferating, to protect them from an *outside* "deemed unruly, impoverished or dangerous".

In the following section, I read the obsession for security and control from a governmental perspective.

2.3. THE FENCED CITY THROUGH A GOVERNMENTAL PERSPECTIVE: FROM THE CONTROL OF THE URBAN REALM TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SUBJECT

The work of Foucault after *Discipline and Punish* (1995 [1977]) articulates over two apparently diverging paths (Lemke, 2002): on one hand, as an investigation over the genealogy of the state; and, on the other hand, as an interest on the genealogy of the 'subject'. For Lemke (2002), the missing link between these two areas is the problem of government: while most of Foucault's reflections on this issue remain unpublished, the philosopher, through lectures held between 1978 and 1979 at the Collège de France, analysed indeed the connection between technologies of the self and of domination, and between the constitution of the subject and the constitution of the state as a problem of government.

In those lectures, Foucault (1991 [1978]) purposely introduces the concept of 'governmentality', semantically linking the action of governing to an ensemble of modes of thought ('-mentality'). In so doing, Foucault indicates the indissoluble link between technologies of power and political rationalities behind them, and the necessity to study both at the same time (Lemke, 2002). One more important aspect is the use of the notion of 'government' in the older meaning of the term: Foucault draws the term back to those texts that, until the eighteenth century, used it to refer to problems of state and administration, but also of self-control, household management, education. Government, therefore, as conduct, is meant as government of the self and government of others. The philosopher states that we live in the era of *governmentality*, and that "the problems of governmentality and the techniques of government have become the only political issues, the only real space for political struggle and contestation" (Foucault, 1991, p. 103).

For Foucault, the governmental state is no longer defined in terms of its territoriality, of its surface area, but in terms of the mass of its population with its volume and density, and its conduct. *Biopolitics*, for Foucault (1975), represents precisely a shift from the panoptic view (see above) to a government of disciplined bodies. Biopolitics enhances the functions of government (Chignola, 2016), introducing a biopower that is bound up with living relationships and with the conduct of beings — drawing from Hobbes' (2003) pastoral view of the sovereign, as prefiguring a political order. I elaborate further on the biopolitical aspect of urban government in the following sub-section.

Governmentality therefore emerges as *the conduct of one's conduct* (Foucault, 1991): the governmental action translates into pervading society, at all levels, with a network of institutions and disciplinary and regulatory techniques (Driver, 1985), "ultimately produc[ing] subjects that behave as they ought" (Jazeel, 2009, p. 139). Foucault understands governmentality as a very specific and complex form of power, exercised through a range of *technologies* and *dispositifs* — an aggregate of physical, social and normative infrastructure, that are put into place to deal strategically with a particular problem. I will expand on the concept of dispositif in chapter 4 (page 113), exploring its methodological significance for this research.

Ferguson and Gupta (2002) have importantly warned on how governmental power is not exercised only *from above*, by the State. In the attempt to understand how different forms of power are exercised and, consequently, forms of government and conduct are implemented, the scholarship has elaborated the concepts of colonial governmentality (Scott, 1995), countergovernmentality (Appadurai, 2002), civic governmentality (Roy, 2009a), neoliberal governmentality (Peters, 2006; Hamann, 2009; Cotoi, 2011).

Scott (1995) elaborated the idea of *colonial* governmentality, as the introduction of a new game of politics that the subject is obliged to play if it wants to be counted as political. In so doing, a *modernity* is created and the subject is called to abide to it, not to be deemed as *obsolete*. While such modernity might actually bring an expansion in the possibilities of individual choice, Asad remarks how only *modern* choices can be made, within a wider "re-organisation of the social spaces in which subjects act and are acted upon" (Asad, 1992, p. 337). Pre-modern possibilities are therefore no longer available: possible resistances and local modes of production are marginalised under the totalising influence of a hegemonic entity. Marginalisation and exclusion manifest in the distorted representation of the colonised too, at

the level of image and language (Said, 1995): the colonised subject is denied voice, autonomy and agency.¹⁸

Appadurai (2002), speaking of counter-governmentality, discusses the actual possibilities of resistance to colonial power. He defines of counter-governmentality as a form of resistance to the *top-down* governmental apparatus, opposed by a governmentality *from below* (see also: Ilcan and Lacey, 2011), "animated by the social relations of shared poverty, by the excitement of active participation in the politics of knowledge and spontaneous everyday politics" (Appadurai, 2002, p. 35).

Importantly, Roy (2009a) overcomes the distinction between a governmentality from the top and one from below, speaking of *civic* governmentality. In her work, Roy focuses on the politics of inclusion aimed to institutionalise participatory citizenship: looking at the cases of the NGO SPARC¹⁹ in Mumbai and of Hezbollah²⁰ in Beirut, she shows how civic governmentality is overencompassing, and how its mechanisms work at multiple levels and in multiple directions. For Roy, means of exercising power and imposing conduct involve: infrastructures of populist mediation, as organisations make sure of existing in a seamless relationship with the people; norms of self-rule, as people's conduct is affected by the introduction and application of an ethics of the self; technologies of government, such as for instance the control over the production of knowledge.

The reflections on colonial, counter- and civic governmentality are highly relevant for this research. The production of the fenced city can be indeed understood as a form of colonialism over urban space: the assertion of control over an urban environment occurs along with the establishment of new modernities, to which all urban subjects should abide – I will discuss this process especially exploring the redevelopments of Dey Krahorm (chapter 5, page 177) and Borei Keila (chapter 6). At the same time, forms of resistances to such modernities emerge, although not necessarily leading to emancipatory conditions. Importantly, I shift away from the dualism of Appadurai's (2002) argument, and rather second Roy's (2009a) argument: I understand the interplay between the establishment of new modernities and the emergence of resistances not as happening in a dichotomic fashion, but rather as occurring at multiple levels,

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¹⁸ The work of Scott puts the emphasis on the constitution of what Foucault (1991) defines as *political rationalities*, i.e. complexes of knowledge/power that give shape to colonial projects of political sovereignty. Colonial power, for Scott, is hence organised as sets of activities that eventually produce effects of rule.

¹⁹ SPARC is the acronym of Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centers and is one of the largest Indian NGOs working on housing and infrastructure issues for the urban poor.

²⁰ Hezbollah is a Shi'a Islamist political party and militant group based in Lebanon.

hinging upon multiple dimensions of urban development, being performed by multiple actors with the overall aim to exercise control over an urban space.

An important part of the debate has focused on neoliberalism and on its connections to governmentality. Cotoi (2011) points out how, for Foucault (2008b), liberalism and neoliberalism are seen as practices to rationalise governance. Amo-Agyemang (2017) speaks of a neoliberal dispositif, exploring apparatuses of neoliberal political rationality, as discursive formations and concrete practices that eventually mobilise authoritative actors, governance techniques, and forms of truth: it is easy to establish a parallel with Foucault's (1980) definition of dispositif as an ensemble of institutions, laws, administrative and regulatory techniques, scientific statements, as I explore in chapter 4 (page 113). Springer (2008, 2009b, 2010, 2015b), with a specific look at dynamics of dispossession in Cambodia, speaks of the violence endured by ordinary Cambodians in their everyday lives, as outcome of neoliberal policies: embracing the critique of neoliberalism as governmentality, Springer asserts that neoliberal hegemony can be established only excluding the unwanted ones, those who would otherwise obstruct capitalistic progress and accumulation. Peters (2006) draws on Foucault (2008b) to state that neoliberal modes of government construct subjects as apparently free, while for Hamann (2009) the neoliberal subject is constructed as an individual who is morally responsible for navigating the social realm grounding upon solely market-based principles - to the extent of excluding all other ethical values and social interests.²¹ In a similar fashion, Leshem (2016), in The Origins of Neoliberalism, explains how subjects are governed in the economy of the neoliberal market as creatures driven by the pursuit of satisfying desires: such desires can be generated by any existing object, and lie behind the very idea of economic growth.

Importantly, Cotoi (2011) explains how, in Foucault (2008b), 'economy' is not an organisation outside the state nor against it: rather, "the emergency of 'economy' means the appearance of new forms of knowledge and power that are best understood as transformation of the former disciplinary regimes" (2008b, p. 112).

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²¹ Agamben (2009b) extends this argument to the entire capitalist society. Drawing from Benjamin's (2005) *Capitalism as Religion* and Debord's (1992) *The Society of the Spectacle*, Agamben notes that it is exactly capitalism, through the sphere of consumption, to realize a 'pure form of separation'. In the separation of exchange-value from use-value, the commodity turns into an inaccessible fetish and, in Debord's (1992) words, the real world is transformed into *images*.

2.3.1. The depoliticisation of the fenced city

Building upon Foucault's investigations into the genealogy of governmentality, Agamben enquires those mechanisms that have allowed power to assume the form of an *oikonomia*,²² of the sole government of men (Agamben, 2011). Agamben extends the historical span of governmentality – whose start Foucault had placed in the Sixteenth century – back to the early centuries of Christian theology, whereby the Trinitarian form of oikonomia comes to constitute a paradigmatic form (and therefore a privileged laboratory for the observation and the articulation of the governmental machine). Agamben overlaps the study of oikonomia to the one of Glory – of power as ceremonial and liturgical regality – highlighting how the use of Glory and acclamation is central to the political apparatuses of contemporary democracies and materialises in the form of public opinion and consensus.

Oikonomia in this sense differs from politics exactly as the house (*oikos*) differs from the city (*polis*) (see also: Agamben, 2014). Rather, oikonomia is conceived as an immanent ordering of both divine and human life. Such ordering for Agamben must be understood as a *domestic* one, insofar as the *oikos* is meant as a complex organism composed of heterogeneous relations (between masters and slaves, parents and children, husband and wife) that are linked by an administrative paradigm – concerning a functional order.

The dichotomy between *polis* and *oikos* has ultimately dissolved under the economic impetus of the private sphere. The *polis*, or *civitas* – in the Roman era the collective body of all citizens, and the contract binding them together – has been taken over by the *urbs*, the physical city, by a neutralised form of material and infrastructural proximity. This process, for Agamben (2011), suppresses the political character of the *civitas* in favour of a managerial paradigm, referring to the model of mere administration of the *oikos*.

In a regime of *oikonomia*, politics is therefore reduced to the sole administration and government of an environment: the space of the oikonomia is an economic, bio-political, and juridical space in which subjects are de-subjectified (Campbell, 2012) through the complete obliteration of politics, in favour of "a pure activity of government that aims at nothing other than its own replication" (Agamben, 2009b, p. 22).²³ Agamben (2009b) draws the attention precisely on (de)subjectification processes (Legg, 2011): the *zoe* (living beings) become *bios* (subjects)

²² The word 'economy' finds its etymological root in the Greek term 'oikonomia', which literally means management of the household (Oxford Living Dictionaries, 2019a).

²³ In chapter 4 (page 113), I link the concept of *oikonomia* to the one of *dispositif* (with the Latin term *dispositio* being the translation of, precisely, the Greek *oikonomia*).

but are configured as "docile, yet free, bodies, that assumes their identity and their 'freedom' as subjects in the very process of their desubjectification" (Agamben, 2009b, p. 19). The subject is eventually depoliticised and survives only in a *spectral* form, it is *displaced*, living in a condition of exclusionary inclusion, *taken outside*, while "the triumph of the *oikonomia*" occurs (Agamben, 2009b, p. 22). Biopolitics becomes therefore politics reduced to the government and administration of humans, as if they were beings living a sole biological or bare life (Bazzicalupo, 2006; Mills, 2015).

Recent literature (Swyngedouw, 2005, 2010b, 2011) has elaborated on the *post-political* condition of the urban realm, highlighting how contemporary politics work precisely through outlining consensus-driven mechanisms of participation – de facto impeding any actual political engagement of the urban subject. Scholars have discussed the limits of consensus-driven policies (Allmendinger and Haughton, 2012) and participatory processes (Till, 2005; Boano and Kelling, 2013), highlighting how conflict gets displaced and marginalised and the potential of oppositional voices is often discarded. Decision-making is increasingly depoliticised (Paddison, 2009; Deas, 2012) and urban policies disregard objectives of socio-spatial equity in favour of, rather, guaranteeing efficiency, competitiveness and economic growth (Peck, 2011; Becerril Miranda, 2014; Fiori, 2014), to the extent of creating a *post-political* urban condition (Mouffe, 2005; Swyngedouw, 2005). The paradigm of *oikonomia* therefore informs and determines the whole political economy of modernity and the administrative, 'impolitical', notion of contemporary governmentality.

In the following session I explore how such governmental condition has translated into the emergence of the two fundamental archetypes of the fenced city: the camp and the gated community.

2.4. TWO FENCED ARCHETYPES: THE CAMP AND THE GATED COMMUNITY

2.4.1. The camp archetype, and camp-like spatialities

Building on Agamben (1998), I argue that the depoliticised condition I explored above materialises in the archetype of the *camp*. The camp is the manifestation of the emergence of a new spatial governmentality, deploying its power establishing conditions of *exception*. In the camp, the *bios* turns again into *zoe*: in other words, political life is reduced to *bare life*. Agamben draws from the work of Schmitt (2007) on *sovereignty* – as the power to decide the instauration

of the state of exception,²⁴ in so doing liberating the executive power from any legal constraints. The Law, for Schmitt, is defended through its suspension, making possible any type of violence. Relevantly, such suspension does not represent an exceptional moment, but is seen by Schmitt as the predominant form of life of the State.

In an urban context, it is possible to say that this exception spatialises through the emergence of *fenced* and controlled spatialities, which Agamben conceptualises precisely as camps. The idea of the camp traces back to Agamben's (1998) *Homo Sacer* and can be assumed as the archetype of an urbanism founded on the gestures of *fencing out* territories and *fencing in* populations – and on the obliteration of politics, on the passage from *bios* to *zoe*, on the reduction of the subject to a docile body and its bare life.

If today the state of exception has become the rule (Diken and Bagge-Laustsen, 2006; Ek, 2006), then the camp acquires significance to stress the conventional understandings of how cities are composed (Pløger, 2008; Boano and Martén, 2013; Giaccaria and Minca 2011). Boano & Martén (2013, p. 8) remark how "Agamben, evoking Foucault, suggests the basis for the constitution of extreme spatial organisation in modern metropolis is founded on the principles of exclusion and control, albeit in a blended modality".

Agamben (1998) explains how the exception is a form of exclusion: however, what gets excluded is actually not without any relation to the *rule*, as "[t]he state of exception is [...] not the chaos that precedes order, but rather the situation that results from its suspension" (Agamben, 1998, p. 18). Diken (2004) has offered an interesting interpretation of this suspension, reading the camp as a *non-place*, and including in the definition of camp also more *desirable* camp-like spatialities as gated communities, which I explore in the following subsection, as the second archetype characterising the fenced city and its transformation.

Camps, therefore, can be read as both *taken outside* and *suspended* (Agamben, 1998) environments: on one side, they are included in the government of the city through their exclusion from its political life; on the other side, their exceptionality makes possible the constant suspension of the order otherwise ruling the urban realm.

Scholars have interpreted a wide array of contemporary urban environments as camp-like spatialities. From refugee camps (Diken, 2004; Ek, 2006; Minca, 2015; Katz, 2017) to relocation sites for displaced populations (Talocci and Boano, 2015) [Figure 2.3], from urban ghettos (Wacquant, 1997, 2012) to social housing estates (De Decker and Newton, 2009; Dugan, 2009;

²⁴ The most widely accepted translation from the German *Ausnahmezustand* is 'state of exception', but the literal translation reads 'state of emergency'.





2.3. Evolution of the camp archetype. Left: map of Anlong Knang relocation site (source: Asan 2003). Right: satellite view of Chung Ruk (Samaki 1) relocation site (elaboration by Author; source of satellite picture: Apple Maps 2019) 2.4. Evolution of the gated community archetype: presence of mixed uses in Phnom Penh's Diamond Island, one of Phnom Penh's satellite cities. The image shows one of the early renderings for the project, which have significantly changed by now (see chapter 5; source: Seal 2014)

Talocci and Boano, 2018), from squatted spaces (Vasudevan, 2015) to informal settlements (Roy, 2005; Knudsen, 2017) – the latter as establishment of a state of exception by the planning and legal apparatus of the state — I build upon such argument in chapter 3 (page 88), reading how literature on urban informality partially overlaps the one on urban obsolescence. Importantly, Alsayyad and Roy (2006) speak of a 'medieval modernity' noticing how camps and informal settlements (and gated communities) are constituted through multiple and competing sovereignties, producing both fiefdoms of regulation and zones of no-law.

A common trait amongst all camp-like spatialities is a regime of socio-spatial disconnection, of exception, whereby their inhabitants are confined in a precarious condition, with uneven access to services, livelihoods, or even rights – their political life reduced to a bare one, depoliticised. Jeffrey, McFarlane and Vasudevan (2012) have spoken of subjects that are *proletarianised, de-humanised, normalised,* speaking of a new landscape of enclosures made of special economic zones, extractive enclaves, prisons and, precisely, camps. Knudsen (2017, p. 444) states that camps "are part of a humanitarian regime whose main aim is to manage all types of unwanted, itinerant populations: refugees, asylum seekers, and irregular or undocumented (sans-papier) migrants". Agier (2017) highlighs how a camp-like condition denoted by displacement and confinement, while not necessarily entailing a loss or shift of identity for a population, it still constructs such populations as *other, stranger* – I will analyse such condition of displacement and confinement in several relocation sites in Phnom Penh (see chapter 7).

In this research, I question Phnom Penh's obsolescing urbanisms as possibly configuring as camp-like spatialities: drawing on the above literature review, I ultimately define a camp-like spatiality as one characterised by dynamics of socio-spatial control of the population, by exclusionary dynamics, by dynamics of depoliticisation. I will use such definition in the analysis of the grounds of investigation explored in chapters 5, 6, 7.

In the next sub-section I explore the archetype of the gated community, to then question – in a similar fashion – the emergence of gated-community-like dynamics in Phnom Penh's obsolescing urbanisms.

2.4.2. The gated community archetype, and gated-community-like spatialities

Diken (2004) highlights how the action of 'suspending' an environment should be potentially considered as both oppressive and liberating: gated communities – as well as areas of sex tourism and theme parks, for instance – repeat the logic of the exception characterising camplike spatialities, creating though a condition of privilege rather than one of deprivation. A similar

argument has been put forward by Alsayyad and Roy (2006) and, later, Tulumello (2015), highlighting dualisms and similarities between such two fenced archetypes.

Emphasising the process of spatialisation of capitalist dynamics, Sevilla-Buitrago (2015) has used the figure of the *enclosure*, identifying a general strategy to subtract space from the commons. He shows how enclosure, as fences, can adopt diverse materialities and morphologies and come de facto to represent a territorial equivalent of capitalism: "a means to subsume and homogenise diverse non-commodified, self-managed social spaces under capitalist value-regimes and social orders" (Sevilla-Buitrago, 2015, p. 16). In a similar fashion, Brantlinger (2017) has emphasised how capitalism has always aimed to enclose the commons, arguing how neoliberal policies and the widespread privatisation of originally common resources and public utilities has let the public interest down in order to generate profit.

The debate on the increasing privatisation of cities, starting from Webster's (2001) seminal *Gated Cities of Tomorrow*, has put particular attention on the proliferation of gated communities, initially addressing a genuine concern toward a form of upper-middle class voluntary seclusion. In the literature, gated communities have been defined as "residential areas with restricted access in which normally public spaces are privatised [...;] [s]ecurity developments with designated parameters, usually walls or fences, and controlled entrances that are intended to prevent penetration by non-residents" (Blakely and Snyder, 1999, p. 2). Gated communities are not built just as security zones, but also to guarantee a status to their residents in terms of lifestyle and prestige. Such characteristics often end up overlapping (Hook and Vrdoljak, 2000, 2002), as for instance in the case of the South-African security-park, exemplar of a "walled-in 'community' living space that accommodates the homes of a typically elite and homogeneous group [...], combining the luxury amenities of a high-class hotel with paramilitary surveillance and protection technology in an effort to separate off exclusive and desirable living areas from the city at large" (Hook and Vrdoljak, 2000, p. 191).

Gated communities have been analysed for supposedly threatening social integration and justice, while arguing that the materialisation of their *negative* effects depends on the spatial and social realities of their wider local context (Douglass, Wissink and van Kempen, 2012). It is therefore not a case that the literature on gated communities has gathered around specific geographic areas. A special issue of Urban Geography for instance has been dedicated entirely to the diffusion of enclave urbanisms in China (Breitung, 2012; Douglass, Wissink and van Kempen, 2012; Hazelzet and Wissink, 2012; Li, Zhu and Li, 2012; Shen and Wu, 2012; Wissink *et al.*, 2012; Yip, 2012). The articles in the special issue remark the sheer (and sought after) separation between *insiders* and *outsiders*, while demonstrating how – in most cases – the Chinese context represents an exception to the usual critique seeing gated communities as

exacerbating urban exclusion and conflicts. While *insiders* justify the practice of gating through arguments of security and the production of good living environments, *outsiders* do seem to accept gates and walls as a new form of urbanisation, and do not necessarily see them as limiting the possibility of contact and exchange amongst different groups.

Srivastava (2015) analyses gated communities in India as geared toward the consolidation of the citizen as consumer, and thriving simultaneously on land commodification and access restriction: he speaks of *entangled* urbanisms, emphasising gated communities as existing alongside poor villages and fuelling discourses of fear and criminality around such a fractured urban space. Other scholars have concentrated on gated communities in Brazil (Caldeira, 1999; Irazábal, 2006), South Africa (Hook and Vrdoljak, 2002; Landman, 2008), Turkey (Candan and Kolluoglu, 2008; Karaman, 2013; Datta, 2014; Zayim, 2014), remarking discourses on security, the widespread treatment of land as a commodity, and the internationalisation and standardisation of such environments' architectural languages and urban design principles, that I will explore in the following sub-section. Datta (2014) has interestingly linked the production of gated developments to the artificial and paternalistic construction of a *gendered domesticity* for the so-defined *modern* Turkish women, rhetorically confined at home in a domestic and reproductive role.

With a jump of scale, scholars have covered and critiqued the development of urban integrated mega-projects. Shatkin (2011b) has spoken of *privatopolis* to indicate the rise of big size projects built on a for profit-basis, usually covering the scale of the urban district if not the one of the city itself. Differently from gated communities, whereby the residential use is predominant, such megaprojects are conceived as "self-contained urban entities, containing residential, commercial, office, and industrial space, in addition – in many cases – to schools, university campuses, hospitals, hotels, and convention centers" (Shatkin, 2011b, p. 77) [Figure 2.4]. Significantly, Shatkin points out how, on one side, such developments depart from a past effort to state-driven masterplanning and are often in the hand of a single developer or a consortium of investors; on the other side, how these large-scale profit-oriented urban entities entail the wholesale commodification of urban land and of the new urban fabric.

The debate on the privatisation of cities and the proliferation of satellite city developments has widely drawn from the current urban transformation occurring in Asian contexts (Shatkin, 2011b; Bunnell *et al.*, 2012; Hogan *et al.*, 2012; on Cambodian cases, see: Paling, 2012b; Percival and Waley, 2012; Percival, 2016). The emphasis has been put, on one side, on the regulated access to such new developments. On the other side, on acknowledging how satellite cities interpret the urban realm not as a fixed locality, but rather as a heterogeneous assemblage composed of both situated and transnational discourses, institutions, actors and

practices that come together – in this case – to achieve the privatisation for profit of a part of town, often a newly created one. Satellite cities rise therefore at the crossroads of transnational practices and policies, investment of capitals, and through the marketisation of homogenised lifestyles, architectural languages and urban design types (Mccann, Roy and Ward, 2013). As I already explained in chapter 1 (page 31), when contextualising this research in the debate on Asian urbanisms, Roy and Ong (2011) have defined such phenomenon as the *worlding* of urban planning and design, and described it as encompassing modernising projects of development along with regimes of governance and neoliberal market experiments.

Drawing from the above literature, in this research I ultimately define a gated-community-like spatiality as one characterised by phenomena of securitisations and by dynamics of privatisation, commodification, fetishization and iconisation of the built environment and its uses. I will use such definition in the analysis of the grounds of investigation explored in chapters 5, 6, 7.

2.5. The fenced city: An urban design perspective

Cuthbert (2006) argues that the most appropriate foundation for urban design should be located within spatial political economy. Political economy can be defined as the study of production and trade in their relations with law, government, and the distribution of wealth (CSC, 2017). Etymologically, political economy connects a polity – any group of organised individuals – to a form of oikonomia, of household and urban management, as I explored above.

While the term 'economics' has gradually replaced 'political economy' from the 19th century on, the latter still holds relevance in the urban design debate. Castells (1983) for instance defines urban design as the symbolic attempt to to express an accepted urban meaning, and links political economy precisely to the struggle for such meanings. Harvey (1985) and Logan and Molotch (1987) use the lens of political economy to reveal the conflict between exchange and use value that is intrinsic in the overall process of capital-driven production of space in the city. Other scholars (Grix, Brannagan and Houlihan, 2015; Medrado and Souza, 2017) have referred to the etymological root of the word 'economy', to focus on the depoliticising and exclusionary dynamics fostered by the current dynamics of urban transformation.

The next two sub-sections explore how urban design – understood as the political economy of urban space, as a form of management and control of urban spaces and populations, along

with their aspirations and desires – is used to produce urbanisms that are securitised and controlled, fetishized and iconised.

2.5.1. The role of urban design in the production of securitised and controlled spaces

Jacobs (1961, p. 31), in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, dedicates a chapter to the issue of security, asserting the role of city planning and of networks of voluntary control enforced by urban inhabitants "for maintaining safety and civilizations [...]. To build city districts that are custom made for easy crime is idiotic." Newman's (1973) *Defensible space* was a groundbreaking publication as it contained reflections coming from the architecture discipline around the possibility of preventing crime through a physical design approach to urban spaces. The concept of defensible space intertwined theory of crime with urban design principles, and had a great impact amongst criminologists and urban planners, designers, architects, till being implemented in numerous communities in the United States and around the world (Irazábal, 2006; De Decker and Newton, 2009; Montgomery, 2011). Till (1998) notices, however, how Newman's legacy has been detrimental to the provision of public spaces for collective life, sacrificed on the altar of the "demarcation of the individual's territory from the public realm as a means of defence from crime and violence" (1998, p. 18).

Carmona, De Magalhaes, and Edwards (Carmona, De Magalhães and Edwards, 2002) have stated that one of the values of urban design lies precisely in its potential contribution to the reduction of crime. Carmona (2014) speaks explicitly of the influence of design factors in the high incidence of crime in certain urban areas, emphasising how government circulars are often issued precisely in order to advise on technical design concerns. Carmona dedicates a section of his *place-shaping continuum* theory to the issue of controlling space and highlights how implementing a security regime include the use of private or public police, extensive CCTV and, often, night-time gating. Speaking of security against terrorist threats, Sorkin (2008, p. xiii) highlights how "the presumption of danger becomes the defining criterion for planning [and how] a high level of risk is always assumed". Sorkin further reflects on the designer's role in deciding how securitisation should manifest, and whether to use "the visible cameras versus the hidden ones, the uniformed cop versus the one in plain clothes, the obvious barrier versus the more behavioural one" (2008, p. xiii).

Louikatou-Sideris and Banerjee (1998) have spoken of *soft control*, to indicate the ways undesirable activities were designed-out of a certain space, with the purpose of reassuring a particular set of users. While hard control involves spatial and legal means of control and the

implementation of proper surveillance, soft control revolves around symbolic techniques: these vary from small-scale urban design measures such as installing spikes on horizontal surfaces to avoid having homeless sleeping, to the removal of food vendors that might attract undesirable users, to the regulation of access to public restrooms.

Design is generally called to specify rigid spatial arrangement in order to respond to the need for security and control (Christopherson, 1994), with the risk of dictating what is deemed to be an appropriate spatial use and therefore systematically excluding those who in such use do not identify. The design of camps for instance has been often critiqued as rigid, focused merely on the sole physical and quantitative dimensions of their transformation (Chalinder, 1998; Herz, 2007; Zetter and Boano, 2010; Sipus, 2014), and ultimately reinforcing exclusionary dynamics. Such argument is of particular relevance for this research, as the rigidity of original design choices – while connected to dynamics of control, exclusion and ultimately depoliticisation – might accelerate the emergence of obsolescing dynamics too.

In other cases, design is asked to limit access to a certain area: this access can just be visual, following the general belief that people will not try to use (or misuse) that space they cannot see (Whyte, 1988), for instance through the implementation of green barriers. Physical access, on the other hand, can be limited through the use of gates, checkpoints, barbed-wire, all of which provide also a form of symbolic and psychological disconnection from the broader urban realm – expressing the desire for an elitist form of separation. Caldeira (1999, 2001) and Irazábal (2006) remark how, often, such separation is linked to messages of happiness, harmony and freedom, supposedly established within a fenced perimeter: the following subsection elaborates on how the current practice of urban design has played a role on such quest for happiness, well-being, status.

2.5.2. The role of urban design in the fetishization and iconisation of the urban realm

Madanipour (2006) has highlighted how urban design of quality is acknowledged as fundamental tool in increasing the exchange value²⁵ of an area. Madanipour's reflection must be linked to the debate discussing the discipline and practice of urban design as an instrument of fast revenues for developers (Cuthbert, 2011) and its neoliberalisation (Gunder, 2011, p. 186), hinging upon its capacity to "effectively mirror its values of reification and façade, the

²⁵ The discussion on the 'value' of urban design has been also elaborated by Carmona, De Magalhaes and Edwards (Carmona, De Magalhaes and Edwards, 2002), suggesting how different stakeholders hold often conflicting perspectives on the benefits of an urban design operation.

superficial, the surface, in the commodification of the built environment for the achievement of capital accumulation under competitive globalisation".

At the same time, it is important to notice how such quality often translates into (and is marketed through) the spectacularisation of urban design interventions: the current practice of urban design – as the perfect product of neoliberalism – has turned the original sacred nature of the fence into a marketing tool (Boano and Talocci, 2014a). Stevens and Dovey (2004, p. 361) highlight how urban space is designed for consumption through the generation of a "predictable palette of images, perceptions and opportunities for action": such strategy actually produces forms of citizens' passivity (Debord, 1992 [1983]), and distance them from the actual experience of urban diversity. Construction sites' hoardings and promotional brochures get populated by portrait of the new development's future inhabitants, represented as a wealthy and healthy elite (Boano and Talocci, 2014a) projecting its sole image on the city's public space (Duman, 2013).

Julier (2005) has spoken of the use of aesthetic markers and place branding to promote regeneration processes through marketing strategies, which involves the use of literature, websites, slogans. He puts designers amongst a network of urban elites and highlights how such marketisation of urban design products does not merely entail the dissemination of leaflets and webpages but, rather, contributes to the creation of over-encompassing *designscapes*, and their commercialisation as such. The production of designscapes, for Julier (2005), feed directly on processes of culture-led regeneration, to the extent of artificially producing culture through dynamics of taste formation.

Carmona (2009, p. 2645) has critiqued such dynamics as *fetishing* of design, "where the image, rather than the inherent value (economic, social or environmental), is of paramount concern." The whole design of the privatopia is about the image of the final product, and its strategic marketisation. Soja (2000) had already pointed out how the fetishing of design had found one powerful form of expression in remarking the fortress-like character of fenced urbanisms. The reshaping of the urban imaginary, in this sense, was deemed to be central in regulating the urban life and maintaining the internal peace of the *postmetropolis*. Davis (1990, p. 223) even gets to playfully remark the complacency of architect Frank Gehry, who, "renowned for his 'humanism', apotheosized the siege look in a library designed to resemble a foreign-legion fort".

Diaz Orueta and Fainstein (2008) have identified a fetishing tendency in the recent revival of mega-projects, which I examined in the previous sub-section, often connected with tourism and sports developments, and incorporating the design of star-architects to reinforce the project's branding. Diaz Orueta and Fainstein point out how any open debate on the consequences of

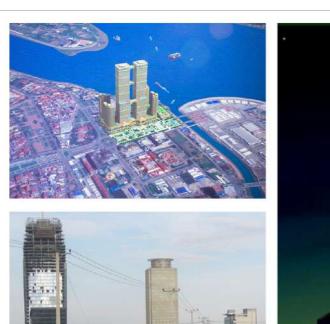
such projects is impeded often amidst rhetoric promises of environmental sustainability and provision of amenities for the whole city. Economic, social and environmental discourses therefore are not simply sublimated in (and superseded by) the image of the new developments, but rather are reduced to rhetorical tools to eventually forge acceptance by oppositional groups – who will prefer to bargain for benefits rather than questioning the logic of the whole programme. As Julier (2005) posits, urban design is conducive to the production of an aesthetic consent, which will then accordingly influence the sphere of politics, confirming Cuthbert's (2005) definition of urban design products as images of the dominant ideologies. Such debate can be traced back to the concept of *localised* aesthetic images put forward by Harvey (1990), who had linked the formation of an aesthetic consent to the necessity of establishing a capitalistic hegemony over urban space through the production of ordered and controlled environments.²⁶

Relevantly, this reflection can be directly linked to the discussion on the rise of the *icon* in the architecture of the globalisation driven by the so-called transnational capitalist class. A series of texts by the urban sociologist Sklair (Sklair, 2005, 2006; Sklair and Gherardi, 2012; Sklair and Struna, 2013) have reflected on the significance of the icon in fostering a culture-ideology of consumerism and consumption. Such ideology takes shape through the joint action of not only the corporate, political and professional sectors, but also the consumerist one. Iconicity becomes a resource in the struggle for meaning and, hence, for power [Figure 2.5].

Drawing from such reflections, Sklair has defined the icon as an element of the urban built form "imbued with a special meaning that is symbolic for a culture and/or a time, and [...] has an aesthetic component" too (Sklair, 2006, p. 25). For Sklair, it is important to notice how the icon does not aim to land in the urban context as a familiar object: the icon does stand out as a landmark (Lynch, 1960), but at the same time also challenges the common perception as an element that is deliberately presented as exogenous to the urban fabric – in so doing reiterating the spectacular and fetishing character I discussed above. Major architecture and developer firms, in fact, promote their buildings and projects as iconic, self-attributing them such character – for instance making wide use of the term 'icon' in their statements and advertising materials (Sklair and Gherardi, 2012). Additionally, the icon gains relevance thanks to the fame factor, which contributes to foster the recognisability of its image at different levels and scales. The icon can indeed "have local, national, or global significance, or any mixture of these three" (Sklair, 2006, p. 37). For instance, local icons are well known (though not necessarily loved) in

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²⁶ And to Debord's (1992) *The Society of the Spectacle*, according to which capitalism and the spectacle it produces turn the real world into images, and commodities into an inaccessible fetish.











2.5. Iconic architecture in Phnom Penh. Left, top: project for the Phnom Penh Towers (Source: Hale 2017). Left, bottom; the Vattanak Tower (still under construction in the photo, which dates back to 2013) and the Canada Tower (Source: Author). Right: aborted project for the Hun Sen Tower in Diamond Island (Source: Thul 2010)
2.6. Monumental architecture in Phnom Penh. Top: Olympic Stadium (left); Chaktomuk Conference Centre (right). Bot-

tom: National Bassac Theatre, All architectures are by Vann Molyvann (Source: Grant Ross and Collins 2006)

a certain city or neighbourhood, and have a symbolic significance for these places, but at the same time, can push the city's significance and recognisability toward the national and global scale.

The work of Sklair has been highly influential in the following works about the forms and images of urban development in globalised, *worlding*, contexts (Boucher *et al.*, 2009; Gunder, 2011; Krivy, 2011; Paling, 2012a; Percival, 2016). Authors have emphasised the role of iconic buildings in the marketing of the city (Brizotti-Pasquotto and Medrano, 2014) and the struggle for supremacy against other *global* cities (Acuto, 2010). Pløger (2010) has spoken of a battle over the symbolic representation of the city's identity and competitiveness, which finds expression in conflicts occurring at both the discursive and visual level, not only in the actual urban space but also in the web, newspapers, local debate. Patterson (2012) has reflected on the role of public institutions in iconic architectural development, questioning the limited agency of a national or local authority in the decision-making process around the production of an icon, in so doing reasserting Sklair's (2013) argument around the supremacy of the corporate sector in the struggle of powers over the production of iconic images.

2.5.3. Monuments versus icons

While icons seem to emerge as the most visible manifestation of the construction of a privatopias' imagery at the global scale, and of the *worlding* process affecting planning and urban design practices (Roy and Ong, 2011; Mccann, Roy and Ward, 2013), Sklair (2005, 2006) remarks how, in 'the pre-global era', the production of famous, recognisable and symbolic buildings and urban forms had been in the hands of state and religious powers. Public buildings [Figure 2.6], social housing estates, churches and cathedrals, were the expression of such highly centralised and recognisable dominant powers.

In *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre (1991) defines such built forms as *monuments*, distinguishing them from simple buildings and setting them as identifiable and readable strongholds of the philosopher's understanding of the city as a complex texture. For Lefebvre, monuments are the expression of "a dominant form of space, that of the centres of wealth and power, [that] endeavours to mould the spaces it dominates [... and] seeks, often by violent means, to reduce the obstacles and resistance it encounters there" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 49).

Obsorne (2001) acknowledges monuments as central in the endeavour of creating symbolic landscapes of power: as spatial and temporal landmarks; as catalyst for collective memories; as performing a didactic function as signs of national progress and, to a certain extent, symbols

of rights and liberties. Using a Lefebvrian framework, Kapp and Baltazar (2010) sees the use of monuments as extraordinary spaces at the centre of the architects' intellectual work: such spaces are conceived as univocal and totalising ones, expression of a central and unquestionable power, and are used in opposition to the production of a lived space which is instead collective, cooperative and characterised by people's engagement, and by the simultaneity of the acts of designing, building, using.

Such oppressive character of monuments is remarked by Anker (1996), that connects the rise of monumental forms in the city centre to the displacement of population toward the periphery; and by Herzfeld (2006) that has highlighted the *spatial* cleansing side of monumental interventions, noticing how the creation of large and monumental open spaces in urban contexts has often been accompanied by the installation of hegemonic and westernised spatial forms and typologies, which hint to a *civilised living* as the only possible one.

Other authors (Owens, 2002; Batuman, 2005) – drawing from a semiotic perspective upon Lefebvre's idea of the monument as 'horizon of meaning' (Lefebvre, 1991) – speak of monuments as potentially embodying an emancipatory character, leaving possibilities for everyday reappropriations and resignifications. In the urban design and architecture field, Rossi (1981, 1982) had acknowledged how urban monuments – defined as all those elements that, in the city's fabric, stand out thanks to their enormous scale²⁷ and character of permanency – keep being recognisable and familiar to urbanites in spite of mutations, reappropriations and significations that will change the monuments' uses over time. Again focusing on big scale artefacts, thirty years later, Koolhaas (1998, p. 495) stated that "[b]igness is the ultimate architecture", and emphasised how the big size of a building could allow it to gain independence from the will of its architects, instigating a regime of complexity.

Following the above reflections, in chapters 5 (page 143) and 6 (page 242), I explore the establishment of a first monumental modernity in Phnom Penh (in the years following the city's independence in 1954), while in chapter 7 I discuss the emergence of a very peculiar (and apparently marginal) monumental gesture: the provision of relocation sites for populations displaced from Phnom Penh's central areas.

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²⁷ It is important to recall also the debate on mega-projects (Kraas, Gaese and Kyi, 2006; Díaz Orueta and Fainstein, 2008; Shatkin, 2011b; Paling, 2012b; Percival, 2012), which I have examined above, emphasising the private character of such developments. Interestingly for my argument here, Boano, Garcia Lamarca and Hunter (2011) have linked the production of mega-projects to processes of slum clearance and the consequent formation of 'mega-resistances'.

2.6. CHAPTER SUMMARY

The chapter has reviewed the interdisciplinary debate on the emergence of fenced urbanisms in the contemporary city. I started reflecting on the idea of carceral archipelago put forward by Foucault as paradigm of control of the modern city. I therefore reviewed how such twofold paradigm has been inherited in different forms and conceptions in the evolution and morphology of contemporary cities, leading to the emergence of security- and control-obsessed urbanisms, and to the instrumental use of fences, walls, surveillance techniques and infrastructural networks.

I have therefore introduced a shift of perspective – from the government of the urban realm to the government of the subject – through the idea of governmentality, as conduct of one's conduct: through governmentality, society get permeated, at all levels, with a network of institutions and disciplinary and regulatory techniques, allowing to produce subjects that behave as they ought (Foucault, 1991).

The investigation of literature on governmental studies has allowed me to introduce the idea of *oikonomia* as economic, bio-political, and juridical space in which subjects are de-subjectified through the complete obliteration of politics, in favour of "a pure activity of government that aims at nothing other than its own replication" (Agamben, 2009b, p. 22).

I showed how such depoliticised condition translates into the figure of the camp, that I set as fundamental archetype of transformation of the fenced city along with the gated community: the former as expression of forced confinement and of dynamics of seclusion and depoliticization; the latter as expression of voluntary seclusion and of dynamics of commodification, securitisation and fetishization of the urban image. I therefore defined the fenced city as a collection of gated-community-like and camp-like spatialities.

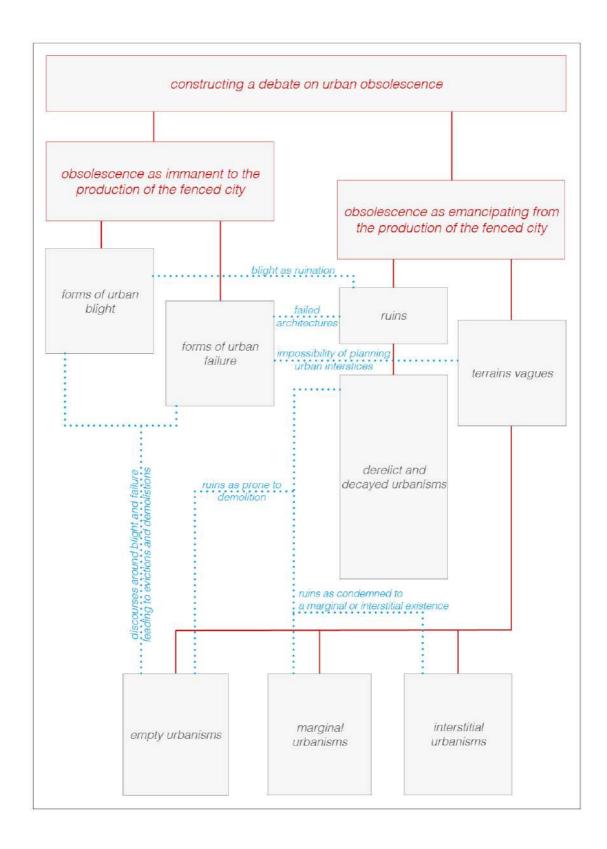
I concluded the chapter reviewing the role of urban design in the production of urbanisms driven by the quest for security and control and by the fetishization and iconisation of the urban form. The next chapter will show how the acknowledgment of obsolescing dynamics – that I will read as intrinsic to the evolution of the fenced city – puts such two archetypes in crisis, making them insufficient to read the contemporary *obsolescing fenced city*.

3.1. INTRODUCTION

The term 'obsolete' derives from the Latin *obsoletus*, which refers to something that has grown old or is worn out (Oxford Living Dictionaries, 2019c). Obsolescence has historically been critiqued as essential to the process of capitalistic growth and accumulation. Marx, already in 1848, stated that revolutionising periodically the means of production was the necessary condition for the bourgeoisie to disrupt the relation between production and society (Marx, 2012 [1848]). Deeming a chain of production as obsolete caused "an uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, and everlasting uncertainty and agitation [...]. All fixed, fast-frozen relations [...] are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify" (2012, p. 16).

Nowadays, obsolescence indicate the process of falling into disuse, or the condition of being out of production, discontinued, and it is common to speak of *planned obsolescence* when planning or designing a product with a purposely limited useful life, shortening the replacement cycle (Bulow, 1986). Harvey (1985) has read obsolescence as immanent to the capitalistic production of urban space. Using the concept of *creative destruction* (2006), Harvey has highlighted the uneven socio-spatial effects produced by cycles of ruination, demolition and consequent reclamation of urban space: in order to liberate new wealth, some buildings and neighbourhoods are left to decay, flagged as urban blight, put under threat, and eventually sanitised, cleansed, or even demolished. Obsolescing processes, therefore, can be read as immanent to the dynamics of production of the fenced city.

In this chapter, I draw from several disciplines (urban history, social studies, gender studies, anthropology, political economy, planning, urban design, architecture, performative arts) to construct a cross-disciplinary debate on urbanisms that I define as obsolescing ones. In so doing, I build on Doucet and Janssens' (2011) call to overcome discipline-bound epistemologies and their limits to deal with the world's complexity, and on López Galviz et al.'s (2017) remark about how a transdisciplinary approach is necessary to understand ruins (and,



3.1. Constructing a debate on urban obsolescence (elaboration by Author)

as an extension, the obsolete city) through different perspectives. Such constructed debate reveals an 'ambivalent' understanding of urban obsolescence: on one side, as mentioned, as immanent to the production of the fenced city; on the other side, as potentially emancipating from such production. I explore the two sides of such debate, respectively, in the next two sections of this chapter [Figure 3.1]. A third section acknowledges how such constructed debate intersect, to a great extent, the debate on urban informality, and how informality itself has been read alternately as the locus of either oppressive or emancipatory processes of urban transformation. Lastly, I introduce the archetypes of the ruin, interstice, margin, void, and discuss them as potentially oppressive or emancipatory spaces.

3.2. Obsolescence as immanent to the production of the fenced city

3.2.1. Urban obsolescence as blight

Harvey (1985) has read obsolescence as immanent to the capitalistic production of space and highlighted the uneven spatial effects produced by cycles of ruination, demolition and consequent reclamation of urban space: some buildings are left to decay, or as 'devalued capital' (presently disused but ripe for future accumulation), whereas others are rapidly demolished and replaced. The physical and social destruction of cities follows processes of creation and reorganisation of consumer landscapes, which inevitably leave behind pockets of abandonment and deprivation – see again Figure 1.9. Obsolescence is therefore the expression of a gradual process of devaluation of the capital invested in built space (Bryson, 1997): buildings age and decay, and thus require a constant stream of capital investment, which will alter both the built form of the city and its social organisations. The production of privatised and iconic urbanisms (see chapter 2, pages 47 and 60) dictates the pace and direction of urban transformation, while other areas are constructed as camp-like spatialities (chapter 2, page 57), threatened with demolition and displacement.

This process, for Harvey (1985), is at the basis of the concept of 'creative destruction', which implies the devaluation of the currently existing capital to make room for the liberation of new wealth (see also: Bryson, 1997):

"[c]apitalism builds a physical and social landscape in its own image, appropriate to its own condition at a particular moment in time, only to have to revolutionise that landscape, usually in the course of crises of creative destruction at a subsequent point in time" (Harvey, 1985, p. 162).

For a long time, the notion of obsolescence in urban planning, urban design and architecture has largely corresponded to the notion of *blight*: it indicated neighbourhoods whose conditions were supposedly unhealthy and that needed to be destroyed (or radically sanitised) before their 'illnesses' – poverty, overcrowding, decreasing land and housing values – could expand toward adjacent areas.

Abramson (2016) identifies the birth of the debate on obsolescence in the 1920s' United States, with the introduction of parameters (and, later, government policies) to assess real estate properties' worth through a checklist of their physical and social conditions. Disregarding the possible presence of individual properties in undamaged shape, entire districts whose overall score was poor were deemed as obsolete and cut off from the economy of the rest of the city. Abramson remarks how such policies and practices inspired, between the 1930s and the 1960s, the publication of a high number of essay, reports, and journal articles whose titles featured the term obsolescence, built upon the idea of impoverished and damaged city centres, while implying the superiority of the possibilities offered by suburban life.

Although not using the term explictly, the Chicago School²⁸ introduced the definition of 'zone in transition', or 'zone of deterioration', de facto as synonymous of slum (Park, Burgess and McKenzie, 1925; Wirth, 1928; Zorbaugh, 1929). Grounding in a systemic reading of the city as divided into several concentric rings according to differences in class and census, such definitions were typically applied to the areas surrounding downtown business districts in decline – characterised by a huge social turnover and by radical changes in property values.

In spite of the emergence of an alternative line of thinking – seeing obsolescence as a cyclical, almost natural condition that was vital to cities' life and redevelopment (Moses, 1962) and their vibrancy (Colean, 1953) – obsolescence was substantially treated as an issue to be solved, and as an opportunity to appropriate and renew impoverished urban pockets. Expanding on such idea, the next sub-section explores the idea of obsolescence as a form of urban 'failure'.

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²⁸ The name 'Chicago School' (often described as the 'Ecological School') refers to a body of works emerging during the 1920s and 1930s: such works specialised in urban sociology, combining theory and ethnographic fieldwork in Chicago. While including works from scholars from various universities in the area of Chicago, the name is sometimes used to refer to the University of Chicago's sociology department.

3.2.2. Urban obsolescence as failure

The causes of urban blight have been often ascribed to the failure of the modernist ideas populating the debate on city planning and housing in the first part of the 20th century. Jacobs (1961) for instance referred explicitly to the failure of modernist town planning in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, whereby the canons of modernism were critiqued for being too rigid and not taking into account human interactions in the city.

McKenzie (2015) analyses how such a critique moved indifferently from the scale of the city to the one of the housing unit, leaving in the core trench of the debate the vast production of modernist housing estates between 1930s and 1990s. Such estates, born as outcome of a utopian ideal, have been eventually stigmatised as receptacles of poverty, crime and violence, and are today regarded as the expression of the failure of the modern movement's contribution to mass housing (Birmingham, 1999; De Decker and Newton, 2009; Beswick, 2015). Montgomery (2011, p. 447) notices how the reason for the failure of such a utopia were identified in the poor implementation of utopian ideals, with housing estates being poorly designed, or "barely designed at all". Cerise and Shannon (2010), analysing the massive production of housing schemes throughout Europe and Russia after the Second World War, often through pre-fabricated concrete systems, remarks how these were then imported to developing countries without any adaptation of materials nor typology to the local climate and households' needs. De Decker and Newton (2009) notices how modernist estate's plans were condemned as monolithic and uniform due to their strict separation of functions, and their gigantic scale was said to impede the formation of a collective and community interaction. In the context of this research, which will encounter a similar monolithic and uniform urban form in Borei Keila (see chapter 6), such reflections are particularly relevant, especially when read along with the ones on the 'monumental' (celebratory, massive, recognisable) character of such estates (see chapter 2, page 69).

In a British context, Beswick (2015) identifies the Brutalist housing estate as a failure from both physical and social perspectives. Electing it to be the archetype of the contemporary ruin, he explains how the perception of such ruinous character underwent a strong acceleration after the collapse of Ronan Point, a twenty-two-storey tower block in Newham, East London, in 1968, which deeply affected the public opinion.

Four years later, the collective imaginary around 'failed' housing estates grew further with the demolition of three buildings of the Pruitt-Igoe estate in St. Louis, on 15 July 1972. The word 'failure' for Pruitt-Igoe was firstly used by Bailey (1965), blaming the increased density vs. decreased amenities ratio derived from the cutbacks forced on the estate, even before its

construction began. The cuts led to the elimination of what Bailey ironically refers to as 'luxuries', such as the paint on the concrete block walls of galleries and stairwells, the insulation of exposed steam pipes, the screening over gallery windows and public toilets on the ground floors, de facto creating the condition to accelerate the ruination of the entire estate.

The Pruitt-Igoe's demolition event was symbolically taken by the architectural historian Charles Jencks to proclaim the death of modernism, identifying the very cause of its death in the inability of creating liveable environments for the poor (Jencks, 1977). Birmingham (1999), however, notices the partiality of Jencks' account and interpretation, which overlooked issues of race and the fact that Pruitt-Igoe's families were not simply 'poor' but, rather, the poorest amongst the poor. Birmingham defines Pruitt-Igoe as a 'refrained ruin', remarking how the classist and racist attitude of commenters and observers was ascribing episodes of vandalism and malfunctioning to the bad conduct of the estate's inhabitants, or describing these as victims of a naïve and elitist approach to the design of the built environment, carried forward by modernist architects and planners (Birmingham, 1999). An example is Brolin's (1976) work, that, similarly to Jencks', spoke of the 'failure of modernism', whose architectures were sterile and failing their constituency - the citizens themselves, all likely to respond negatively to modern scenarios à la Pruitt-Igoe. On the contrary, Birmingham (1999) states that the inhabitants of Pruitt-Igoe had perfectly read the housing project they were living, recognising its purposes of urban segregation: a survey (Rainwater, 1970) had indeed revealed how residents were generally satisfied with their flats, but highly complaining about their neighbours, the forms of interaction in the public spaces, and the racist segregation. Moreover, they were lamenting a sense of paternalistic regulation, as armed police officers patrolling the buildings were not defending the rights and lives of tenants, but the property as owned by the municipality. The resemblance to penitential architecture was well understood by residents, and further exacerbated for safety reasons, with the use of metal bars before doors and windows, large fences, guards and an imposed segregation. In turn, the use of graffiti or the breaking down of fences had to be understood as a continuing protest against a white racist culture (De Decker and Newton, 2009).

De Decker and Newton (2009) look at the large number of demolitions that affected large-scale housing estates built in the years after the Second World War – speaking of a fallen utopia, blaming such failure not on Modernism itself but on the misjudgement of the meaning that the Modernist movement gave to housing. De Decker and Newton explicitly speak of dystopias, recalling the argument of the Dutch criminologist Hoefnagels (1974) that linked directly the increase of criminal behaviours in Rotterdam's youngsters to the lack of urban and architectural qualities in the housing estates built in the edge of the city. Although the arguments against

modernist architecture have been widely dismissed as pseudo-science (De Decker and Newton, 2009), the demolition of largely abandoned, derelict and criminality-ridden housing estates has come to represent an important part of the history of European urban peripheries. On the spot are the marginalisation and alienation of their populations, the high rates of school drop-outs and of single mothers, the low turnout of the population at election times – when not the extremisation of the population toward right-wing nationalist politics. All these factors contributed to the discursive construction of high-rises as *not the best place to grow up* (Hall, 2014), disregarding other factors such as the extreme peripheral location of the estates – and the fact that as more households have the means to become home-owners, they move somewhere else: in so doing, the turnover of people attract families whose options are even more limited, turning into a downward spiral of marginalisation and decay.

The obsolescence of the Modernist housing estate translates into putting its type out of production, or in using a rhetoric of failure to justify the will to abandon it, to leave it *to rot*, eventually describing as a receptacle of urban blight. In chapters 5 and 6 (pages 143 and 242) I will explore the emergence of a modernism in Phnom Penh, too, with the so-called New Khmer Architecture movement, whose products have often experienced a similar destiny of constructed failure and demolition [Figure 3.2].

Recently, the Failed Architecture Foundation was opened as a research platform aiming to open up new perspectives on urban failure, on its perception, manifestations and representations toward a wider public (Failed Architecture Foundation, 2017). The research project puts the emphasis on the current time of crises and speculation, and questions several uses of (and perspectives on) urban failure. One section of the project is dedicated to 'the myths of modernism', assessing both optimistic and pessimistic points of view on the Modern Movement's failed products. 'Future Failure' looks at the contemporary production of the built environment, getting obsolete even before acquiring its use – as those 'ruins in reverse' (Smithson, 1996a) that I will encounter in a multitude of Phnom Penh's stuck construction sites [Figure 3.3] – see chapter 5 (page 164 and 177) and chapter 6 (page 301). Another section, 'Ruin and Dystopia' covers how ruin can contribute to foster centralised and totalising ideologies of power.

For Amin (2016), failure should not be understood as an exclusionary category condemning any non-hegemonic practice as failed, but rather as a term used to question "rosy vision of cities [...] and ideologies of risk, smartness, and resilience premised on particular applications of science, technology, and government" (2016, p. 791). The idea of failure therefore is not applied mono-directionally, to criminalise and isolate those urbanisms that I defined as obsolescing ones, but pervades the whole urban realm. Amin warns against the risks of solely





^{3.2.} The White Building in Phnom Penh as derelict exemplar of New Khmer Architecture: a form of 'failed' modernism in Phnom Penh? (Source: Author)
3.3. The Golden Tower, one of the many interrupted construction sites in Phnom Penh: a form of 'ruin in reverse'? (Source: Author)

managerial techniques of risk mitigation, paired for instance to smart technologies and community vigilance – the former unable to meet the needs of complex and 'crusty' infrastructures, the latter inevitably bolstered by top-down policies. However, with a hopeful reflection, Amin states also that "cities are imperfect machines of coordination poised on the edge of failure, yet able to stave off collapse because of the distributed intelligence built into their provisioning connective infrastructures and their stock of diverse kinds of knowledge, lay and expert" (2016, p. 779), hinting to a potential for resilience and redemption.

In a similar fashion, Arnold-DeSimine reflects on how ruins emerging out of urban failures and traumas hold both promise and threat, as "they speak of death, disaster and destruction as much as of endurance and rebirth" (2015, p. 95). Arnold-DeSimine focuses on the ruin as memorial and warns against the totalising function that it might carry along with it. While being used to critique capitalist or colonialist structures of power as 'sick' or 'failed', ruins as expression of urban failures can be hence mobilised to affirm and memorialise the same structures of power they are supposed to contest (DeSilvey and Edensor, 2013).

Beautiful terrible ruins are the ones examined by Apel (2015), building on her own previous studies on the visual culture of trauma – explored for instance also by authors such as Williams (2015), in the case of the post-earthquake landscape in Gibellina (Sicily, Italy), and Anderson in post-war Berlin (B. Anderson, 2015). Contemporary ruins, for Apel, appear from the failure of the capitalist mass production and its promises of abundance: in the main case study of her book, Detroit, this translates into the failure of capitalist mass production and its promises of abundance. Apel observes and criticises the current inclination toward what we could define as ruin porn, a culture of consumption of ruin imagery, that normalises the ruination of Detroit as the inevitable result of global market forces, and almost contribute to disregard and forget the repression of workers' unions and the racial connotations of their contestation. At the same time, however, Apel notices how the aesthetic distancing of representation does also assuage our fears and the 'anxiety of decline' – the loss of faith in the future due to increasing poverty, disappearing welfare, declining wages, homelessness and ecological disaster.

The same anxiety, according to Massey (2011), is the one pervading the work of Patrick Keiller (2011) in *Robinson in Ruins*: Massey analyses the architect/artist/director's wanderings around decaying British environments, and puts the emphasis on the sense of anxiety and exclusion conveyed by the documentary film, as main outputs engendered by the mobility and volatility of economic capitals and recesses. Keiller's documentary film recounts unfinished realities, fragments that acquire sense only when sewed together by the narrating voice: it is, however, a worrying and precarious unity, made of dismissed industrial areas, disappearing commons,

urban environments which are losing their distinctive and historically established character as landmarks.

3.3. OBSOLESCENCE AS EMANCIPATION FROM THE FENCED CITY

While putting forward an understanding of modernity as a repetitive cycle of ruination and devastation, Benjamin (1968 [1940]) sees ruins as holding a dimension of emancipation from the promise of abundance of early capitalism, and as revealing the true content of a place or object.

This understanding of the obsolete, ruined, disused or abandoned space as offering possibilities for emancipation from the alienation of the capital-driven production of space has permeated the debate on the city, which is now now populated by a long series of neologisms. defining a multiplicity of obsolescing urbanisms. Dead zones (Doron, 2000), landscapes of contempt (Armstrong, 2006), drosscapes (Berger, 2006), wastelands (Di Monte, 2012; Gandy, 2013) are terms that emphasise the obsolescing urbanisms' character of leftovers, of receptacles of urban scraps and outliers, of deposits for the unwanted and the unwelcomed. Other literature has looked at such spatialities defining them as 'voids' (see, amongst others: Akkerman, 2009; Freeman, 2010; Sebregondi, 2012; Berruete, 2013), apparently empty spaces whose realities were either forgotten or invisible, and have to be found, rediscovered and better understood, rather than ignored or even erased. Other authors have emphasised the character of marginality and indeterminacy of obsolescing urbanisms, focusing on edgelands (Roberts and Farley, 2011), loose spaces (Franck and Stevens, 2007), indeterminate spaces (Groth and Corijn, 2005), ambivalent spaces (Jorgensen and Tylecote, 2007), interstices (Tonnelat, 2008), places on the margin (Shields, 1990), unofficial countrysides (Mabey, 1978).

DeSilvey and Edensor (2013) have observed how all these different sets of literature acknowledge the obsolescing status as a place of encounter between economic recession and certain forms of resistance, which manifest as tangible resignifications and reappropriations of obsolete spaces, or through the production of alternative narratives of the urban realm – suggesting an alternative reading of the past while hinting toward possible futures. Do such forms of resistance spark off an actual emancipation from the mechanisms of production of the fenced city?

I categorise the literature in two groups [see again Figure 3.1]: one looking at obsolescence as ruination and decay; one looking at obsolescence as interstitiality, marginality, emptiness. While I acknowledge that there are certainly overlaps between the two groups (ruins can be interstitial; an interstitial spatiality can emerge out of abandonment; empty urban areas can be born through a process a ruination – see Figure 3.1 for other links between categories), I remark here how such distinction is of historical relevance, too. The distinction reflects two very different sensitivities – toward ruins on one side, and empty or marginal spaces on the other side – which have emerged respectively in the second part of the 18th and at the beginning of the 20th century, and henceforth taken different directions. I explore such directions in the subsections below.

3.3.1. Obsolescence as ruination and abandonment

A 2014 exhibit at the Tate Modern was programmatically titled 'Ruin Lust' and focused on artists' fascination with ruins (Dillon, 2014). The exhibit featured drawings of Piranesi and Constable and images of ruined Roman temples and abandoned Gothic abbeys by Turner, and the famous bird-eye perspective on an imaginary Bank of England in ruins, commissioned in 1830 by the building's architect Sir John Soane to Joseph Michael Gandy – as both a useful cutaway section and a statement on the inevitability of the building's future ruination. The curator writes that ruins today assume manifold meanings: a reminder of the universal reality of collapse and rot; a warning from the past about the destiny of civilisation; and ideal of beauty that is alluring because of its failures and flaws (Dillon, 2014).

The emergence of a *Ruinenlust* is often identified in the 18th century Romantic movement (DeSilvey and Edensor, 2013; Dillon, 2014), in a moment when 'ruin-gazing' became a sort of privileged and more sensitive way to look at reality: through the painting of Friedrich, the writing of Goethe, and – within an architectural milieu – the work of Ruskin. Ruskin wrote that the greatest glory of a building lies "in its Age, and in that deep sense of voicefulness, of stern watching, of mysterious sympathy [...], which we feel in walls that have long been washed by the passing waves of humanity" (Ruskin, 1889, pp. 186–187).

Lopez Galviz, Bartolini, Pendleton and Stock (2017) notice how, today, the ruin must be considered as a relational concept, beyond any romantic notion of *Ruinenlust*. Ruins and ruin sites are removed from that gaze that highlighted their emptiness in favour of an aesthetic experience. Rather, ruins are sites where different mediations occur, as different subjects experience such sites and interact with them differently. Ruins, therefore, in their materiality,

appear as threshold sites, providing unique insights into the relationship between lived pasts, presents, and futures. Ruins are therefore artefacts that might have completely lost their original use, though acquiring new 'unofficial' uses through such mediations. In a similar fashion, Lorimer and Murray (2015) see the ruin as an operating site of experiment, "as a forum for open investigation" (2015, p. 58).

Differently from a state of ruination, decay does not denote complete abandonment nor loss of use. While urban environments get into a state of ruination because of traumatic events (a war, a collapse, but also a drought or more generally climate change or financial decline, and consequent forced or voluntary migration), a condition of decay relates to an unfinished condition, to deterioration or disrepair. Edensor (2005a) has put the focus on the texture and appearance of decaying objects and buildings, as foregrounding an emergent aesthetics while function becomes subservient to form and substance. Fein (2011) has spoken of an aesthetics of decay too, remarking a specific aesthetic regime emerging in the absence of a routine human interaction with the built environment. Such aesthetics, for Fein, develops over time, as buildings cease to function in the way they were originally designed, being left to minor and often illicit uses.

Both ruins and decayed spatialities have been read as the opportunity for turning into sites of resistance. While the very first instance of resistance is the survival of such spatialities, these can also undergo appropriations and resignifications that help dismantle the ideologies they originally carried, as highlighted by several authors working around the dereliction of public buildings in post-socialist countries (Szmagalska-Follis, 2008; Pusca, 2010). Dobraszczyk (2014), looking at derelict spatialities in Cyprus, speaks of opening up a space of dialogue that could lead to understand how ruins can promote inclusivity, hold together contradictions and maintain the hope of healing: in spite of representing 'urbicide fantasies', ruins create the conditions to appreciate the wholeness, heterogeneity and multivocality of the contemporary city. Again Edensor (2005b), has remarked how ruins bring a sense unity to the otherwise inevitable inarticulacy of disparate fragments, traces and involuntary memories. In a similar fashion, Harbison (2015) speaks of fragments, remains and broken pieces, and of the way we recover, restore and exhibit them. Ruins and fragments, for Harbison, are alluring, insofar as they tell us of a half-erased history that demands to be completed - interpreting the past and building up a future. Similarly, Viney (2014) speaks of objects of waste as effective and affirmative, helping to find ourselves in the world through a feeling of absence. The absence of wasted objects, in this sense, makes a story of things possible: disused things, Viney argues, "work across historical periods, material, artistic mediums and economic systems of exchange" (Viney, 2014, p. 177).

Hell and Schönle (2010) discuss how European modernity itself emerged from a confrontation with the fragmented ruins of a premodern past. Yablon (2009, p. 1), as well, wanders through the "[u]ntimely ruins [of the] American Urban Modernity" in order to study and understand the current process of urbanisation. Concentrating on derelict and crumbling infrastructures and buildings, Yablon lets the contradictory character of the ruin emerge: ruin, in his research, are suggesting vital and constant flux (rather than stasis and decline), but also an opportunity for profit – in line with the argument of this research.

Anderson has spoken of the queer character of urban ruins, analysing New York's abandoned waterfront, and how it was re-signified as a gay cruising space (F. Anderson, 2015): she reflects on the imaginative potential engendered by the emptiness of today's waterfront (as an effect of the dismissal of its original industrial activities) and recalls novelists' accounts describing the space as both ghostly and vacant, open to possibilities. Anderson – as well as, earlier, Gandy (2012) – has used the Foucauldian concept of heterotopia to speak of abandoned or marginal urban environments turned into queer spaces: the ruin indeed is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several realities and 'other' places which would in themselves be incompatible.

For Lee (1998), heterotopian connections were at the centre of the work of Gordon Matta Clark on ruins and decayed buildings, for instance in the New York waterfront and in Paris. Drawing and performing physical 'cuts' on the façades and internal spaces of abandoned and dis-used buildings, Matta Clark wanted to reactivate a system of connections with their wider surroundings. Such connections are, on one side, certainly visual ones, as they contribute to produce a clearly new sense of space for the visitors, and an alterations to their sense of orientation (Walker, 2008). On the other side, the alterations are also conceptual ones, insofar as Matta Clark's work has been read as contesting the neoliberal mechanisms that had brought those buildings to reach a state of decay (Kwinter, 2002).

3.3.2. Obsolescence as interstitiality, marginality and emptiness

"On 14 April 1921 in Paris, at three in the afternoon, in pouring rain, the Dada movement had an appointment to meet in front of the church of Saint-Julien-le-Pauvre. This action was to be the first in a series of urban excursions to the banal places of the city. It is a conscious aesthetic operation backed up by press releases, proclamations, flyers and photographic documentation" (Careri, 2002, p. 68).

Careri (2002) identifies a starting point for the fascination toward abandoned environments in the work of the artistic movement Dada, and in the way its artists found a new use and significance to apparently dis-used and leftover objects (Deschamps' *objets trouvée* for instance) and urbanities. Careri (2002) connects the work of Dada directly with, 40 years ahead, the one of Robert Smithson, who exalted the characteristics of uncertainness and precariousness of urban fringe territories. As seen above, Smithson deliberately wandered in empty spatialities and created a mythology of ordinary landscapes. Smithson's experience inspired the works of artists such as Richard Long, Hamish Fulton, Francis Alÿs, land artists who have walked respectively through empty landscapes, contested contexts, urban borders (see for instance: Fulton, 2002; Alÿs, 2004; Long, 2010).

A strong interest for interstitial, marginal and empty spatialities in architecture and urban studies has been sparked off by the seminal essay *Terrain Vague*, by Ignasi de Solá-Morales Rubió (1995a). The essay was previously published in French under a different though equally programmatic title, *Urbanité Intersticielle*, interstitial urbanity (de Solà-Morales Rubió, 1995b). De Solà-Morales acknowledges a novel and different gaze on the city, which concentrates on the "[e]mpty, abandoned space in which a series of occurrences have taken place" and that becomes "the most solvent sign with which to indicate what cities are, and what our experience of them is" (1995a, p. 119). The French term *terrain vague* is purposely used in its ambiguity: *terrain* does not refer simply to a piece of land but more broadly to a territory that cannot be precisely defined; and *vague* must be traced back to its German root *Wage*, and its Latin roots *vacuum* and *vagus*. Hence, terrain vague refers respectively to land that is in a state of perpetual movement, oscillation, instability and fluctuation; to vacant and empty land, free and available; to the state of being vague, and therefore "indeterminate, imprecise, blurred, uncertain" (1995a, p. 120).

The supposed absence of use and activity and the consequent sense of freedom and expectancy are, for De Solá-Morales, fundamental to understanding the evocative potential of the city's vague terrains. He argues that urbanites have a 'romantic' imagination and sensibility, feeding upon memories and expectations that the contemporary city can no longer offer – because of alienating and exclusionary dynamics, as the ones I described in chapter 2. On the contrary, in the vague terrains the memory of the past seems to predominate over the present, since they apparently exist outside the city's effective circuits and productive structures – uninhabited, un-safe, un-productive areas, both at the margins of the city or in its inner core (de Solà-Morales Rubió, 1995a, 1995b).

The seminal text by De Solá-Morales is widely cited in the literature on wastelands and urban voids (see, amongst others: Careri, 2002; Tonnelat, 2008; Gandy, 2012, 2013; DeSilvey and Edensor, 2013). The publication *Terrain-Vague: Interstices at the Edge of the Pale* (Mariani and Barron, 2014), while featuring again de Solá-Morales' essay, has covered several approaches to the study of *vague* landscapes: as interstices (Lévesque, 2014; Stevens and

Adhya, 2014); as thresholds (Stavrides, 2014); in their potential for new cultural manifestations and for re-appropriation (Rahmann and Jonas, 2014; Stavrides, 2014); as spaces for ludic behaviours and drifting (Careri, 2014) or for urban wilderness (Desimini, 2014); as uncertain or temporary spaces (Kamvasinou and Roberts, 2014; Stevens, 2014); as public space (Franck, 2014).

Such studies are also in debt with feminist literature and critique, which has been fundamental in the conceptualisation of both interstitial and marginal experiences as 'alternative' and 'resistant' ones. Dill (2009) and McCall (2005) have reasoned on and advocated for the use of an *intracategorical* approach in research, focusing on otherwise neglected social groups, whose intersectional identities cross traditionally constructed boundaries. The idea of marginality has been of great importance in the work of bell hooks (1990), who defined it as a site for radical possibilities and for resistance, rather than of deprivation. Marginality, for hooks, is the site where a counter-hegemonic discourse can arise, and where alternatives and new worlds can be imagined and created. In such a way, for hooks, marginality becomes a space whereby the marginalised subject might want to remain, rather than abandoning it to assume a more 'central' position. Braidotti (1994) speaks of *active nomadism*, inspired by Deleuze and Guattari (2010), as powerful act deliberately leaving the city behind, to camp at its gates, as "a gesture of nonconfidence in the capacity of the 'polis' to undo the power foundations on which it rests" (Braidotti, 1994, p. 32).

Below I review literature which has focused, in order, on interstices, margins, voids.

Steel and Keys (2014), in the Australian context, reflect around the notion of interstitial space in the shadow of conventional housing practices, which tend to frame and implicitly undervalue interstitial spaces as *residual* ones. Steel and Keys focus rather on what they define as 'everyday housing practices' and on their impact at the psychological, sociological and political level, stating that vernacular and aboriginal architecture should be given more theoretical and empirical attention. Also Tonnelat (2008), looking at two urban leftover spaces in Paris, remarks how, while institutions frame interstices as temporary functionless spaces, these are populated by improvised modes of action, and re-signified by diverse uses which several groups make of them. Nicolas-le Strat (2007) speaks of *interstitial multiplicity*, and links forms of interstitial occupancy to what is left of resistance in big cities: he describes interstices as urban commons²⁹ saying that they embody what is still available in the city, and allow to understand

²⁹ For the debate on urban commons, see for instance Armitage (2008), Bradley (2015), Diacon et al. (2005).

other ways to create open and collaborative cities, responsive and cooperative. In a similar fashion, Sinno (2011) looks at interstices as spaces of recreation and transgression.

The argument, put forward by hooks (1990), on marginality as resistant and alternative, has pervaded the debate on urban margins and edges, whereby an obsolescing trait has been identified in the apparent indeterminacy of such spatialities – in their blurred character, suspended between different environmental conditions (rural vs urban, for instance) or unclear governance structures. Ren (2014) looks at rapidly urbanising townscapes and villagescapes in southern China as fragile identities, providing a difficult but potentially powerful terrain for a hybridisation between rural and urban to flourish. Phelps and Parsons (2003) speak of edge urban geographies, and put them at the centre of an understanding of the rescaling of economic, political and social processes at the urban level: they argue that edge urban formations have lent their dynamism to the rest of the city, and - in terms of governance represent 'eccentric geometries', having expanded their areas of engagement far beyond their boundaries. Gandy (2013) connects marginality to emptiness, speaking of marginal landscapes of deindustrialisation in the contemporary city and how their rhetorical construction as wastelands has defined them as empty or unproductive spaces: rather, he argues, the attention should be cast upon their biodiversity, enhanced by the "serendipitous aesthetic effects of 'non design" (2013, p. 1302). From a land artist perspective, Smithson (1996a) reflects around the decayed aesthetics of urban margins in his A Tour of the Monuments of Passaic, a locality in New Jersey where he wandered through derelict land and celebrated apparently meaningless and rotten fragment of the built environment, focusing on their textures, image and capacity to foster an alternative imagery of those apparently meaningless suburban lands.

Smithson (1996b) is relevant also in the possible understanding of urban voids as the locus of what he defines as *ruins in reverse*: the artist clarifies his idea of entropy speaking of ruins in reverse as objects representing a set of forsaken futures. Such objects – in a pessimistic attitude – have reached a state of ruination or decay before they could start playing a role in their built environment, as in the case of many abandoned construction sites in the contemporary city. Expanding on such concept, Yablon (2012) reflects on ruins in reverse as *unfinished monuments*, arguing that such unfinished character embodies a contestation to the traditional perspective on urban monumentality as instrument of consensus and closure.

Empty or abandoned spaces in general have been the object of an impressive amount of literature that have engaged with the definition of *urban voids*. Sebregondi (2012) has spoken of urban void as space of urban potentials, looking at an obsolete and about to be demolished housing estate in London. Berruete (2013) has written of voids as spaces of great expectations, while Girot (2004)'s *eulogy* of the void focuses on the transformation of post-war voids in Berlin

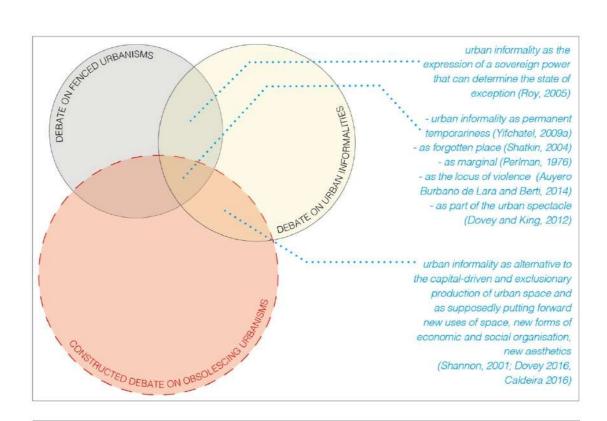
- from inaccessible and undesirable ruins to public parks which accepted the challenge of contemporary fragmentation and fragility. Akkerman (2009) links urban voids to what is left of Dionysian deportment in the city, as opposed to the Apollonian space of modern urban planning: voids represents the pre-rational, the genuine, the unadulterated, the unplanned space that should be reintroduced into the city-form as a conduit for self-reflection and authenticity. Other authors have focused on the terrains vagues of Rome (Mariani and Barron, 2014), Melbourne (O'Loan, 2006), Helsinki (Delaney Ruskeepää, 2014), Chicago (Sprague, 2011), always remarking the void as possible other and alternative spaces. Matos (2006) conflates the idea of void and the one of interstice, arguing that is imperative to understand and utilise interstitial voids, as a vital condition to defend their role in the city. Using the example of Evora, Portugal, she shows how a multiplicity of interstitial voids are appearing because of the new expansions of the city and the fractures between these and the historical core. However, Matos shows how, beyond morphological reasons, the emergence of voids is the outcome of programmatic conditions, which decides to leave such spaces lying "in the urban fabric as islands, existing as interstices where waiting and indifference prevail" (Matos 2006:70). Meanwhile, however, voids are experienced in multiple ways, providing an alternative to what is traditionally considered public space.

3.4. Urban obsolescence and urban informality: overlapping literatures

To a significant extent, the debate on urban obsolescence overlaps with the one on urban informality [Figure 3.5]. In this thesis, as stated in chapter 1 (page 28), I see informality as a mode of appropriation of obsolete fences, be these idle empty land, or abandoned portions of built environment, or interstices. Informality, as obsolescence, has been read as the locus of, alternately, oppressive or emancipatory processes of urban transformation, as being either immanent to the fenced city or emancipating from it. In the two sub-sections below I explore, respectively, such two conditions of immanency and emancipation.

3.4.1. Urban informality as immanent to the fenced city

The notions of 'blight' and 'failure' explored in section 3.2 above, and the need for them to be healed and corrected, has permeated the debate on urban informality [Figure 3.4], too (Goad, no date; Rebullida, 2003; Candan and Kolluoglu, 2008; Gaffikin and Perry, 2012; see for instance: Boano and Talocci, 2014a). In their *Buildings must die* Cairns and Jacobs



THE FENCE

as fundamental paradigm of transformation of the contemporary city

two fenced archetypes

THE GATED COMMUNITY

THE CAMP

cknowledging a

introducing four obsolescing fenced archetypes

THE RUIN
(the ruined fence):
derelict buildings or
portions of the built
environment, often
informally modified or
reappropriated

THE VOID

(the emptied fence):
empty plots of land resulting
from eviction and following
missed redevelopment,
often locus of temporary
and informal uses









THE INTERSTICE
(in between fences)
interstitial or residual
settlements, developing
typically along
infrastructural axes, river
banks, lake shores

THE MARGIN
(the marginal,
or displaced, fence)
periurban settlements,
often outcome of an act of
forced displacement

- 3.4. The literature debate on urban informality and its overlaps with the debates on fenced and obsolescing urbanisms (elaboration by Author)
- 3.5. Introducing four obsolescing fenced archetypes (elaboration by Author; source of photographs: Author)

(2014) speak of 'ruinous informality', explaining how the rhetoric seeing informal settlements as ruined or obsolete has supported discourses on informality as, simply, a problem to be solved: Cairns and Jacobs notice how architecture and urban design have been often called to play a prominent role in 'polishing' or cleansing such spatialities, "with the endorsements and sponsorship of international aid agencies, national and municipal states, and nongovernmental organisations" (2014, p. 186). Informal settlements, as spaces of exception (Roy, 2005), are constructed as receptacles of urban disorder, of violence, of blight – excluded and possibly erased as camp-like spatialities (see chapter 2, page 57), in an effort to govern the urban realm.

Yiftachel (2009a, 2009b), while acknowledging informality as a form of *inverse colonialism*, deliberately places it within a set of *grey spaces – permanent* spaces yet lying in a perpetual state of *temporariness*, exposed to destruction and evictions. In this sense, the informal as obsolete space can be read as a *colonial ruin*, or a *colonial void*: borrowing the words of Said (1995), as the land to control without possessing it, lived and owned by indigenous residents though become part of a strategy of territorial expansion. Or, in the words of Bhabha (2004, p. 352), the obsolete informal can be read as *terra nulla*, 30 as "the empty or wasted land whose history has to be begun, [...] whose future progress must be secured in modernity": "a *carte blanche*, an empty landscape scene, an open background on which progress and modernization begins" (Aronowicz, 2009, p. 6). The informal as *terra nulla* is a place whose uses and narratives are considered as disposable, and thus available for recolonization: it is the empty land whose history has yet to be begun. It is the case, as I shall explain in chapter 5 (page 151), of plenty of informal settlements in Phnom Penh, firstly constructed as ruinous, derelict, blighted, and therefore evicted and superseded by new developments.

The rhetoric of the informal as *empty* and disposable urban reality has been often linked to the 'politics of forgetting' (Fernandes, 2004) – the process through which marginalised social groups become invisible within a political discursive process, whereby both middle-class groups and the state instead engage. Shatkin (2004) and Lee and Yeoh (2004) have read informal settlements as 'forgotten places', as outcome of a process inherent to the globalisation of cities in developing countries: regardless of the persistent housing crisis, urban planners have increasingly forgotten and abandoned informal settlements, following the rationale that efforts toward poverty alleviation are no longer tenable in the global era.

Dasgupta (2013) remarks that, while informality is usually seen as transient, it acquires a paradoxical permanency in the context of fast urban transformation in the globalised city: the slum is a *postcolonial monument*, insofar as it "mark a politics of history and memory in their

³⁰ Literally translatable as 'empty land'.

changing spatial dimensions and political valences" (Dasgupta, 2013, p. 147). However, Dasgupta notices how the political significance of the informal settlements dissolves through their portraiture on the media: the slum undergoes a process of spectacularisation and come to be seen as a distant object of aesthetic contemplation and visual pleasure. Similarly, Dovey and King (2012) have explored the aesthetics and politics of slum tourism, questioning both attractions and dangers of aestheticising poverty – noticing how the informal can become picturesque, and presents elements of nostalgia that could suggest a quest for authenticity. On the other side, for many, slums represent the shocking spectacle of the real, leading to an unsettling voyeurism and the fascination for an urbanity that seems labyrinthine. While rising to fame and achieving a level of empathy with the wider public and the global tourism, informal settlements can turn into one further element of the spectacle that is intrinsic to the production of the fenced city. Chapters 5 and 6 will analyse several spatialities in Phnom Penh whose narratives have received wide exposure on the media and the web, and question to what extent such exposure has contributed to build a possibility of emancipation or, rather, to hamper such possibility.

The informal as marginal has been read as the locus of violence: Auyero, Burbano de Lara and Berti (2014) have argued that marginal urban areas are neither governance voids deserted by the state nor controlled and militarised spaces under the power of the state itself. Rather, the presence of the state is deliberately fragmented, to the extent that the law enforcement becomes intermittent, selective and contradictory, and key in the perpetuation of the violence it is presumed to prevent. Perlman, in her work on Brazilian favelas (Perlman, 1976, 2005), speaks of the 'myth' of marginality, and notices how the prevailing literature saw such settlements as populated by 'pure' migrants from the countryside eventually "maladapted to modern city life and, therefore, responsible for their own poverty and their failure to be absorbed into formal job and housing markets" (2005, p. 5). Informal settlements are constructed as 'other' by the population at large, as environments dense of crime, violence and prostitution and therefore not part of the urban community. To counter such ideology, Perlman (1976) suggested a paradigm shift, seeing the urban poor as lying neither at the margin nor outside the urban system, but as being instead tightly integrated and functional to it. In a similar fashion, Simone (Gotz and Simone, 2001; Simone, 2001) has proposed to move beyond a 'rudimentary' division and duality between formal and informal. Initiative arising in urbanisms understood as informal, are not antagonist to the formal urban planning agenda: rather, they manage to take advantage of unforeseen opportunities within the institutional governance structures. These, in turn should acknowledge the necessity to provide links toward the social relations and discourses occurring informally in the urban arena. It is important therefore to clarify that – while 'urban informality' is still relevant as a category for this research (as a mode of appropriation of

obsolete fences) – the grounds of investigations that I will examine in Phnom Penh live at the threshold between formal and informal practices – which this research treats equally.

3.4.2. Urban informality as emancipation from the fenced city

Urban informality has also been read as alternative to the capital-driven and exclusionary production of urban space [see again Figure 3.4], and as supposedly putting forward new uses of space, new forms of economic and social organisation, new aesthetics (Shaw, 2009; Dovey, 2013; Boano and Talocci, 2014b). Groth and Corijn (2005) for instance describe informal urbanisms as 'indeterminate', left out of both time and place, and discuss how unofficial actors are able to influence the agenda of urban planning and politics through the temporary reappropriation of such spaces, that could lead to the emergence of a non-planned, spontaneous 'urbanity' – spatialising and visualising a resistance and temporary alternative to the dominant principles of urban development. In the following paragraphs I review literature on informality rising in interstitial spatialities, in urban margins, in ruined buildings.

Shannon (2001) has remarked the rise of a mass of literature dealing with 'everyday', 'spontaneous' urbanisms, often deemed as non-designed and illegal (Noronha, 2005; Miller, 2006), and the fascination of Western architects for the world of informality as a whole, perceived as the theatre of a social struggle for the appropriation of interstitial and no-man's land. Designers, for Shannon (2001, p. 1), have shown "an enduring appreciation for the flexible and creative use of space, the combination of productivity of landscapes into an otherwise increasingly consumptive land-use system and results of the ingenuity born from necessity". Shannon's text builds on a perception that sees informality rising in interstitial spaces that the process of urban development cannot 'officially' use because of logistic impediments or environmental danger, and are then left over: buffer-zones along railway tracks and highways, spaces underneath flyovers, banks of rivers and canals.

King and Dovey (2013) have similarly spoken of interstitial metamorphoses, arguing that interstices are those places whereby creativity and new paradigms of urban development arise. Informal settlements – inserting themselves in the cracks and gaps of the formal city – provide a space where new alternative practices emerge and intersect with the ones of the formal city. King and Dovey link their argument to Deleuze and Guattari's rhizome (2004), and reflect on how interstitial metamorphoses, while byproducts of a capital-driven process, aim to replace such process through establishing new economies and, from a semiotic perspective, new meanings. For instance, while contaminating with the tourist gaze, the image of the informal is

able to challenge the mainstream representations of the city, saturated by programmes of urban boosterisms and middle-class new urbanisations (see chapter 2, page 65).

Hudson and Shaw (2014) have emphasised the contested aspects of the informal reappropriation of leftover spaces in an urban context. Shaw remarks how such forms of informality are alternative realities that "punctuate the homogeneous, staged, controlled, 'official' public spaces and the everyday, ubiquitous spaces of the contemporary city [while being] overlooked and often relegated as 'wastelands', 'derelict areas' and 'urban voids'' (Shaw, 2009, p. 1). However, their original function is not only 'voided', defunct, but transgressed through the appropriation by marginal groups. For Hudson and Shaw, interstitial informality is a space of social breathing, and helps reconceiving an otherwise binary understanding of public vs private and planned vs non-planned space: therefore, they should be considered as opportunities not to be missed by policy makers and city officials.

Other authors have worked on informal urbanisms rising in urban fringes, in the thresholds between city and countryside. Zayim (2014) has examined the emergence of gecekondu ('landed overnight') illegal settlements surrounding Turkish cities. These appeared after the strong increase of rural to urban migration during the industrialisation period, as a response to the failure of the central state to supply affordable plots or housing units for the immigrants. Zayim argues that *gecekondu*'s residents live in a regime of differentiated urban citizenship, perpetuating social inequalities in the society: the State uses such inequalities for instance to exclude them from achieving or being acknowledged a certain land or housing tenure status, or to make them unable to access an increasingly commodified housing market. However, authors highlight how gecekondu residents throve on self-organised communities and economic networks, used self-built infrastructures, and constantly reconstructed their homes following conflict with authorities and demolitions (Esen, 2009). Castillo (2001) has worked on the transformation of urban fringes in Mexico City remarking that those particular peripheral informal urbanisms were anything but unplanned, and how the regular layout and pattern of empty properties (not requiring immediate occupation to secure possession) indicated a steady development process. Again, Caldeira (2016) speaks of peripheral urbanisation, arguing how such kind of production of space - with residents in the vest of builders of not only their own houses but of entire neighbourhoods - does generate new modes of politics, having its own specific agency and engaging transversally with official logics of legal property, formal labour, state regulation and market capitalism. While not necessarily happening outside mainstream logics, the engagement with the official modes of developments does happen through negotiations and constant transformations.

A recent set of literature has focused on informal urbanisms developing in ruined, abandoned, residual buildings and portions of urban environment. Churchill and Smith (2015) have spoken of urban ruins and spaces of occupation, remarking how the ruin holds a transformative potential, inviting to repudiate the current manifestations of lived space, to reimagine it and redefine it, eventually seeing occupation as an act of revolution. I myself researched squatted spaces in Rome as potential 'new monuments', strongholds of a new set of urban commons, alternative economies and socio-spatial practices (Talocci, 2012). Cerise and Shannon (2010) and Shannon (2001) have focused on the transformation of social housing estates ('Khu Tap The') in Vietnam, remarking the creative appropriation of a rigid urban typological form in a derelict state. In the same fashion, the Torre David project by Urban Think Tank (Brillembourg and Klumpner, 2013) exalts "bottom-up strategies [as] one way to address prevailing urban scarcities" (UTT, 2012, p. 1), focusing on a 45-story office tower in Caracas, almost completed before being abandoned to neglect due to a banking crisis and, more specifically, the death of its developer: the tower became home for a community of over 100 families and its character of 'vertical slum' has risen to a level of iconicity acknowledged at the Global scale, as testified by recent publications, conferences and awards (Betsky, 2012; The Funambulist, 2013; Vocativ, 2013).

3.5. FOUR ARCHETYPES OF URBAN OBSOLESCENCE, AND THEIR AMBIVALENCE

The above literature review shows how, as I stated in the Introduction (page 28), the archetypes of the camp and the gated community are not enough to grasp the complexity of the obsolescing fenced city. The latter is characterised by the ruination of such archetypes, by their displacement and erasure, and by those urbanisms that develop in between the relentless production of urban fences, and at the threshold between formality and informality. I therefore introduce four obsolescing (though still fenced) archetypes [Figure 3.5], that I will use to investigate the latent tension between oppression and emancipation characterising urban obsolescence:

- the ruin (or the ruined fence), an urbanism whose built environment is characterised by forms of dereliction or decay, or emerging as reappropriation of a derelict or decayed building, or that has been discursively constructed as ruined by actors having an interest in its potential erasure;
- the interstice (in-between fences): an urbanism lying along infrastructural networks, river banks, or appearing as leftover space. An interstitial urbanism does therefore lack

- an official use: because of such reason, interstices are often overlooked by official accounts of a certain context, or programmatically disregarded to justify their erasure;
- the margin (or the marginal fence): an urbanism rising in a periurban reality, born out because of immigration patterns, or because of forced migration or relocation from the city centre;
- the *void* (or the emptied fence): an urbanism resulting by a forced eviction, leading to a plot of urban land whose redevelopment is at a standstill, appearing as either an empty landscape or a ruined construction site (as a ruin-in-reverse).

The literature review in this chapter has shown how, in the current debate, obsolescing urbanisms are seen either as partaking in, or as emancipating from, the production of the fenced city.

Urban ruins, interstices, margins, and voids are all to an extent expression of a sovereign power establishing a state of exception (Roy, 2008, p. 94): they configure as camp-like conditions, in their being excluded and marginalised by the cycles of production of the contemporary city, and because of the depoliticization of their populations. At the same time, they emerge as gated-community-like spatialities, representing opportunities for further commodification, and being affected by dynamics of fetishization.

Ruins, interstices, margins and voids can, however, emancipate from the production of the fenced city. In chapter 1 (page 36), I defined emancipatory practices as those contributing to open up, decommodify, and repoliticise an obsolescing urbanism. The literature review in this chapter (pages 81 and 92) shows how ruins, interstices, margins, voids, can be understood as:

- open spaces: as potential receptacles for outliers, urban scraps, unwelcomed and unwanted populations, denoting an intrinsically open character, a sense of freedom and expectancy, and the possibility of reappropriating space creatively;
- decommodified spaces: as spaces that potentially emancipate from the capital-driven production of urban space, whereby uses not depending from profit are established and alternative aesthetic regimes (escaping the capture of the urban spectacle) can emerge, along with alternative and informal economies;
- as spaces where acts of 'revolution' can happen, where the empowerment of traditionally voiceless groups can occur, where forms of self-organisation and bottom-up strategies addressing inequalities and scarcities can emerge.

In a similar fashion, analysing Phnom Penh's public space, Springer (2011a) has defined emancipation as a "perpetual contestation of the alienating effects of contemporary

neoliberalisation [... through] new forms of voluntary association and mutual aid, where pluralism may blossom, democratic engagement might be enhanced, and a liberatory *zeitgeist* may emerge". Can forms of emancipation be reached within Phnom Penh's obsolescing urbanisms? And, if so, do emancipatory dynamics actually develop along with oppressive ones? In the next chapter (page 110), I will explain how the methodological use of the four archetypes listed above is instrumental in addressing such questions, in so doing enquiring the ambivalent understanding of urban obsolescence.

3.6. CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter, I showed how the contemporary city and its fences are intrinsically prone to become obsolete: to lose or change their uses, to be affected by dereliction and abandonment, to show crevices and malfunctions. Taking a cross-disciplinary approach, I constructed a debate that has proved how the literature revolves around an ambivalent understanding of urban obsolescence.

On one side, obsolescence is read as the locus of oppressive practices, as immanent to the production of the fenced city. I explained how the ideas of blight and failure have been instrumentally applied to single out buildings and urban environments whose erasure and demolition can pave the way for the construction of new developments, and the consequent accumulation of further urban wealth. I acknowledged such oppressive role of obsolescing urbanisms while remarking their often impoverished and ghettoised condition, their criminalisation, their status of 'refrained ruins' (Birmingham, 1999), their emergence as targets of a form of ruin porn. Building on Amin (2016), I explained how the idea of failure should not be understood simply as a category for discrediting non-hegemonic and marginal practices: rather, such an idea could possibly question visions of progress based on urban smartness, resilience, efficiency. Obsolescing urbanisms become therefore, at the same time, byproducts and harbingers of the volatility of economic capitals, of ecological disasters, of disappearing welfare.

On the other side, I explored how other literature has exalted the emancipatory potential of obsolescing environments. Urban ruins, urban interstices, marginal or empty spaces, have been read as sites of resistance to apparently over-encompassing logics of market-driven urban development, as wasted lands where a sense of urban unity can still be found, as places where a multitude of urban realities can co-exist in juxtaposition.

From both perspectives, I showed how such (constructed) debate on urban obsolescence overlaps, to a great extent, to the debate on the informal city – on one side constantly criminalised and described as a form of failed urbanity, on the other side seen as the locus of alternative uses, economies, aesthetics.

I concluded the chapter arguing that the archetypes of the gated community and the camp are no longer sufficient to understand the complexity of the contemporary city. I thefore introduced a series of 'obsolescing' archetypes: the fenced city, in its obsolescing nature, is made of ruins, of voids, of interstices, of margins. Or, respectively, of ruined fences, of forcibly emptied fences, of interstitial realities emerging in between fences, of fences that have been displaced and confined to a marginal, isolated periurban condition.

In the next chapter such archetypes will be used to question the fundamental ambivalence or urban obsolescence: to reveal what practices, emerging within obsolescing urbanisms, actually partake in the production of the fenced city, and which ones emancipate from such production.

4.1. INTRODUCTION

The use of theory in research has been debated (Reeves *et al.*, 2008; Sunday, 2009; Stewart and Klein, 2016) as useful to underpin research design. Schmidt, Stanek and Moravanszky (2015:16) have posited that "the transversal heterogeneity of the social practices, institutions, policy and norms" can be better stressed and understood using theory. Theory can be defined as an acceptable general principle or body of principles offered to explain phenomena occurring in a certain reality, or as a model or framework for observing and understanding such reality (Thomas, 2007) – in so doing shaping both what we see and how we see it. In this thesis, I feed on social theories (as frameworks used to study and interpret social phenomena), on political theory (as study and critique of topics related to politics, justice, law and its enforcement), and critical theories (as theories founded upon a critique of society), to shape the methodology of this research. Following Mertens and Hesse-Biber (2013), I see methodology as a perspective on a social reality. Such perspective flows from one's philosophical assumptions about reality, and therefore bears an exquisite theoretical character.

In this research, I want to emphasise the potential, in both Agamben's and Foucault's theory, to be used to both frame and guide urban research and analysis: Foucault's and Agamben's theoretical apparatuses have been important to guide scholarly research in interpreting the contemporary city. The concepts of governmentality (Foucault, 1991), the figures of the panopticon and the carceral archipelago (Foucault, 1995), and the one of camp (Agamben, 1998) have been widely used by sociologists, geographers, historians, urban and environmental activists (Simon, 1998; Elden, 2003; Diken, 2004; see, amongst others: Caluya, 2010) have widely used to explain exclusionary dynamics at the social and spatial level.

In line with this, I embed Foucault's (1980) concept of *dispositif* – bearing in mind its later reelaboration by Agamben (2007, 2009b) – in my research ontology, using it as a lens to read the city and its design as an ensemble of practices, subjectivities, discursive formation that ultimately aim to control its territories and populations. Additionally, building on the use that Foucault (1995) and Agamben (2009a) make of paradigms, I set the fence as paradigm of the current urban transformation, embedding it in my research epistemology and using it therefore to enquire an urban reality – deconstructing it through the critical observation of its spatial and governmental practices. Such deconstruction informs my methods of data collection and analysis, geared toward understanding discursive and non-discursive practices underpinning the rise and functioning of urban fences. Importantly, in shaping my methods, I follow a design-oriented and projective attitude, which emphasises the possibility for this research to have an agency in the transformation of the grounds of investigation and in the work of research partners, as I elaborate below.

Why, however, should the use of Foucauldian and Agambenian theories be relevant in studying urban realities coming from the so-called Global South, and more specifically from Phnom Penh? I start the chapter reflecting on such question.

4.2. PHNOM PENH: THEORY AS METHOD IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH

4.2.1. Foucault and Agamben in the global South

Reference to Foucault (Robinson, 1997; see, amongst others: Brigg, 2002, 2005; Hook and Vrdoljak, 2002; Leclair-Paquet and Boano, 2013) and Agamben (see, amongst others: Alsayyad and Roy, 2006; Roy, 2009a; Springer, 2012; Boano and Martén, 2013) has been made by a number of research works that have focused on contexts belonging to the so-called global South. However, the question of whether two bodies of work belonging to the so-called 'continental philosophy' (West, 2010) are appropriate to study an urban environment in a Southern context is still relevant, and certainly a difficult one.

In this research, I define global South as a geography loosely identifiable with the ensemble of those countries that have been marginalised in the international political and economic system (Medie and Kang, 2018), while building on the assumption that such geography is a non-static and discursively constructed one (Grovogui, 2011; Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Tafira, 2019). Importantly, building on Grovogui (2011), Davies and Boehmer (2019) and Fiddian-Qasmiyeh (2015; Fiddian-Qasmiyeh and Daley, 2019) it is important to notice how such discursive construction has happened in both a North-South direction, because of imperial reason and colonial racism, and a South-South one, as an idea and a set of practices that are mobilised in order to disavow those institutional and cultural practices associated with imperialism and colonialism.

Advocating for the use of theory in research, Raghuram and Madge (2006) guestions first of all why we do research in the South, and how we can develop a postcolonial method of research: this would entail holding in tension the mutual constitutions of both North and South while making sure that the South is not entirely constituted through its relation with the North. While never engaging directly with the South, Agamben and Foucault's bodies of work are strongly relevant in the development of a postcolonial research attitude and methodology. Nichols (2010) emphasises how Foucault has been heavily used in the field of postcolonial studies, starting from the references to the philosopher's work in Edward Said's Orientalism (Said, 1995): for Said, Foucault's work represents both a conceptual and methodological innovation insofar as it allows to understand 'Orientalism' as a discourse, and therefore to deconstruct the system through which the European culture was able to manage and produce a subaltern Orient politically, scientifically and imaginatively. This approach has been contested by Bhabha (2004), who has pointed out the necessity to embed alterity and ambivalence in such 'discourse' of Orientalism, which is not a univocal one. Bhabha calls for using Foucault's concept of dispositif to avoid a search for discursive regularity and, rather, to embed plurality in the analysis of a colonising action of making subaltern and other. In the following sub-section, I will introduce Phnom Penh as ground of investigation and explain how many of its territories have been programmatically constructed as Orient(s) by a multiplicity of powerful urban actors: in this research, the use of the dispositif, in line with Bhabha's remark, serves to investigate such territories in their plurality, as a first act to contest their very construction as subaltern.

As for Agamben, it has been noticed how the relevance of his work is unclear when related to non-Western situations (Svirsky and Bignall, 2012; Bignall, 2014; Boano, 2017), as the paradigms used by the philosopher spring out from and are (historically) applied to European contexts. However, such paradigms can still be applied to analyse the way the West exercised its Imperial domination over other cultures, as in the work of Rifkin (2009) on the Native Americans, Morton (2012) on Kenya, Motha (2012) on South Africa, Atkinson (2012) in Libya, Whyte (2012) on Haiti, Boano and Martén (2013) on Jerusalem. In section 4.3 (page 110), I explain how, in this research, I attempt to do the same through the fence as paradigm in Phnom Penh, whereby the formation of camp-like spatialities, the encampment or displacement of subaltern populations, and the rise of monumental or iconic spaces, all emerge by forms of contemporary urban colonialism (see also chapter 2, page 52): beyond Cambodia being a postcolonial reality (the French Protectorate officially ended in 1953), Phnom Penh is marked by the rhetoric construction of many of its territories as colonial voids, as *terrae nullae* (see chapter 3, page 88), as empty urban spaces at the disposal of powerful local and international elites.

Using theory, therefore, allows to rethink and broaden up the understanding of urbanisms in the Global South, while at the same time following an ethical desire to find possibilities for emancipation and greater well-being (Pieterse, 2013). Theory should therefore be recognised as an inherent part of method (Raghuram and Madge, 2006): a) building a theoretical framework embedded in and conscious of the power relations structuring a given context; b) developing a research committed to have an agency on such power relations; c) acknowledging the imperative need to overcome the usual binary opposition between theory and practice, and therefore of reconceiving theory as practice (see also: Parnell and Robinson, 2012). In the case of this research, reconceiving theory as practice is done through embracing a design-oriented projective attitude, focused on having an agency on: a) the uneven power relations embedded in the several urbanisms I investigate; b) the activities of research partners working within such urbanisms.

Embracing a decolonising research attitude means therefore to be conscious of the multiple and multifaceted power relations, inequalities and injustices in place, and to be committed to challenge these across different scales and dimensions. Such challenge can happen only through multiple investments, which occur at the personal and institutional level, and that overall frame the possibility for change (Raghuram and Madge, 2006).

While I elaborate further on design research and such possibility for change in the last section of this chapter, I here reflect on the challenges of multiple investments with multiple partners, after introducing the context of Phnom Penh. What happens to a theory-loaded methodology once grounded in the reality of partner organisations which have a strong focus on practice?

4.2.2. Setting Phnom Penh as a ground of investigation

During the first year of PhD research (2011-2012), through desk-research, I examined several cases of residential buildings undergoing ruination.³¹ Two cases emerged as particularly relevant: the Kim Lien Ku Tap The (KTT) in Hanoi, Vietnam (Cerise and Shannon, 2010) and the White Building in Phnom Penh, Cambodia (Simone, 2008) – both derelict residential buildings, originally housing for civil servants, and on the verge of being demolished. Their forecasted or desired demolition hinged upon a rhetoric of obsolescence: such buildings were considered as structurally unsound, unhealthy and unfit for the current aspirations of transformation of the central areas of respectively Hanoi and Phnom Penh.

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³¹ Dynamics of ruination and their influence on the social fabric of a context were my initial focus of interest.

In December 2012 I had the opportunity³² to embark for a preliminary research fieldwork across the two cities, where I met with potential research partners (see following sub-section). In Hanoi, I met employees from several NGOs,³³ involved in projects of community-based transformation, and interested in the potential upgrading of public spaces in the Kim Lien KTT. In Phnom Penh, a representative from Community Development Foundation (CDF) suggested to visit the locality of Borei Keila too, which was unknown to me until then, and would have then become one of my primary grounds of investigation (see chapter 6). I decided ultimately to work in Phnom Penh, because of both the accessibility of sources – the ease in finding documents in English language, the easier access to professionals and authorities, the strength of potential partners – and wanting to make a specific contribution to the regional debate, following a series of works on the violent transformation of the city's landscape (Springer, 2008, 2009b, 2009a, 2011a, 2012; Brickell, 2014).³⁴ The fieldwork then developed between May and December 2013 and, for shorter timeframes, in May 2014 (three weeks), May 2015 (four weeks), May 2016 (seventeen days).

Studying and working in The Bartlett Development Planning Unit in this particular historical period meant to have a privileged channel of connection with South-East Asian grassroots, and both an interest in and proximity with the work of the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR) and its Community Architects Network (CAN) programme. This research fieldwork was conducted after three years of engagement of the MSc Building and Urban Design in Development, where I teach, in Bangkok, and preceded three years of students' fieldtrips in Phnom Penh, organised precisely in collaboration with ACHR, CAN and their local partner organisation CDF.

I had therefore the opportunity to land in Phnom Penh's context with solid contacts, and, also, with the clear possibility to use my work to build other partnerships in the years to come. This was not done with an opportunist spirit: rather, I was pursuing the will for my work to have an agency in the current wave of urban transformation. Such agency could have been achieved only feeding and building linkages with individuals and organisations working in Phnom Penh's territories, generating afterlives. I discuss such afterlives in the conclusive chapter.

³² With the support of a research grant awarded by UCL's Graduate School.

³³ CAN-Vietnam, Association of Cities of Vietnam (ACVN), Action for City, City's Women Union of Hanoi.

³⁴ See chapter 1 (page 34) and chapter 8 (page 412).

4.2.3. Partners in Phnom Penh and ethical considerations

My engagement in Phnom Penh started with a meeting at the Community Development Foundation (CDF), whose representatives suggested to visit Borei Keila. While I initially visited Borei Keila on my own, I did visit the White Building for the first time along with a young development practitioner working for the NGO Sahmakum Teang Tnaut (STT). She introduced me at once to one of the village leaders, while acting as translator for a few preliminary interviews.

Both CDF and STT were fundamental in providing me with access to contacts and information on urbanisms that would have then become relevant for this research (see below, page 110). As for the Railway settlements, CDF brokered the connection between myself and the managing director of Community Management Development Partnership (CMDP), who would have then invited me to a meeting organised by his organisation with representatives of 15 communities along the Railway line, some of whom I would have then been able to meet during my fieldwork. STT then put me in touch with the managing director of Equitable Cambodia (EC). who illustrated their activities with the same network of communities along the Railway. I met a representative from People for Care and Learning (PCL) in Andong Tmey thanks to a workshop organised jointly by my academic department and CDF, while I initially got in touch with the managing director of Manna4Life after a representative from STT invited me to a networking event hosted in the relocation site of Tang Khiev. On the same day, such representative took me to visit Phnom Bat, and acted as translator for a few interviews I conducted there. A representative from CDF took me for the first time to Tuol Sambo, in an attempt to write a research project that would have involved the inhabitants of such relocation site: while the research proposal was eventually not successful, I had the possibility to go back to Tuol Sambo for further research, with the welcome of one former community leader.35

Dealing and partnering with both CDF and STT entailed one relevant criticality. Mainstream accounts on CDF spoke of such organisation ironically as a "go-NGO, a governmental NGO",³⁶ referring to the presence in the organisation's main committee of an important (retired) politician belonging to the ruling Cambodia People's Party, and to the work done in the past in close collaboration with the government and other local authorities, in the overall effort of ACHR's network in Cambodia. ACHR is a coalition of Asian professionals, NGOs and community organisations committed in fostering opportunities for people-driven development of urban poor

³⁵ I self-organised my fieldwork in Borei Santepheap II and Trapeang Anchhanh, as I could not liaise with possible gatekeepers prior to entering those territories.

 $^{^{36}}$ Quoting a joke made by an STT representative during one of our chats.

settlements across a multitude of countries in Asia, and has been in the latest years involved in the development of Cambodia's National Housing Policy (MLMUPC, 2014), working closely along with the Ministry of Land Management Urban Planning and Construction. On the other hand, STT had once been amongst the government's blacklist of NGOs (Human Rights Watch, 2011) because of how its work contested numbers and statements appearing in government's surveys. While these two institutional positions seemed irreconcilable, personal relationships amongst workers of both NGOs (in the present and in the past) made sure none of them could contest or even put a veto on the Janus-faced engagement I undertook.³⁷

Other relevant non-governmental organisations that shared information with me have been Licadho and Housing Rights Task Force, both contacted independently about their work in Borei Keila – though making apparent my linkages to CDF and STT.

Engaging with such a multiplicity of urban actors has been an effort and a challenge at both the personal and institutional level. My research attitude was supporting their agendas, though with a critical eye and with the imperative of remaining independent. For instance, I asked such organisations for advice while arranging the fieldwork programme, but I always presented myself as an independent researcher once in the several grounds of investigation. The contrary happened in two design research workshops (see below, page 129) – one in Borei Keila and one in the White Building, co-organised respectively with CDF and STT: I led the workshops and explained to the participants that I did not belong to the organisations, in spite of the workshops being explicitly hosted by them.

Workshops and individual interviews showed two distinct kinds of relationship with the dwellers of the several urbanisms I analysed. In the first case, dwellers were instructed by representatives of the NGOs on the workshops' programme, operation and endeavour – and on the relationship between the workshop to other engagement activities that had been carried out before (or planned for after) the workshop. In all interviews, instead, I introduced myself as a researcher from a university in the UK, explained the purpose of my research and declared my aim to share the outcomes of the present work with organisations such as STT and CDF, while being independent from them. Mentioning such independency, I wanted to avoid the risk of being 'shadowed' by people close to the local authorities, as this would have entailed lack of freedom for me and for the interviewees.³⁸ These would have indeed been potentially afraid of

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³⁷ In official events, for instance a workshops organised by one of the organisations, the other organisation would not take part (or simply send a young representative to attend the activities without intervening proactively.

³⁸ In the workshop co-organised with CDF, my working team had actually been shadowed in several instances: representatives from the District authorities followed our group, officially to ensure safety, and eventually not resulting in a burden. As for STT, some of their activities have been often deliberately blocked by policemen alerted by local

having their interviews overheard. For the same reason I never used an audio- nor a video-recorder, and I always asked for permission prior to taking any picture of an interviewee or of the environment where he/she was living. In this document, I have respected the need for anonymity of the interviewees, using either only initials or nicknames (see also Appendix 1), avoided the use of pictures of identifiable individuals unless having obtained their explicit consent³⁹ and masked pictures of all children, in line with the guidelines of UCL's Research Ethics Committee.⁴⁰ Below (page 129), I expand on the rationale behind the workshops and the selection of interviewees.

Importantly, I was initially counting on personnel from CDF or STT for translation during the individual interviews. He between Both organisations' workers helped in a first stage, but their tight schedule made such collaboration impossible in the longer term. This issue eventually turned out to be a possibility to further disentangle my research from the work of CDF and STT. Through enquiring different local contacts, I eventually met a Cambodian young student of economics, who was very interested in understanding the dynamics of Phnom Penh's contested spaces. For him, my research represented the first opportunity to work in such settings, hence this short term employment proved to be also a pedagogical experience for him. In the latest stages of my fieldwork (May 2015, May 2016), I collaborated with a student of architecture, and met through CDF, who hoped to collect evidence for her final thesis through working with me.

authorities: I sought to avoid to be involved in similar situations, for reasons of personal safety and for the risk of hampering the whole research process.

³⁹ In most cases this consent has been obtained verbally, with no use of Consent Forms. This decision followed the advice of local partners such as CDF and STT, which discouraged me to ask people to sign anything.

⁴⁰ Fieldwork activities had prior received ethical approval by the Head of Department and UCL Doctoral School.

⁴¹ I have basic listening and speaking skills in Khmer language: I was able to introduce myself and ask the first few questions, but I needed support for most of the interview process.

 $^{^{42}}$ I personally paid his participation fees following local rates (advised by CDF and STT) and refunded travel expenses.

⁴³ Same as in footnote 42.

⁴⁴ It is important to notice that poor settlements are usually disregarded in Phnom Penh's faculties of Architecture, hence the interest of this student in my work and the grounds of investigation of this research was particularly significant.

4.2.4. Post-colonising research questions, object, methods: working in a dialogic fashion

The amount of research partners and the complexity of relationships with and between them demands the research to be politically engaged and, at the same time, not to be delimited solely by my own concerns, as a practitioner and as a PhD researcher representing an academic institution based in London – the latter committed to question the role of 'experts' and the construction of discourses of expertise in particular contexts (DPU, no date). Rather, research questions, object and methods should be embedded into local actors' agendas, and developed in a relational fashion, i.e. in conversation with existing discourses, material processes and existing structures of power (Astolfo, Talocci and Boano, 2015). Research in the South, again building on Raghuram and Madge (2006) can indeed be post-colonised only if it is produced in dialogue, embedded within a certain ground of investigation and taking into account the priorities of its stakeholders.

In the case of this research, specifically, the interest in urban obsolescence was articulated as an overall concern on processes of creative destruction and the risk of displacement these entail: forced displacement dynamics have been strongly felt by Phnom Penh's inhabitants, activists, practitioners. Hence it was easy to frame my overall concern for 'opening up' the fenced city and to dig into the ambivalence of obsolescence as an effort to critically interpreted processes of forced demolition and displacement, and to supply a design solution for it. Such concern was shared with partners and emerged in a dialogic manner, and definitely got embedded in the design research question reading: "how to open up, decommodify, repoliticise the environments of the fenced city?"

Methods were developed partially in line with the Community Architects Network's methodology, which is concerned in mapping out and highlight the presence of otherwise voiceless subjects within an urbanism (hence the need to do interviews), and to understand the aspirations toward the transformation of a certain site from a collective perspective (Community Architects Network, 2013b, 2013a). This latter design endeavour is also part of a paradigmatic shift put forward by the Community Architects Network toward putting all the stages of the design process in the hands of urban poor populations – shift that this research embraces. Mapping out urban obsolescence in Phnom Penh means de facto mapping out the presence of urban poor groups, hence the data and outputs of this research are definitely valuable for organisations concerned with the well-being of traditionally excluded populations. Finally, the

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⁴⁵ Especially of 'Northern' experts in the so-called Global South. This attitude reflects the ethical and practical tradition of action learning put forward by The Bartlett Development Planning Unit (DPU n.d.).

choice of Borei Keila as main case study of this research, has been definitely suggested and endorsed by CDF, as such organisation was involved in the early stages of the on-site upgrading process⁴⁶ (see chapter 6) but has now very limited agency and possibility of producing knowledge on such territory. I will discuss in the conclusive chapter how I have been sharing research outcomes with partners such as CDF and STT.

4.3. THE OBSOLESCING FENCE AS PARADIGM

Following Vial (2015), in juxtaposing concerns that are both philosophical and design-related ones, it is important to question how to get them to create knowledge together, how to define a common epistemological understanding between them. In this research, the key element to address this challenge is the fence, which I use as *paradigm* (Kuhn, 1962; Göktürk, 2005; Agamben, 2009a), i.e. as what filters the process of production of knowledge in this research, and the way such knowledge itself gets shaped (Kuhn, 1962).

Through the use of the fence as paradigm, and the acknowledgment of obsolescing processes affecting its spatial and governmental functioning, I pursue an epistemological shift in the way of looking at the contemporary city. In so doing I follow the work of authors (see for instance: King and Dovey, 2013; Varley, 2013), who have emphasised the need to emancipate from Eurocentric epistemologies when looking at the complex landscape of contemporary informal urbanisms; and the work of Roy (2005) who has spoken of policy epistemologies to indicate how urban policies have configured not only as techniques of implementation, but also as ways of knowing – as they produce forms of knowledge that are at the basis of the process of diagnosis and solution typical of policy-making.

In such a process, I follow an epistemology⁴⁷ that is both constructive and projective. As constructive (Crotty, 1998), the epistemology of this research sees meanings as socially constructed, rather than objective, and therefore contingent upon human practices – born out of the interaction between human beings and the world and developed essentially through a social context. The fence itself is a socially constructed reality: its acknowledgement and perception might vary between different groups and individuals, according to their daily practices and the power relations in place.

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⁴⁶ CDF was at the time called Urban Poor Development Fund (UPDF).

 $^{^{47}}$ I understand epistemology as what can be known (Bryman, 1988), as "a way of understanding how we know what we know" (Crotty 2003:3).

As projective (Findeli, 2012), the research sees meanings as subject to change: in this sense, the research configures as diagnostic, as it seeks to identify both potential issues and the conditions of possibility for their transformative change. Fences are not static artefacts: rather, I problematise them in the next section as spatial and governmental apparatuses, that in their very nature are subject to change and to obsolesce (Legg, 2011). Following the projective epistemology of this research, the fence is *interrogated*: it is deconstructed in its spatial and governmental dimensions, to understand both its functioning and malfunctioning, highlighting crevices and possibilities of opening its boundaries.

Below, I elaborate on the use of paradigms in research, and in the work of Foucault and Agamben, to clarify how – in my argument – I understand the fence as both *example* and *pattern* of the patterns of transformation of the obsolescing fenced city.

4.3.1. On the use of paradigms in research and in the work of Foucault and Agamben

The concept of paradigm has been introduced by Kuhn (1962), who argued that the practice of science is characterised by a particular way of thinking – which he defines precisely as paradigm. Paradigms for Kuhn are what filters the process of production of knowledge and the way this is shaped: a paradigm therefore tells us what is there to be researched and what is known, what should be considered as data and what not. In this sense, when used as paradigm, the fence *interrogates* reality: it is used to explain wider urban dynamics, looking at how, to what extent and toward whom these produce fragmentation, separation, exclusion.

Göktürk (2005) highlights how Kuhn's original definition has influenced other scholars (Harman, 1970; Ritzer, 1975; Salter and Wolfe, 1990; Barker, 1992; Capra, 1996) who have all used paradigms as categories that describe or construct⁴⁸ singularities as *exemplary* ones. While the understanding of the paradigm as *example* is certainly relevant and the most diffused one, however, Göktürk explains how another meaning would require further investigation: the paradigm as *model* or *pattern*,⁴⁹ which in the context of this research helps bridge my argument with the theorisations of Foucault and Agamben.

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⁴⁸ Building on the etymology of the term, from the Greek *paradèigma*, 'showing side by side' (Oxford Living Dictionaries, 2019d).

⁴⁹ The American Heritage Dictionary (2019) for example defines paradigm precisely as one that serves as a pattern or a model; the Merriam-Webster dictionary (2019) groups together the meanings of 'example', 'pattern', 'model', adding also the one of a conjugation or declension, showing a word in all its different forms of inflection.

Although Foucault does not dig explicitly in the meaning of the term paradigm,⁵⁰ Agamben (2009a) has reconstructed his use of paradigmatic figures starting from Foucault's (1995) description of the *panopticon* – which represents de facto the model for understanding and interpreting the whole disciplinary society. The panopticon for Foucault is a concrete and singular historical phenomenon, while at the same time can be understood as representing a *panopticism*: "as a generalisable model of functioning; a way of defining power relations in terms of the everyday life of men" (Foucault, 1995, p. 205). In this research, as in Foucault's panopticon, the fence becomes a paradigm for illustrating a mechanism of power in its ideal form.

Agamben as well has made use of paradigms in many of his writings. Agamben explains that, while figures such as the *homo sacer* (Agamben, 1998), the *Muselmann* (Agamben, 1999), the *camp* (Agamben, 1998), were all actual historical phenomena, he uses such figures precisely as paradigms, giving them the role of making intelligible a broader context (Agamben, 2009a) – in this case characterised by the state of exception. In other words, for Agamben, not only does the paradigm function as a lens to look as a given context, but it actually constitutes such context (de la Durantaye, 2009) – precisely as in this research the fence both renders intelligible and constitutes the contemporary city.

In his analysis, Agamben outlines an important feature of the paradigm: the fact that it is a form of knowledge that is neither inductive nor deductive, but rather proceeds by analogy, moving from singularity to singularity (Watkin, 2014) and therefore neutralising the dichotomy between the general and particular (Agamben, 2009a, p. 15).⁵¹ It is here that, interestingly, the two main etymological meanings of the term paradigm coincide: for Agamben, the paradigm is not only an example, but it is also an *exemplum* – it becomes exemplar of a new intelligible ensemble, while allowing practices to be put aside one another and understood.

In this research, I analyse fences precisely as singularities. I use the fence as paradigm to go from the particular to the particular: while acknowledging the existence of 'archetypical' fences (the gated-community, the camp, the ruin, the void, the interstice, the margin – see chapter 2, page 57, and chapter 3, page 94) – I attempt to understand how such archetypes have evolved, taken different forms, grounded in different disciplinary techniques [see again Figure 3.5].

⁵⁰ Foucault uses the term paradigm only in *The Order of Things* (2002b). According to Agamben (2009a) this is a deliberate choice: Foucault seems to favour, instead, *positivity*, *problematisation*, *discursive formation*.

⁵¹ Agamben goes back to Aristotle in stating that the paradigm does not function as a part with the respect to the whole, nor as a whole with respect to the part, but as a part with respect to the part.

4.3.2. The fence as paradigm in Phnom Penh

In the previous chapters, I explained how the contemporary city cannot be understood only through the archetypes of the gated community and the camp. Rather, such city is characterised by the obsolescence of such archetypes, by their ruination, displacement, erasure, interstitiality. As explained in chapter 3 (page 94), I therefore identify a set of obsolescing fenced archetypes: the ruin (or the ruined fence); the void (or the emptied fence); the margin (the marginal, or displaced, fence); the interstice (in between fences).

After a preliminary investigation of Phnom Penh, I identified a series of obsolescing fenced urbanisms that – while being *singularities* – represent *examples* of the evolution of a certain archetype of the obsolescing fenced city. At the same time, they work as *exemplars* of specific dynamics of urban transformation, therefore contributing to make intelligible the archetype itself, and the overall reality of the obsolescing fenced city. Table 4.1 below clarifies each urbanism's role as example and exemplars, and those features that render each of urbanisms singularities. As shown in Figure 1.11, the narrative of the empirical chapters makes reference to a series of illustrative cases, too, as exemplars of current dynamics of transformation.

Drawing from Peck (2015), the use of a paradigm is instrumental in avoiding the exploration of specific urban cases against dominant ones, as an exception to hegemonic trends. This reflection is powerful as it is conducive to consider all grounds of investigation as equal parts in the attempt to make intelligible a wider urban system, which in this research I see as an ensemble of obsolescing fences. In the following section, building on Göktürk's (2005, p. 9) call to embed paradigmatic relationships in research ontologies, I problematise such urban system as a *dispositif*.

Archetype	Urbanisms	Example of, and exemplar for (as	Features
		evolution of a certain archetype)	
The ruin (the	The White	Urbanism of ruination,	Central location with issues of slum
ruined fence)	Building	developed in a decayed monumental building	tourism; multiple informal additions to the original structure.
	Borei Keila: Old	Urbanism of ruination,	Central location but hidden to the gaze of
	Buildings D, F, H	surviving in the leftovers of a new development	passers-by; multiple informal additions; units forcibly vacated; in the midst of a
			slum settlement (evicted, then rebuilt, see
			below Borei Keila's current illegal settlement).
	Borei Keila: new	Urbanism of ruination	High turnover of the original units'
	housing for the	developing in newly built	assignees; incremental housing; many
	poor	housing (outcome of process of on-site	units kept empty; informal conversion of part of the ground floor from commercial to
		upgrading)	residential.
The void (the	Dey Krahorm's	Profit-driven urbanism resulting in a series of	Original lot subdivided in multiple sub-
emptied fence)	redevelopment	urban voids,	leases to third party developers. Co- presence of stuck working sites, temporary
10.100)		superseding a slum settlement.	uses to generate income, leftover spaces.
	Borei Keila's	Profit-driven urbanism	Original lot subdivided in multiple sub-
	redevelopment	resulting in the co-	leases to third party developers. Co-
		presence of new developments and urban	presence of new developments, stuck working sites, temporary uses to generate
		voids, superseding a	income, leftover spaces.
		slum settlement	
The interstice (between	Railway settlements	Interstitial urbanism, along a semi-abandoned	Constellation of settlements with different morphologies and facing different
fences)	Cottionionio	infrastructural network.	challenges.
	Borei Keila's:	Interstitial urbanism,	Slum settlement re-built after a forced
	current 'illegal' settlement	developed in the leftovers of a site's	eviction, with a number of families resisting on-site and now occupying all the space
	Settlement	redevelopment	available between the new developments.
The marginal	Borei	Urbanism of	Relocation site configuring as a new
fence	Santepheap II	displacement, with provision of incremental	centrality, with a high percentage of commercial developments cross-
		housing and services	subsidising the housing for the displaced
			poor families.
	Tang Khiev	Urbanism of	Relocation site at 55km from the centre of
		displacement, with provision of land only	the city, outside the municipal boundaries. Housing built at a later stage through the
		,	facilitation of an NGO.
	Trapeang	Displaced urbanism, with	Relocation site with toilet blocks and a civic
	Anchhanh Tmey	provision of land and services	building provided by Australian Aid. Housing built at a later stage by the
		30111000	inhabitants, with subsidies from the Asian
		5	Development Bank.
	Tuol Sambo Tmey	Displaced urbanism, with provision of partially	Relocation sites divided in two parts. One with housing provided by Caritas
	711109	incremental housing and	Cambodia to household with HIV-affected
		services	members. The other with housing, of a
			lower quality, provided by private developer Phan Imex to the other
			displaced families.
	Phnom Bat	Displaced urbanism, with	Relocation site at 55km from the centre of
		provision of land only	the city, outside the municipal boundaries. Housing built at a later stage through the
			facilitation of an NGO.
	Andong Tmey	Displaced urbanism	New settlement built by an international
		(nearby relocation of part of an older relocation	NGO to provide low-rise housing for free to families living in the most derelict part of a
		site).	relocation site.

Table 4.1. Obsolescing fenced archetypes, as explored in Phnom Penh (elaboration by Author)

4.4. THE FENCED CITY AS A DISPOSITIF

4.4.1. Research ontology

Understanding ontology as the nature of the human being in social contexts (Bryman, 1988), this research treads between an interpretive and a critical perspective on reality: it studies the lived experience of individuals, while stressing the issues of power and control between them. Building on Foucault (1980), I see power as circulating through a net-like formation, through a dispositif. Foucault understands the dispositif as a heterogeneous set of discourses, techniques of government, regulations, laws, architectural forms: an ensemble of discursive practices and governance arrangements considered to be an aggregate of physical, social and normative infrastructure – amongst which I place urban and architectural design – put into place to deal strategically with a particular problem or a situation of emergency (for instance, in this research, social unrest in the context of exclusionary dynamics of transformation).

Oksala (2010) has remarked how Foucault's idea of power incorporates in itself an ontological claim about the nature of reality, as made of social practices and struggles that eventually produce and establish an ontological order. Ontology for Foucault (Foucault, 2004; Oksala, 2010) is politics that has forgotten itself – in the case of this research establishing a spatial and governmental order in the contemporary city, as I explain below with the use of the dispositif. Agamben (1993), too, traces the connection between ontology and a contemporary order, equating ontology to biopolitics, therefore again reading it as a form of politics that has been reduced to bare life (Borislavov, 2005).⁵²

In this research, I use the *dispositif* concept as ontological lens, i.e. as a worldview allowing to understand the circulation and spatialisation of power relations in the contemporary fenced city, through a network-like formation of structures of power. Such formation (the dispositif itself) stands for an ontological order in the contemporary city that has contributed to reduce the *polis* to an ensemble of techniques of government and management, as I explored in chapter 2. However, embracing Legg's (2011) argument seeing the dispositif – because of its very multiplicity – as prone to obsolesce, it is possible to say that a possibility of flight and emancipation from such governmental condition can be found. The following sub-sections explore the concept of dispositif, how it has been used in research and how I use it as a

⁵² At the same time though, Abbott (2014) and Whyte (2013) remark Agamben's concern with what can provide the conditions for ontological change: new political forms able to resist the nature of contemporary capitalism and the (neoliberal order) it produces.

worldview, while section 4.5 below explains how I investigate whether forms of emancipation do appear.

4.4.2. The dispositif: genealogy of a concept

The original definition of dispositif comes from Foucault, and appears for the first time in a 1977 interview published as *The Confession of the Flesh* (Foucault, 1980). It reads as "a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions." Foucault sees the dispositif as a strategic formation made by both discursive and non-discursive elements, whose network is meant to respond to a situation of emergency – for instance social unrest and contestation over urban space. The term is also used in the first volume of *The History of Sexuality*, entitled *The Will to Know* (Foucault, 1990) – where Foucault questions the repressive aspect of a *dispositif* of sexuality.

It is important to notice how English translations of the French *dispositif* have used alternately the words dispositive, device, deployment, apparatus, machinery. Basu (2011) has highlighted how the most common translation, *apparatus*, has brought confusion and might have contributed to the relatively little attention that the concept has received in English language scholarship: as Kessler (2007) points out, indeed, the common understanding of apparatus does not cover the aspect of 'disposition', perhaps the most relevant in Foucault's argument, as arrangement of discursive and non-discursive elements with a strategic aim. While Bussolini (2010) invites to revisit the specific philosophical trajectories generated by each translation, I use the original French *dispositif* to emphasise precisely the dimension of disposition, that acquires methodological relevance in the analysis of the governmental dimension of urban fences and their design practices (see below, pages 117 and 120).

Foucault did not develop the concept any further, leaving room for revisiting, reinterpreting and expanding his argument. The first one to pose the question *What is a dispositif?* has been Deleuze (1992), which has deconstructed Foucault's definition and, feeding on his own work (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004), described the dispositif in an *assemblage*-like way (Legg, 2011). If Foucault highlighted the strategic and governmental endeavour of the dispositif, Deleuze exalts the dispositif in its multiplicity, in its being an infrastructure that can supply an array of *rhizomatic* connections between discursive and non-discursive elements. Legg (2011) recalls the claims against Deleuze for his 'mystified' reading of the dispositif concept: while endorsing the fact that Deleuze's dispositif is "almost comically assemblage-like" (Legg, 2011, p. 130),

Legg assumes the two concepts as living dialectically, and therefore supports Deleuze's argument. While not covered in detail by this research, the concept of assemblage has been far more popular successful in the recent scholarship, used as both methodological approach and ontological worldview. I expand on a potential reconnection between the two concepts in the conclusive chapter (page 417), reflecting on directions for further studies.

About 15 years after Deleuze's contribution, Agamben asked exactly the same question in *What is an apparatus*? Through an etymological analysis of the term, Agamben reflects on the latin term *dispositio*, translation of the Greek term *oikonomia* (management), which allows him to emphasise further the issue of control and government of a multiplicity of human beings. Agamben hence formulates his own definition: a dispositif is "literally anything that has in some way the capacity to capture, orient, determine, intercept, model, control, or secure the gestures, behaviours, opinions, or discourses of living beings" (Agamben, 2009b, p. 14). Agamben mentions spatial dispositifs such as prisons, madhouses, schools, factories, but also juridical measures, writing, literature, and language itself. Not only physical forms then, not only *panopticons* (Foucault, 1995), but all those measures which contribute to the exercise of what is, ultimately, *biopower*, aiming to control life itself. According to Legg (2011), it is therefore straightforward to read dispositifs through Agamben's previous works, as "those mechanisms through which *zoe* (living beings [...]) becomes *bios* (subjects)" (Legg, 2011, p. 130), as I explored in chapter 2 (page 56).

The dispositif is therefore, for Agamben, a mechanism of subjectivation, and one through which biological and social lives can be subsumed to the nomos of the *camp* (see chapter 2, page 57). Agamben though does not make direct reference to the urban dimension, if not in a brief earlier text entitled *Metropolis* (Agamben, 2005). In such text, the philosopher speaks explicitly of the urban realm as a series of dispositifs: "the metropolis is the dispositif or group of dispositifs that replaces the city when power becomes the government of the living and of things" (Agamben, 2005, p. 1). We are in front therefore of a new spatialisation that is certainly invested in a process of depoliticisation – resulting in a strange zone where it is impossible to decipher what is *zoe* and what is *bios*, what is *oikos* and what is *polis*, what is *private* and what is *public*. Adopting the dispositif as ontological framework of this research aims to blur these

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⁵³ Agamben traces back the definition of dispositif to an argument put forward by Foucault's in his *Archaeology of Knowledge* (Foucault, 2002a). According to Agamben, the term dispositif does not appear yet in the book but seems predicted by the term *positivities*, that in Hegelian terms refers to what is enforced and obligatory.

dichotomies, and to see the urban realm as suspended within relations of power that aims to control living being and their environments.⁵⁴

Comparing respectively Foucault's work on the dispositif with Deleuze's and with Agamben's, Legg (2011) and Frost (2015) have drawn reflections on obsolescences of, and resistances to, the dispositif, that are of great relevance for my argument. Legg remarks once again the parallel between assemblage and dispositif highlighting their twofold character: as assemblages lead to both order (striation, re-territorialisation) and dis-order (smoothing, de-territorialisation), the very multiplicity of the dispositif nature leads to create conditions for its own decay, contestation and obsolescence (Legg, 2011).

Frost expands on such dimension of contestation arguing that the understanding of resistance to and emancipation from the dispositif is very different between Agamben and Foucault (Frost, 2015). If for Foucault there is always room for resistance, and this can be found by the single individual working at the limits of the dispositif (in those zones of obsolescence highlighted by Legg), for Agamben the only possibility for resistance and emancipatory politics is a proper ontological shift. According to Frost (2015), therefore, if resistance with Foucault is a political matter, with Agamben it becomes an ontological one: the subject is utterly dominated by dispositifs, and therefore there are no possibilities for transgression in the current order. The only effective resistance for Agamben is the construction of a new form-of-life, of a community free from any sense of identity and belonging, and therefore not fully subjugated to dispositifs (Agamben, 2009b).

This research feeds on Legg's argument seeing the dispositif as intrinsically leading to obsolescence, and therefore to possibilities for ruptures and disruptions, resistance and flight. I stated that obsolescing urbanisms can be the breeding ground for emancipatory practices, and define these as *open, decommodifying* and *repoliticising* ones. While each emancipatory practice represents per se a form of resistance to a governmental dispositif, whether such resistance represents a simple transgression or a proper ontological shift is a much more difficult question to be answered: I attempt to do so in the conclusive chapter, after having presented the research findings and reflected on the Agambenian concepts of coming community (Agamben, 1993), profanation (Agamben, 2007) and destituent politics (Agamben, 2014).

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⁵⁴ Agamben (2005) makes the example of the G8 meeting in Genoa, in 2001, when the city centre was fenced off to keep away the people demonstrating against the meeting. What happened was not different from what occurred in Phnom Penh in August 2013, where many roads in the city centre were fenced off to try to keep demonstrators from the opposition party to reach strategic point of the city. Agamben recalls Genoa as being an experiment of how a city can enact the convergence of the two paradigms of leprosy and plague.

4.4.3. The use of dispositif in research

The concept of dispositif has been heavily influential in social science and is recurrent in the literature, being often used as interpretative key for discourses on gender (Bell, 1994; Amigot and Pujal, 2009) and for the production and reproduction of spatial and environmental injustices. Allen (2012) has spoken of a non-static dispositif of socio-environmental regulation based on an exclusionary system of social reproduction, labour exploitation and nature expropriation.

Other authors have used the dispositif to understand security regimes. Velasco Arias (2011), for instance, has used the dispositif as a model for explaining the normalisation of the exception in biopolitics. In a similar fashion, Ditrych (2013) has spoken of a transition from 'discourses' to 'a dispositif of discourses' in the evolution of the approach of States to terrorism. Again on terrorism, Caton and Zacka (2010) have used the concept to demonstrate a 'performativity' of power in the deployment of a condition (real or perceived) of security. Herschinger (2015) has spoken of drugs as dispositifs, highlighting the relations of power intrinsical in the practices of the global drug prohibition regime.

Coté, in conversation with Berardi (Coté, 2011), speaks of the relevance of the dispositif concept for theorising new networked organisational forms in the context of media, communication and culture: the media dispositif emerges therefore as constitutive of the social body, comprising and calibrating its elements.

Bailey outlines the use of dispositif as method for policy analysis (Bailey, 2013): the dispositif is then used in order to identify material objects, discourses, practices, and subjectivities. Bailey stresses the concept's enormous potential in overcoming apparent dualisms between macroand micro-politics, macro- and micro-scale, local and central. This is particularly relevant for my research methodology, as I pose that urban design processes and governmental dynamics, in their complexity, can only be understood through a multidimensional and multi-scalar approach [see Figure 1.11]. Power (2013), too, has spoken of the dispositif as an attractive methodological device for transcending traditional analytical dualisms and to allow organisations to be understood as fluid networks of elements, and as permeated by ideas and practices which are assembled and deployed by various actors.

Daly and Smith (2011) have used the term from an architectural standpoint, interpreting the Casa del Fascio by the Italian architect Terragni as dispositif, and remarking how conceiving architectural objects as dispositifs can contribute to revisit the role of architecture within society:

a fenced, enclosed object maintains the connections with external urban networks, and can be designed in order to facilitate them. Secchi and Viganò (Fini and Pezzoni, 2010; Boano and Astolfo, 2016) have deliberately used the concept of dispositif in the design of the Antwerp Structural Plan, learning from existing practices to create devices for dwelling and living together.

Only a few authors, however, have causally linked the concept of dispositif to the reading of the urban realm. Huxley (2006) reflects on how urban spaces and subjects have been problematised between nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and identifies several forms of spatial (dispositional) rationality, which aims at drawing boundaries and producing order and correct behaviours. Recently, Ortiz and Boano (2018) have used the notion of *dispositif* in exclusionary terms, arguing that a particular project in Medellin – the Encircled Garden, as expression of a new policy named 'Civic and Pedagogical Urbanism' – actually acts as a dispositif of civil disenfranchisement – enabling the deprivation of the dwellers' rights to stay in their territories. Boano and myself have spoken of urban design as dispositif, in its being a commodifying machine and at the same time object of commodification (Boano and Talocci, 2014a). Pløger (2008) has emphasised how the dispositif is central to the constitution of disciplinarian forces through relations of power, knowledge and space: he remarks space to be a dispositif amongst other dispositifs, with a specific emphasis on its subjective dimension (the interaction between a dispositif and living beings varies indeed from subject to subject).

4.4.4. The fenced city as a dispositif

In the previous section I have identified the fence as paradigm *par excellence* of an urbanisms founded on the aim of controlling and governing the urban environment: fences, as paradigms, are "shap[ing] a vaster problematic context that they also constitute and render intelligible" (Agamben, 2009a, p. 19). Above I discussed how in Phnom Penh, I found a series of urbanisms – ruins, interstices, voids, margins – that precisely render the city's context intelligible, working as both examples and exemplars of specific dynamics of urban transformation.

All those urbanisms, as I explained, must be considered, to a certain extent, fenced. The fence, in its most archetypical version, founds on the gesture of confining a subject (or a multitude of subjects) in an enclosed spatiality, with a 'door' to guarantee access and control. The confinement occurs for necessity of either punishment or ghettoisation (see camp-like spatialities, chapter 2, page 57), or for protection, as in the case of sacred or forbidden spaces (see debate on security-obsessed urbanisms and privatopias, chapter 2, pages 47 and 60).

I explained though how a fenced environment works as such beyond a simple logic of confinement. Foucault for instance recalls the Jesuit colony, where "existence [was] regulated in all of its points" while at the same time "human perfection was effectively accomplished" (Foucault, 2008a, p. 22). Rules and codes, mechanism of surveillance, of government and ethics of the self (Foucault, 1980, 1991) are introduced. The fence becomes therefore a complex spatial and governmental object, which this research analyses in its immanent nature of dispositif. Beyond its architectural forms indeed, there lie discourses, institutions, laws, norms – aimed to the control of urban spaces and their populations.

Design as well can be understood as a dispositif. On one side, as tool for separating sacred-like environments (see chapter 2, page 65) from the rest of the urban realm through dynamics of securitisation and fetishization, or for devising controllable camp-like spatialities (page 57). On the other side – building on Boano's (2014) call to broaden the definition of what design is – as a complex set of formal and informal acts, that partake into the actions of strategising, building, organising, controlling (and also imagining, recounting, and inhabiting) the city and its environments. In a similar fashion, Tonkiss (2013) says that the design of the city takes place in a wider domain involving legal divisions, entitlements and decisions, economic relations and distributions, political infrastructures and deliberations, social institutions and interactions, organizational forms and policy processes.

Through such *broad* reading, and through acknowledging the agency of design in dynamics of power (Boano and Martén, 2013; Leclair-Paquet and Boano, 2013; Boano and Talocci, 2014a), design must be read as a dispositif and every dispositif must be read as designed: strategising space through defining its uses, controlling it through certain architectural forms and governmental techniques, organising it through norms and regulations.

Such understanding allows me to analyse Phnom Penh's urbanisms interpreting them as an ensemble of design practices, which I deconstruct through a set of spatial dimensions and one of governmental dimensions, as I explain in the following section.

Importantly, such deconstruction happens at multiple scales. It is indeed worth noting how seeing the city and its design practices as dispositifs is useful also to remark the multi-scalar character of fenced urbanisms. All the design practices I will examine, indeed, should be considered as multiple and overlapping dispositifs, which partake into the grand narrative of an overall dispositif working at the urban level [see again Figure 1.11]. I therefore explore Phnom Penh at multiple scales:

- the urban one (using the fence as paradigm as *exemplar*, contributing to render intelligible the paradigm in the wider context), seeking to de-construct the agency and relevance of localised processes of transformation on the urban scale, and the interconnections between locales:
- the one of the neighbourhood (using the fence as paradigm as *example*, acknowledging both the peculiarity of an urban environment and its belonging to a certain 'archetype'), traditionally the scale par excellence of masterplanning and urban design, and privileged site for the experimentation and observation of techniques of government of urban space;
- the scale of the household and its housing unit, acknowledging each household's peculiarities and again reading it as a spatial and governmental dispositif at the microscale.

As said in the introduction, such cross-scalar approach is fundamental to grasp the complexity of the production and reproduction of fenced and obsolescing urbanisms in Phnom Penh. I did also state that such complexity could only be understood thinking in a multi-dimensional fashion: the idea of dispositif and an expanded definition of design allows such multidimensional thinking, as I explained above and elaborate further in the following section.

4.5. RESEARCH METHODS

4.5.1. A designerly way of thinking

The research feeds on the debate on design research (Archer, 1981; Cross, 1999; Fallman, 2008; Findeli, 2012; Fraser, 2013; Astolfo, Talocci and Boano, 2015; Poggenpohl, 2015), and deliberately takes a positionality that is descriptive and projective, loosely drawing from the work of Findeli (2012). Findeli highlights how the aim of designers is to *change* human-environment interactions and to transform them into preferred ones. Understanding the dynamics occurring in a certain reality (*descriptive* stance), and what is going *wrong* (*diagnostic* stance), leads to consider such reality as a project rather than as an object (*projective* stance). This research espouses such endeavour. Assuming a projective epistemological stance is both valid and valuable, since it has the potential of delivering original and relevant knowledge about the world, "considered from a designerly way of thinking, i.e. a project-oriented perspective" (Findeli, 2012, p. 294).

In defining what design research is and entails, the emphasis on human-environment interactions must be considered as a shift from early attempts that were biased by a narrow understanding of design, of the design process and of the figure of the designer. For instance, Archer (1981, p. 31) had defined design research as a "systematic search for and acquisition of knowledge related to design and design activity", referring to to such design activity explicitly as the one performed by professionals. Cross (1999), again, refers to the professional figure when defining design research as the specific logics and thought processes that designers adopt, individually or collectively, when doing design. For Cross, the role of design research is one of observing, modelling, describing, theorising, predicting such processes. However, the emphasis is just on the conception part of the design project, and not at its transformation once it lands into the social world.

Findeli, instead, highlights how the intrinsic interdisciplinarity of design and the inherent complexity of design situations is precisely a consequence of the fact that every human activity is "an entanglement of various interrelated dimensions and values [...], with each dimension being due to a systematic enquiry and interpretation" (Findeli, 2012, p. 297) – as I argued in the previous section referring to Boano's (2014) and Tonkiss' (2013) call for an expanded understanding of design.

4.5.2. Interrogating the fence through spatial and governmental dimensions

I interrogate the complexity of design practices through the twofold perspective embraced by this research: on one hand, through an urban design perspective, with urban design understood as spatial political economy (see chapter 2, page 63); and, on the other hand, through a governmental one. I deconstruct therefore each design practice met in the obsolescing urbanisms I explored (see Table 4.1 above, page 110) through a set of spatial and governmental dimensions [Figure 4.1]: ⁵⁵ such dimensions reveal spatial and governmental practices that constitute an obsolescing fenced urbanism as such.

Firstly, I loosely re-elaborate a classical urban design approach to urban analysis (CABE, 2003), which typically articulates around the analysis of an area's built and open spaces – urban grain, massing, density and typology of the built form on one side, the system of open spaces,

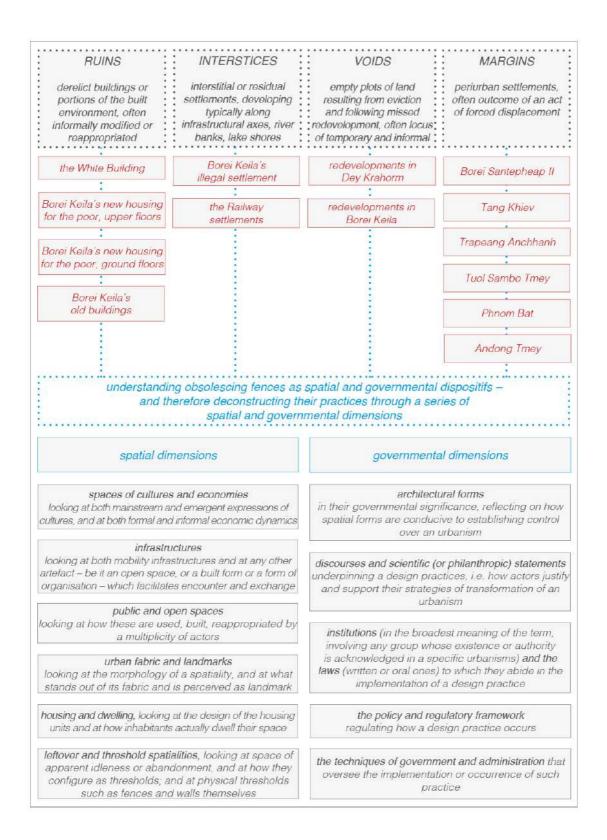
⁵⁵ This reflection refers to literature (Hesse-Biber 2010, cited in Mertens and Hesse-Biber, 2013) which asserts the superiority of mixed methods in grasping the complexity of social life, and therefore in moving toward a more inclusive, socially just research process.

the access through them, the formation of view corridors on the other – and the socio-economic profile of a certain area's demographics. I look therefore at several spatial dimensions, that are mindful on my perspective on the contemporary city as an ensemble of fenced and obsolescing urbanisms:

- spaces of cultures and economies, looking at both mainstream and emergent expressions of cultures, and at both formal and informal economic dynamics;
- infrastructures, looking at both mobility infrastructures (hence to how people, goods and information move, or conversely are put in the impossibility of moving) and at any other artefact be it an open space, or a built form, or a form of organisation which facilitates encounter and exchange;
- public and open spaces, looking at how these are used, built, reappropriated by a multiplicity of actors;
- urban fabric and landmarks, looking at the morphology of a spatiality, and at what stands out of its fabric and is perceived as landmark (not only tall and 'big' buildings but also artefacts able to catalyse urbanites' attention and imaginations);
- housing and dwelling, looking at the original design of the housing units and how inhabitants dwell their space and change it through their own design acts;
- leftover and threshold spatialities, looking at apparent idleness or abandonment of both open spaces and built environment; at how their re-appropriation by certain actors might entail a (physical or psychological) threshold for others; at physical thresholds such as fences and walls themselves.

Secondly, referring to the original definition of dispositif as conceptualised by Foucault (1980), I highlight several governmental dimensions:

- architectural forms, in their governmental significance, reflecting on how spatial forms are conducive to proving a control over an urbanism;
- discourses and scientific (or philanthropic) statements underpinning a design practices,
 i.e. how actors justify and supports their strategies of transformation of an urbanism;
- institutions (in the broadest meaning of the term, involving any group whose existence or authority is acknowledged in a specific urbanisms) and the laws (written or oral ones) to which they abide in the implementation of a design practice;
- the policy and regulatory framework regulating how a design practice occurs;
- the techniques of government and administration that oversee the implementation or occurrence of such practice.



4.1. Deconstructing each ground of investigation through a series of spatial and governmental dimensions (elaboration by Author)

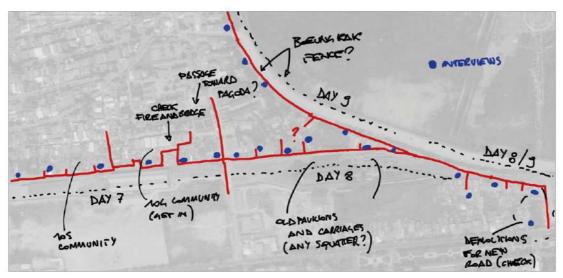
Such spatial and governmental dimensions are at the core of my analytical process, as I will explain below after discussing my research methods. Firstly, I discuss walking, observation, and the use of photography as those methods aimed at revealing the spatial dimensions of the grounds of investigation. Secondly, I explain how individual interviews and collective design workshops were instrumental in understanding each grounds of investigation's governmental dimensions, and in addressing information gaps about the spatial dimensions.

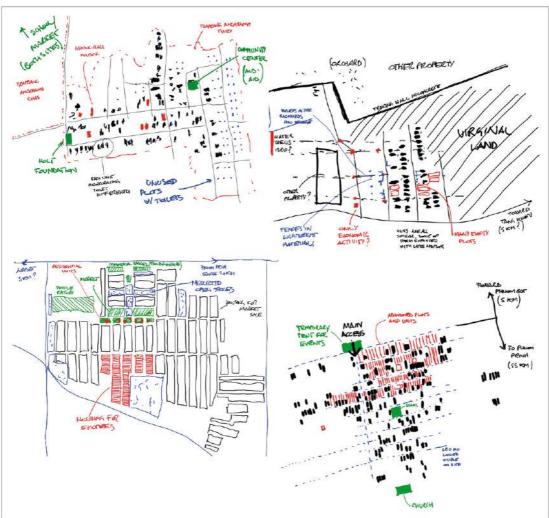
4.5.3. Walking, observing, sketching, photographing: interrogating the spatial dimensions of an urbanism

Through walking, observing, photographing and mapping I sought to understand the spatial dimensions of the urbanisms I investigated.

Building on Careri (2002), I consider walking as both a method of knowledge production and as a design practice, with both political and aesthetic significance. Walking in territories that are perceived as obsolete, as dangerous, as disposable, is a political act per se, as it casts the attention on urban realities that would otherwise be disregarded. In this sense, walking is already a design act as it trespasses and contributes to open up fences, putting in relation different contexts and placing them in a condition of displacement – the researcher is displaced in an unknown territory, and such territory is affected by the presence of a displaced subject. Walking therefore entails a *dérive* (Debord, 1958), a drift through marginal, interstitial, abandoned and somehow uncharted spatialities. Or, as in this research, it entails a semi-planned drift, as I organised each day of fieldwork loosely following a route that I predetermined before arriving on site [Figure 4.2].

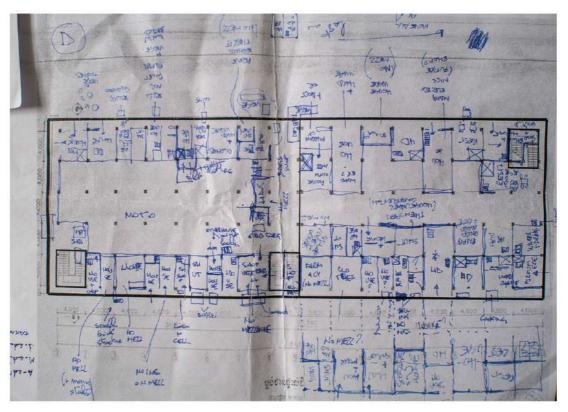
I alternated walk with moments of break, using such moments to observe a certain urbanism from a sedentary perspective. The break could have occurred because of a deliberate choice – for instance upon arriving in a public space, or on a viewing terrace – or because of the need to repair from the sun or rain for a while, or to buy a refreshment. Often, such moments of break sparked off an interaction with people that were stopping by the same space – customers of a bar, or people seeking repair from the weather. In these cases, starting an informal chat could have led to a proper interview (see following sub-section). In other cases, inspired by the *stationary drift* conceived by Bechler (2012), I did simply carried on observations, noting down what was happening for – when possible – a standardised amount of time (15 minutes). I focused on how people were using the space, crossing apparent thresholds, using roads and alternative pathways as mobility infrastructures, or gathering in specific points.

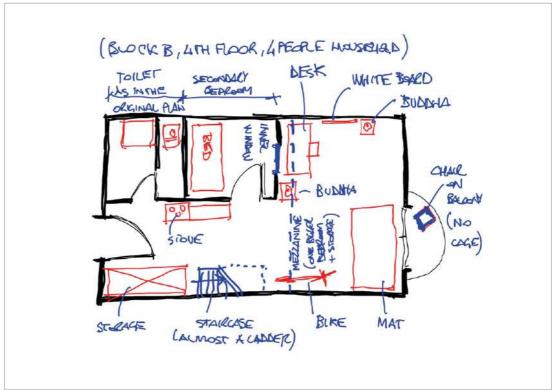




^{4.2.} Maps outlining the reconnaissance routes in the grounds of investigation: examples from several Railway settlements (elaboration by Author)

^{4.3.} Examples of maps produced after the initial explorations of the grounds of investigation (elaboration by Author)





4.4. Example of mapping at the scale of the building: ground floors of Borei Keila's new housing for the poor

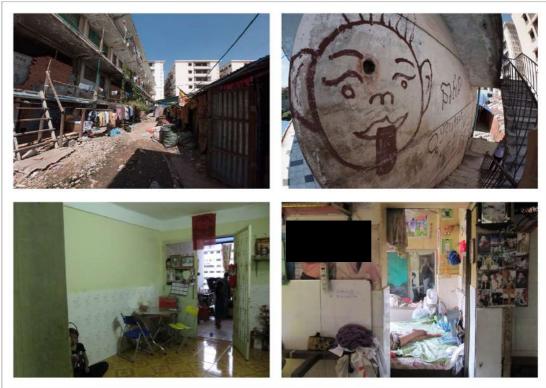
4.5. Examples of mapping at the scale of the housing unit: a housing unit in Borei Keila's new housing for the poor (elaboration by Author)

Summarising such notes, I was able to produce quick 'psycho-geographic' maps [Figure 4.3], inspired by the work of Stalker (Careri, 2002, 2014): I used this maps in the attempt to portray the ground of investigation 'at a glance', highlighting relevant spatial conditions and narratives that emerged during the fieldwork, and my personal experience and understanding of a certain urbanism. In so doing, I started to relay spatially the information I collected too: I did map out where commercial activities were, how the several households had re-appropriated portion of public spaces, what kind of fences or thresholds spatialities were present, loosely referring to the spatial dimensions I listed above [Figure 4.4]. I compared such maps to satellite images and historical maps I found through desk research. Inside the housing units, I sketched plans or sections to take quick annotations of how the space was used [Figure 4.5]. This was usually done in a rush while an interviewee was talking to me: I therefore used sketches only to highlight a particular detail I had observed, especially if such detail seemed to be too 'private' (for instance a mat, or a children toy, or a frame with a picture) to be photographed.

Either while walking or standing still, I used extensively the photographic means. I have had a long-standing and specific interest for photography in obsolescing contexts, inspired by the works of Robert Smithson (1996a) in New Jersey and Andrew Moore (2011) on Detroit. A photograph, once it gives exposure to the bare and forgotten realities of obsolete, abandoned, marginal, territories, becomes a political statement in itself - in a similar fashion to the act of walking in such territories. Once published, the photograph startles the eyes of an audience that might find it unexpected or feel a sense of estrangement about what the photograph portrays. Building on Apel (2015), I was aware of the risks of the condition of an outsider photographer as de facto pornographer – and of the risks of fetishizing (Arnold, 2015) a slumlike and impoverished context. Although convinced of belonging to the latter category, I have always been wary against forms of ruin-gazing, and informed accordingly my ethical approach to research photography. On one side, I refrained from publishing pictures including people or depicting extreme situations (e.g. spots of Borei Keila or railway settlements fully covered with rubbish), especially on social media. On the other side, I did always ask for permission prior to taking a picture of specific spaces, regardless of this portraying a public or private space, and regardless of having people appearing within the frame.

When photographing people, either interviewees or dwellers simply using or passing by the space I was observing, I made sure I did not take any close-up of their faces but, rather, I always portrayed them along with the spatial setting they were inhabiting or using [Figure 4.6]. I photographed both inner and outer spaces, loosely framing my action within the spatial dimension listed above (page 120). I took both wide-angle photographs of ruined landscapes or interstitial spaces, and close-ups of relevant artefacts [Figure 4.7]. Inside a housing unit, the





4.6. Examples of pictures of interviewees within their context (Source: Author)4.7. Examples of wide-angle photographs of the grounds of investigation and close-up of relevant artefacts. (Source: Author)



MATCHING STORY: the interviewee deliberately wanted to be portrayed against the background of her daily struggle-in this case a green temporary shed in Borei Keila – even emphasising a sort of suffering pose.

NON-MATCHING STORY: the pose assumed by the interviewees iattempted to flush away the sense of struggle and despair conveyed during the interview (in this case about the threat of eviction because of the Railway Rehabilitation Project.



4.8. Household pictures vs household narratives: matching or non-matching stories (elaboration by Author; source of photographs: Author)

same wide-angle and close-up approach applied, sometimes with a specific interest about the way the space was furnished and decorated [see again Figure 4.7].

Embracing Pink's (2013) call to develop the use of photography according to the research questions and contexts, I acknowledge how it is the researcher itself to ultimately decide what is potentially interesting or important enough to photograph (Pink, 2013; Holm, 2014). However, such an attitude conceals a risk, as it entails using one's already established ways of processing and organising data, which are constructed in relation to particular methodological and theoretical agendas (Pink, 2013). While this was certainly a limitation, I explain below how intersecting data coming from photographs and interviews allowed a shift of perspective: it refined indeed the understanding about whether the spatial dimensions of a ground of investigation held any meaning for the place's users and inhabitants. As Harper (2002) notices, textual and photographic means become therefore juxtaposed, and develop in tandem. Holm (2014) reflects then on the possible duality between a photo and a text emerging from an interview: during this research, often, the pose assumed by an interviewee in a picture attempted to flush away the sense of struggle and despair conveyed during the interview [Figure 4.8]; in other instances, the two stories match, as the interviewee deliberately wanted to be portrayed against the background of her or his daily struggle – be this a derelict housing unit or public space for instance - sometimes even emphasising a sort of suffering pose [see again Figure 4.8].

4.5.4. Individual interviews and collective workshops: interrogating the governmental dimensions of an urbanism

Fences, as dispositifs, are made of both discursive and non-discursive elements. Through walking, observing, photographing, sketching, I sought to uncover the spatial dimensions of obsolescing fenced environments (non-discursive elements). Through individual interviews and collective workshops, I attempted instead to understand the governmental dimensions of such environments, in other words discursive elements such as: scientific or philanthropic statements underpinning certain design practices; the perception of certain groups (or organisations, or administrative entities) as institutions ruling or controlling a space; the presence of laws, policies, regulations, administrative measures, and how these were received and enforced. Additionally, some discursive elements helped to enhance my understanding of the spatial dimensions of an urbanisms: spatial perceptions, i.e. how space was actually perceived by its dwellers, beyond my subjective interpretation; spatial imaginations and

aspirations, i.e. how dwellers and other stakeholders imagined, designed and aspired to transform their space.

Importantly, both interviews and workshops were fundamental in feeding an incremental process of learning, informing the fieldwork I would have undertaken at later stages: such process allowed me to focus on spatialities and details that I would have otherwise overlooked – without a hint or suggestion by one or more interviewees or workshop participants (most interviewees or participants were inhabitants and everyday users of the several grounds of investigation) – and to avoid a subjective interpretation of what I was observing.

Building upon the concept of data saturation (Baker and Edwards, no date; Mason, 2010; Marshall *et al.*, 2013), in each grounds of investigation I ran a number of interviewees to the point of having replication or redundancy of information. Acknowledging there is no agreement on the minimum size of the interviewees sample (Mason, 2010), and that often the concept of data saturation is misused to justify small samples (Marshall *et al.*, 2013), I decided to sample possible interviewees according to each grounds of investigation's spatial conformations: even if data saturation happened in the early stages of this process, I kept interviewing users and inhabitants of a ground of investigation with the aim of gathering as many narratives (Elliott, 2011) as possible in each of such grounds – I elaborated in chapter 1 (page 34) on the role of this research in documenting and stating the legitimacy of Phnom Penh's obsolescing urbanisms, in light of their precarious condition.

Following these reflections, in Borei Keila's new housing upper floors I interviewed two inhabitants per floor per each building; in Borei Keila's new housing ground floors I interviewed two businessmen or businesswomen per building and two dwellers per building; along the railway I attempted to spread homogenously the location of each interview according to each zone's length and density; in the White Building I did distinguish between inhabitants and businessmen and businesswomen on the ground floors, and upper floors' inhabitants, again spreading homogeneously the interviewees through the several blocks. Time and distance constraints allowed me to speak with a maximum of five people in the relocation sites. In all grounds of investigation, importantly, I never knocked on closed doors, but rather tried to engage the potential interviewee while approaching him/her on a corridor, or across a public space, and so on: it is common in Cambodia to use the space next to the entrance door as natural extension of one's housing unit, and it was such threshold to be of primary importance for my interaction with local inhabitants. The availability of interviewees (Baker and Edwards, no date), therefore, was a key factor in their selection.

Additionally, I spoke with representatives from other stakeholders involved (in the past or currently) in the transformation of the several grounds of investigation – mostly representatives from NGOs or representatives from local and national authorities – and with people who had attended a particular moment in the evolution and transformation of that space, as for instance journalists and photographers who were present during an eviction. I collected first such information through secondary sources such as online reports and newpaper articles, and then contacted all relevant subjects via email or phone call, arranging a meeting in the following days.

While all NGO representatives, journalists and photographers made themselves available (see Appendix 1), I could not speak with representatives of private companies involved in the redevelopment of the White Building Area (7NG company) and Borei Keila (Phan Imex company), as these refused to be interviewed. Another rejection came from Australian Aid, that denied being still involved in the Railway Rehabilitation Process. While the refusal to talk still represents research data – in this case as one of many techniques of government deployed to hold control over knowledge – I did have in these cases to compensate for such rejections: I did so intersecting data from secondary sources such as official documents issued by such actors, or regarding them, with data from interviews with other stakeholders that might have been in a privileged position to share critical information (e.g. a UN-Habitat representative that was to an extent involved in the processes of transformation of the three locales).

Table 4.2, below, shows the breakdown of interviews in the several grounds of investigation, while Appendix 1 lists them all in detail.

The interviews were all semi-structured, following a loose set of questions, with the imperative of embracing and appreciating diversions undertaken by the interviewees. Often, interviews were conducive to being invited inside a housing unit, allowing to collect data also through photographs and sketches (see previous sub-section).

The first set of questions sought to collect demographic information, gathering data on the household composition and its livelihoods. The livelihoods dimension allowed to trace linkages between the urbanism object of investigation and a wider context, whereby its dwellers might have worked. The same can be said for educational facilities – daily visited by children, teenagers and university students – and for big markets, whereby household members (most often women) were going to find more affordable prices. I investigated such dimension of permeability of fences asking also specific questions on the household members' provenance, in so doing attempting to reconstruct their housing stories too. I asked first the year of arrival in

Phnom Penh, the location of their first dwelling, its materiality, the year of arrival in that specific ground of investigation, the rationale behind settling there.

Ground of investigation	Interviews
Dey Krahorm's new profit-	8 business holders
driven developments	7NG Group (developer of the area) refused to concede an interview
White Building	35 households
The state of the s	1 representative from STT
	1 representative from Empowering Youth Cambodia
Railway settlements	77 households
riamay comonicino	1 representative from ADB
	2 representatives from Community Management Development Partnership
	1 representative from Equitable Cambodia
	2 representatives from STT
Borei Keila's new housing for	90 households (upper floors)
the poor (upper floors)	1 representative from Asian Coalition for Housing Rights
and poor (appor moore)	2 representatives from CDF
	1 representative from Licadho
	1 deputy governor of Pram-Pi Makara district
Borei Keila's ground floors	14 households
Borei Keila's current illegal	30 households
settlement	2 representatives from CDF (same as above)
	1 representative from Licadho (same as above)
Borei Keila's profit-driven	10 households
developments	Phan Imex (developer of the area) refused to concede an interview
Borei Santepheap II	10 households
Tang Khiev	5 households
	1 representative from Manna4Life
Trapeang Anchhanh Tmey	5 households
	1 representative from Asian Development Bank (same as above)
	1 representative from STT (same as above)
	Australian Aid refused to concede an interview
Tuol Sambo Tmey	10 households
	1 representative from CDF
Phnom Bat	5 households
	1 representative from Manna4Life
	1 representative from Licadho
Andong Tmey	5 households
	1 representative from People for Care and Learning
	1 representative from Municipality of Phnom Penh
	1 representative from CDF
On several issues related to	3 inhabitants of informal settlements around the city
Phnom Penh's urban	1 representative from CDF (same as above)
development	1 representative from STT(same as above)
	1 representative from CMDP (same as above)
	1 representative from Housing Rights Task Force
	1 representative from UN-Habitat
	1 former representative from Urban Sector Group 3 PhD researcher
	1 independent development practitioner
	1 photographer

Table 4.2. Number of interviews in the several grounds of investigation (elaboration by Author)

Another set of questions related to spatial perceptions and imaginations: starting from simple questions relating to what an interviewee might have liked or disliked about her or his housing unit, building, neighbourhood, was conducive to discussing, for instance, how a certain housing unit was fit to the household needs and aspirations, or what such aspirations entailed instead.

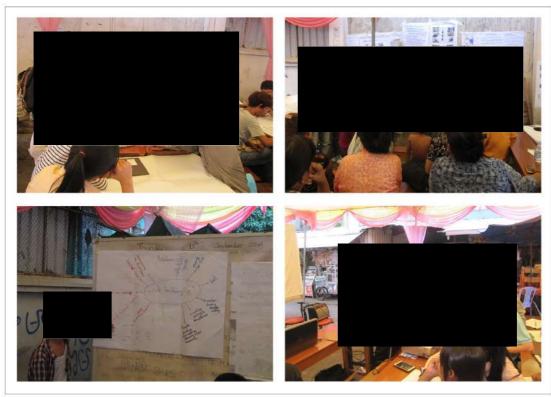
The same set of questions often revealed the spatial politics at play, with interviewees mentioning for instance other actors living in (or having a stake on) the same ground of investigation and aiming to regulate and control the everyday life of its dwellers. This information often led to ask specific questions about the relationship with the neighbours or, looking at the past, about memories of a significant event in the history of a ground investigation (an eviction, a flood, a public celebration, a quarrel, and so on).

Specific questions related to the materiality of a housing unit (or an adjacent public space), seeking to understand how its space had been produced, modified, re-imagined, or what that same space represented for the interviewee's aspirations and his/her will of self-representation. Often, an artefact (a photographic frame, a reinforced gate, a wooden table) became the subject of the conversation, after I had asked about its history, provenance and materiality.

For each ground of investigation I also had a specific set of questions revolving around the peculiarity of its history and materiality: interviews along the railway involved always a part on present concerns regarding the Railway Rehabilitation Project; interviews on relocation sites, involved always a conversation on the dynamics of displacement; interviews at the White Building sought to reveal vanished linkages with the adjacent and by now evicted settlement of Dey Krahorm; interviews in Borei Keila's multiple territories put a particular emphasis on possible conflicts amongst the several groups.

The table in Appendix 2 summarises the several sets of questions and, for each of them, highlights what kind of governmental dynamics such questions could have revealed – and the understanding of which spatial dimensions the same questions could have enhanced.

As for the design workshops [Figures 4.9 and 4.10], these were held at the White Building and in Borei Keila, respectively in collaboration with STT and CDF (see ethical considerations above, page 103). While pursuing the same aims of the individual interviews, the workshops were meant to grasp the collective dimension of the dynamics of transformation of an urbanism. Drawing from Moser and McIlwayine (1999), collective activities such as focus groups and, in my case, workshops are fundamental in determining the 'public' dimension of transformation of a certain urban environment. The statements pronounced during an interview might not be repeated in the same manner by the same subject during a collective event: this means that collective activities might contribute to reveal the politics and power relations (and also conflict and alliances) between members of a supposedly homogenous group. At the same time, a collective research activity contributes to understand how a collective, shared vision over the future transformation, and how shared perspective over specific issues might arise (Moser and McIlwaine, 1999).





4.9. Pictures from the design workshop at the White Building (Source: Author) 4.10. Pictures from the design workshop in Borei Keila (Source: Author)

In September 2013, for three days, I held a workshop at the White Building along with a group of about 30 young students from several faculties of architecture in Phnom Penh, three professionals working with local NGOs, and five young practitioners working in organisation whose main venue was in the Building itself (Aziza School, run by Equitable Cambodia, and SaSa Bassac). Such participants were selected by STT. Several inhabitants of the White Building – selected on the sole basis of their availability and willingness to partipate in the workshop⁵⁶ – took part to all the collective sessions and gave feedback. The collective sessions occurred in a small temporary structure set up on the road running adjacently to the Building, offering repair for a few tables and boards to allow participants to work. The workshop aimed to understand all the instances of transformation occurring at the White Building – through several mapping exercises and collective discussions – and to project the inhabitants' aspirations toward a probable future scenario of community-driven upgrading.

The same endeavour was at the core of the design workshop in Borei Keila, that – in May 2014, for 8 days – sought to understand how different individuals and groups were using, living and transforming their spaces, and to collectively envision possibilities of upgrading their sociospatial environment. In this case, participants were selected by CDF, and interviewees or participants to a focus group discussion (see below), based on their availability and willingness to talk with us. Again, the number of people interviewed followed the concept of data saturation. Significantly, the group working in Borei Keila (including myself) managed to organise, amongst other activities, a focus-group discussion involving five out of the original eight community leaders in Borei Keila, and the District vice-governor.

Importantly, both workshops aimed also to offer to a group of young students or professionals with no prior experience of working in informal settings and contested spaces, the opportunity to touch with their own hands a complicated reality and reflect on its transformation. This endeavour must be considered part of the *projective stance* of the research, and of its commitment in having an agency in fostering inclusive dynamics of transformation in its grounds of investigation.

4.5.5. Synthesising and processing data

In the effort to grasp and represent the complexity of the research grounds of investigation, I initially gathered the collected evidence on a series of boards: I grouped the pictures I shot

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⁵⁶ The workshop was virtually open to all inhabitants of the White Building.

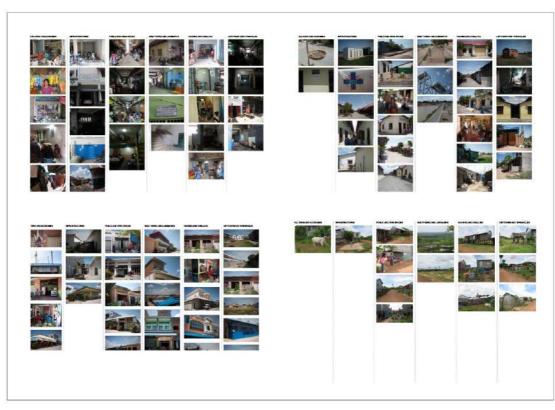
according to the spatial dimensions I listed above [Figure 4.11]; at the same time, I used reflections and excerpts coming from interviews, workshops and secondary sources to reach a synthetic depiction of each urbanism's governmental dimensions [Figure 4.12]. For each ground of investigation, I sketched a plan where I attempted to relay this information spatially [see again Figure 4.3].

I therefore drew from such evidence to build a synthetic table for each urbanism I investigated [Figure 4.13]. The tables aim to analyse the complexity of each urbanism's design practices, deconstructed in their spatial and governmental dimensions. I consider this to be both a retrospective act of design - "where efforts focus on identifying and analysing discursive and non-discursive elements in order to decipher/depict the implicit nature of the production space (rhetoric, policies, actors)" (BUDD, 2010, p. 4) and a descriptive act of design as it "involves efforts of classifying and representing physical and non-physical components that embody a situation" (BUDD, 2010, p. 5). While the first column on the left lists those design practices that came to the fore in the preliminary investigation of each urbanism, the following columns reveal how other designers (all highlighted in bold) and other design practices (spatial or governmental ones) emerge through a deeper investigation. For instance, in Table 6.11 (page 277), design practice#1 reads as "Phan Imex in collaboration with ACHR, SDI and other local groups conceived the housing units as incremental": the following columns reveal how such incrementality has allowed households to establish income-generating activities within the units (cell #1A), or to rent out part of their units to newcomers (#1B), or how Phan Imex and the MPP have found convenient to keep a number of units vacant (#1F), or how Phan Imex employs watchdogs that control each building and ask for bribes⁵⁷ to allow inhabitant to take advantage of the incremental potential of their units (#1K).

I will enquire all practices (each cell of the synthetic tables) through the research questions, questioning whether such practices emancipate from the dynamics of the fenced city (contributing to open up, to decommodify, to repoliticise the urbanisms whereby the practices occur) or rather partake into such dynamics (leading to the emergence of gated-community-like or camp-like dynamics). I relay the same analysis spatially, through a series of maps (with

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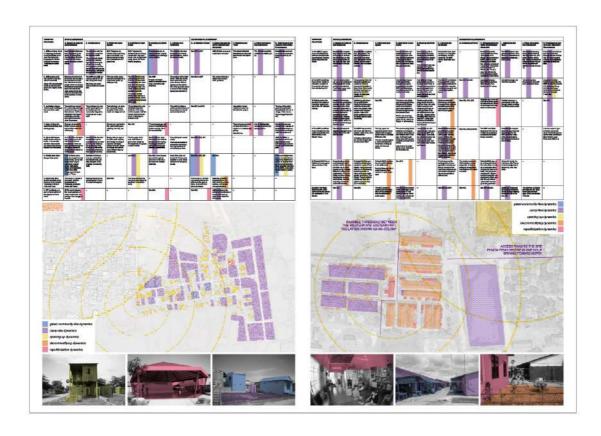
⁵⁷ In the next three chapters I will often report the use (and request) of bribes in the processes of transformation of Phnom Penh. Dynamics of corruption in Cambodia are a sensitive topic, and certainly one that affects the everyday life of citizens, and the country's legal, educational and health systems, not to mention processes of housing provision, issueing of land and housing titles, leasing of land, and tender processes for the construction of infrastructures and public facilities (see for instance: Calavan, Diaz Briquets and O'Brien, 2004). Given the sensitivity of the topic, it was not possible to gather strong empirical evidence of actually occurred bribes. In the text, therefore, I will mention the use of bribes only in those instances where I have been able to triangulate information amongst several interviewees, solidifying oral evidence across different sources. An exception is represented by direct excerpts from interviews, where I use the term 'bribe' if the interviewee used it explicitly.



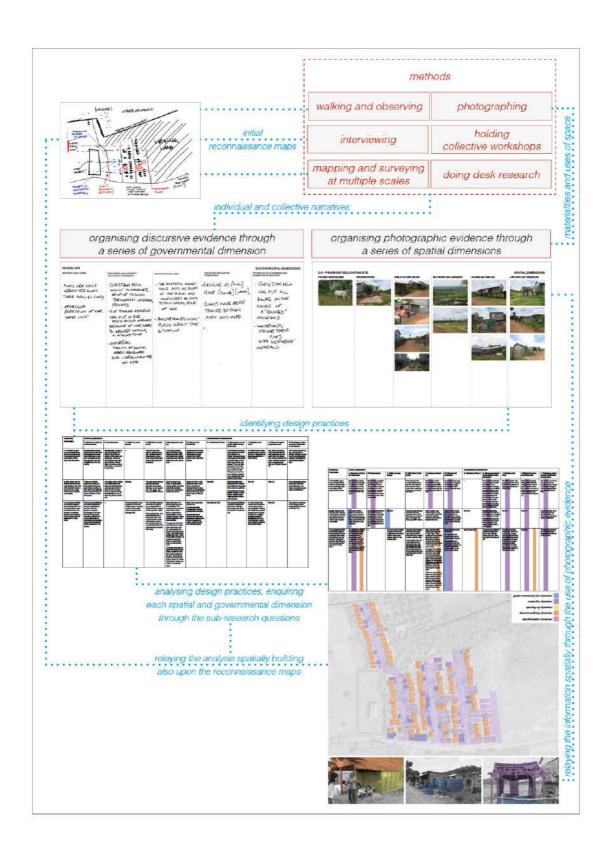
noncommunication of the second	Presidential Company of the Company		· man and a size fragment and and	GOVERNMENTAL DIMENSION TECHNIQUES OF GOVERNMENT AND
RCHITECTURAL FORMS	DISCOURSES AND SCIENTIFIC / PHILATROPIC STATEMENTS	INSTITUTIONS AND LAWS	POLICY AND REGULATORY FRAMEWORKS	ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES
PLOTS ARE FIDILY CREATIVED ALONG THREE PARALLEL ROAD) CHORESSAME REPETITION OF THE SAME UNIT	CHRISTIAN NIGO SOUCHT TO EMPOWER PEOPLE THLOUGH THE MOSING OPCLADING PROCESS NOT ENOUGH ATTENTION WAS PUT IN THE REPLICATION ATTENTION BEDWICK ADVISION TO BELLIEL ADVISION IN A SHOCKTIMME GETNERIAL FEELING OF HAVING BEEN ABBINDONED AND LITERALY DUMING	TUTION HAVING PULE OF 14W : MOUSEHOLDS COM	CIRCULAR 03 (2010) NHP (2014) [CAREE] TRACKED BY PHAN IMEX AND MPD	CHILLS TIAM NAW HAS PUT ALL POWER IN THE HANDS OF A TRUMPED HOWSELFOLD FRACE THEIR PLOTS NATH ULATINGHHT MATERIALS

^{4.11.} Organising photographic evidence through a series of spatial dimensions: examples of the boards produced for each grounds of investigation (elaboration by Author; source of photographs: Author)
4.12. Organising discursive evidence through a series of governmental dimensions: example of the tables produced for each grounds of investigation (elaboration by Author)

BOREI SANTEPHEAP II							I .	CHOPCIA O			
CBSERVED	SPATIAL DIMENSIONS		1	150			GOVERNMENTAL DINE	невоне			4
PRACTICES	A. Spaces for cultures and economies	B. Infrastructures	C. Public and open epaces	D. Built fabric / Land- marks	E. Housing and dwell- ing	F. Leftovers and Streeholds	G. Architectural Forms	H. Discourses and sci- entitic / phisestropic statements	I, inetitutions and 'liters'	J. Policy and regula- tory frameworks	K, Techniques of gov- ernment / scheinletrs- tive measures
NNB proposes a plot of lend lying 15km away from the center of Propose Parts for the in- habitants of Day Kra- horse (see lable 5.4)	Social and beniness not works of the displaced families are insultably disrupted.	The relocation also to about one hour away taking into secount traf- fic and bumpy code.	-	The fire twill fabric of Dey Kushorn is turned into a coarse one is BOIL	Households are rein- celed in units that are raindful of their mone- alty of laving in prosterily to the read and of batis- ing their housing incre- rentially.	Day Knahern is left as a glant inflorer, weiting for new dovergrence, white BSI becomes a marginal bertiery.	The site line on a pitch- eau, and its boundaries followed an irregular rectangular shape. See also #1D and #1 E.	After the faither of a inset-shering proposal, 7NG described Day Kra- form as averable, us- needity, visioni, power. The MPP pushed the mesticelle to move to Senti Santisphasp II.	7NG and MPP used the outclien and retreation to Borel Sastephage it to boost their comemous amongst Phnom Pentine middle class.	The outsition and reloca- tion happened before the promulgation of the Carcular GS.	Policemen and primite guerds existed and but doesd Day Knahors arkids violence.
This's plan coeffgures as a new part of the city, with city a email parsontage of housing slack for the displaced population.	The whole operation represented the possibility of big reverses for TNG. In turn, the profil-driven development have exh- sidesed the production of housing for the exic- oated poor.	-	20	The selferments develop horrogenously coles- heating a coarse grain along a perpendicular grid. There is one big open to the coat- tre of the selfement (see 67) place of the selfement (see 67) place ofter mi- feor once.	Alload 90% of the housing slook is actually for commercial use.	The secondary open spaces look like giant settween. See 60F.	See #20.	79G precents their as the designer and pre- vator of a piece of the hast verte, in exposition to the congested city control.	This acts as the cole actor in change of the place. They provide notating services and recoeffy also tome. acting as exercises.	The case of 858 has been used as "successful exempts by the MLAUPC white defining the 2014 National Housing Policy.	2
 This attorates the Southernhanost part of the side for the suckness, providing historians of the side of the southernhanost purple for the for the southernhanost purple for the for the southernhanost purple for the for the southernhanost purple for the southernha	See FEA. See FEF. This incremental component incree households to expend their water, and fit their production sufficies with their electronic activities within their electronic activities with their electronic activities are generally much nature in the area allocated for the poor.	Units have their own to- let, allocal for a service ceef surrange on the back of the decis.	The mean rouse serve se open and public serve set open and public serve of the posterior by the same of the posteriors.	The housing let the good develops homogener county atting permitted roads naturally from North No Section The united parts in very coases.	The units are rectangled indexering at by 16 min- ties, with a tobel in the took. The situation is as arrend occorded albeing for expected in insight for expected in insight for excellation. House, modifying a window for excellation. House, holds have beganded that our excessoring to that own recovered will be toop bring on site.	Vertila not sheer, the di- ylation between the cere for the poor and the rest of the softement is clear and visible, because of housing syrology and satism labels.	Goo ROD and ROT.	771G assed the word Talgotinees to describe the operation constraint in 1951, and needed it as needed, and constraint in 1951, and needed it as needed, and act of plansifricage—showing convices and facilities for the poor final flower in supplementation. The high time reported them to report the poor through th	Soe KQL	Little have been pro- vided by 1940. Evough setting cross-stateles from the constroyal dis- velopment of the rest of the site.	7945 have loop! the con- arbit of the bessile, is replared to the poor all provided to the poor let 8 years of OCCUP- librie! the urbs. See also 658
4. 7710 and MPP, in agreemed with thelicatu Inc., agrees to relocate to SSR also a number of extress them Soring Kek	Households coming from different locations — with different cultures and fluethoods — have been teroed to live together. See also D.4.	800 #1B.		800 €1D.	800#1E	Boosing Kak lake has been turned into a guest vold for a lew years, through a lendfill opera- tion. Lake, a develop- ment of a satelite city started.	See #10.	See #2H and #CH.	7NG, the HPP and Shutaku inc. acted in a legal and policy vac- uurs.	See #4L	See #SH.
5. Middle diese' new- comers from control Princer Park acquires booking on the rest of the site	Newcorners have set up their businesses, which are accessible by the whole subtement. A finished namedor of businesses (e.g. a cyer) it gasted expectably toward indich obset inhabitants.	-	SHOPSA	The coasse built fabric is composed by long sheather of base- bourses, developed to different heights and oc- tories according to the resources of the several households, following base own seglections.	5+e #10	See CIF.	See HID.	See #2H	See 85K.	5	Missie-clase newcomera death directly with. This about overyday matters. This has no of-lice in the hostborn public space (see #7).
About two Sinds of relocated families from Science Mak and Day Kranom return to the in cestral Phoon Perili	The impossibility of building livelinceds on site-leads offee to seturn toward the certar of Physics Penh.	53	· * 1	See ACF.	See #0F.	About two thirds of the housing stock are alther sold or realed through internal invesacions or left shandoned.	See #EF.	Households larrers the lectation of the edition and the editionant, lock of larefulcock, and impossibility to participate in any decision making activity.		-	Units are sold or renied out to newconters or neighbours through fo- terns ingrescions (and for chapter prices).
7. Widn's plane roveling around the reset public spaces, one facing the rate road, one in the certific of the site, which hosts a market, 790 nexts out some of the market selb for resident	Source lebure activities take pace in the merce, for instance a play room with a pool. Besides formal commercial general commercial general state estimated the eith of information and incompanion and incompanion.	The activities in the Horthern public spaces represent the main vitantics with the water surface with the wider surface with the wider surface. The mental space altern the cereating of the people from different bed grounds and tower-income entral of the population to access a member of the population.	3ee#7B.	The certific space clearly stands out as main, sland, course is the settlement.	Residential units are as ereal as 2 by a maker rockanges and rested cut to tou-income new- cotiers.	In the central market, many commercial use in any commercial use in any non-particular left empty by 1949.	5∞ 670. 67E, 67F.		See #25		7945 is in charge of the matriamence of the pub- ics spaces and the representatives collect the rest tens both business centers and households.



- 4.13. Spatial and governmental dimension of the grounds of investigation: examples of the synthetic tables produced for each ground of investigation (elaboration by Author)
 4.14. Analysing evidence: examples of conclusive boards. Analysis of tables and pictures, and relaying the information spatially on maps (elaboration by Author)



4.15. Illustrating the analytical process (elaboration by Author)

the exception of the White Building, where I will use an elevation) and through the graphic elaboration of a selection of relevant photographs [Figure 4.14]. The overall analytical process presented in this section is illustrated in Figure 4.15. Noticeably, such process should not be understood as linear but as iterative: the elaborations in Figure 4.14 are not simply the outcome of my research process, but have served to refine it, to highlight the need to address possible gaps in my research fieldwork, or to revise the synthetic tables and the answer to the research questions. This process is in line with Rendell's (2013) reflection on the iterativity of the design research process – which reverses the order of research methods, producing works at the outset that may then be reflected upon later.

4.6. CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this methodological chapter, I first reflected on the challenges of using a theoretical framework drawing from the bodies of work of two continental philosophers such as Foucault and Agamben. Building upon Raghuram and Madge (2006) I argued that this can be done if:
a) the theoretical framework is embedded in and conscious of the power relations structuring the research context; b) the research is committed to have an agency on such power relations; c) the research acknowledges the need to overcome the usual binary opposition between theory and practice. I explained how I carefully crafted linkages and partnerships with individuals and organisations working with urban poor populations in Phnom Penh, I presented the ethics of engagement with such actors and reflected on how I think this research has been to an extent developed in dialogue with them and can have an agency in their future work.

I then presented the research epistemology, explaining the use of the fence as paradigm, to produce knowledge about obsolescing urbanisms. I reviewed how paradigms are used in Foucault and Agamben's work, emphasising how drawing from the philosophers' work is conducive to use paradigms to examine urban obsolescing fences in their peculiarities: not 'against' a supposed ideal archetype, but rather trying to understand how such archetype has evolved, taken different spatial forms, articulated in different disciplinary techniques. I explained how the introduction of four 'obsolescing' archetypes – the ruin, the interstice, the void, the margin – allowed me to investigate the fenced city taking into account its obsolescing dynamics.

I then moved to present my ontological perspective, explaining how this research ontology treads between an interpretive and a critical perspective on reality: while it studies the lived experience of individuals, the research stresses the issues of power and control between them. It does so using the Foucauldian idea of *dispositif* as ontological lens to read the city as an

ensemble of discourses, techniques of government, regulations, laws, architectural forms, working together in order to deal strategically with the issue of controlling urban territories and subjects. I then explored the genealogy of the dispositif concept in the works of Foucault and Agamben and how this has been used in diverse ways in research. I then presented the use I make of such concept and how and why I see the obsolescing fenced city, and its design practices, as an ensemble of spatial and governmental dispositifs.

I finally presented my research methods, explaining how I interrogate Phnom Penh's obsolescing archetypes through a series of spatial and governmental dimensions. I enquired such dimensions of urban transformation through a series of research methods — walking, observing, using photography, running interviews and holding design workshops. I emphasised how I ground this research in a wider debate on design research, and therefore how I seek — through my projective stance — to take a critical stance on reality in order to change it and improve it. I then presented how I synthesised and processed the collected data, enquiring each spatial and governmental practice through my research questions — hence highlighting the emergence of, one side, camp-like and gated-community-like dynamics and, on the other side, emancipation in the form of openness, decommodification and repoliticisation of an obsolescing urbanism.

The following three chapters will explore Phnom Penh's obsolescing urbanisms: each chapter closes with an analysis of the presented grounds of investigation, answering research questions 1 and 2.

5.1. INTRODUCTION: A CITY PROFILE

Phnom Penh rises at the intersection of the rivers Mekong, Sap and Bassac,⁵⁸ and initially developed as commercial node for the traffic of goods along the Mekong (Fallavier, 2003b). The city's fabric has grown through the landfill of wetlands, through the use of dikes – the alignment of dikes eventually defined the city's main avenues (Khemro, 2000; Fallavier, 2003b). The landfill of inundated areas is a pattern that continues still today, with major flooding problems during the rainy season caused by a long term lack of maintenance of the hydraulic infrastructures (Fallavier, 2003b).

The city today counts about 1.5 million inhabitants, and develops around a dense historical core⁵⁹ – that contributes to shape the image of what is advertised as 'the charming city', with heritage landmarks, portions of fabric coming from the colonial past,⁶⁰ and *modernist* buildings from the so-called New Khmer Architecture period (see below, page 143). Most of such urban fabric is today facing dereliction and potential demolition. Groups of rooftop squatters and other dwellers of dilapidated and often overcrowded buildings are facing eviction threats, as well as informal settlements rising on once idle or interstitial land (Lindstrom, 2013; Fukuzawa, 2014). Such fabric is being superseded by projects of public space beautification, new infrastructure development, programmes of urban boosterism, shopping malls, and the proliferation of new residential developments in the form of fancy condos and gated communities for the uppermiddle class (Paling, 2012b; Percival and Waley, 2012; Fauveaud, 2016).

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⁵⁸ The rivers Sap and Bassac are often referred as, respectively, Tonle Sap and Tonle Bassac, with *tonle* being the Khmer term for river.

⁵⁹ Phnom Penh is traditionally divided in four *inner* districts that represents its historical core, and nine *outer* districts that have been recently introduced to expand the municipal boundaries and facilitate the city's growth in the periurban areas. There is no difference in the powers held by inner vs. outer districts, but the differentiation still proves relevant as it often used in censuses and surveys. Districts are subdivided in sub-districts (*sangkat*) and villages (*phum*). For the former, in the text, I will use the terms sub-districts. For the latter, (to avoid any confusion), I will stick to the Khmer term *phum*.

⁶⁰ The French Protectorate over Cambodia was established in 1867, while independence was achieved in 1953.

In peri-urban areas – the five outer districts – the creation of a number of gated developments – satellite cities and a multiplicity of *borei* developments⁶¹ for the upper-middle class – is leading to a tremendous physical growth, allowed by landfills and the consequent displacement of populations once living on wetlands. Next to such new developments, tens of relocation sites testify the social cleansing and displacement occurred in the city centre and look today as marginal and isolated geographies – their populations being ghettoised and excluded from urban life, their built environment looking already dilapidated.

The chapter follows a historical trajectory [Figure 5.1], showing: the efforts toward modernising Phnom Penh in the post-independence period (1953-1975); the city's reduction to a giant void during the Khmer Rouge era (1975-1979), with the evacuation of most of its population toward rural provinces; the informalisation of Phnom Penh after the fall of the Khmer Rouge, with most of the city's land and built environment available on a first-come-first-served basis; a new modernisation of the city after the promulgation of the Land Law in 2001 (RGC, 2001) – de facto a framework for the accumulation of capital in form of land (Springer, 2012) – and the appearance of multiple forms of fenced urbanisms (*borei* developments, gated communities, satellite cities); the corresponding emergence of a multiplicity of obsolescing urbanisms (urban voids, ruins, interstitial urbanisms), put under threat — along with the urban poor groups⁶² inhabiting them — by the fast pace of the new developments.

5.2. Informalising Phnom Penh

5.2.1. A first modernity in Phnom Penh, and its abrupt end

Cambodia was a French protectorate until 1953. Between the two world wars, urban policies aimed to reconstruct and beautify cities in both French and colonial territories (Grant Ross and Collins, 2006), providing housing and public services, reclaiming wetlands, modernising the road network, building a railway (see below, page 207). The city was modernised to meet the needs of the industrialisation wave, while at the same time establishing the image of a 'charming city' (MPP, no date) that would survive till today [Figure 5.2].

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⁶¹ Borei is the Khmer term for 'village'. The wording *borei development* has come to indicate a particular form of development, to a certain degree gated, for the upper-middle class.

⁶² This research refers most often to urban poor 'groups' rather than urban poor 'communities'. When using the word 'community' I refer specifically to an organised group. For an explanation on this see Appendix no.2

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modernity in				
rnrom renn and its abrupt end	0		5.2.3. Forced evictions and the role of NGOs in the production of knowledge on informal settlements	production of knowledge on informal settlem
				5.2.4. Land sharing and other forms of on-site upgrading of urban poor settlements
				5.3. Modernising Phnom Penh
	*****	5.4.2. Creating	5.4.2. Creating voids: the case of Dey Krahorm's redevelopment	evicted in 2009
.4.3. Demolishi	5.4.3. Demolishing ruins: The White Building	Bu		demolished in 2017
		5.4.4. Recond	5.4.4. Reconquering interstices: the case of the railway settlements	: partially evicted and demolished since 2011
CHAPTER 6) B	(CHAPTER 6) BOREI KEILA'S LAND SHARING PROCESS	RING PROCESS		
			(CHAPTER 7) RELOCATION SITES	
1954	1975 1979	***	1991	2001
independence from France	Khmer Rouge Regime	housing stock occupied on a first- come first-served	UNTAC repatriation of refugees from Thailand economic boom	promulgation of the Land Law pressure over land increases exponentially
prominence of the so-called New Khmer Architecture	is emptied and becomes a ghost town	Vietnamese authorities introduce the 'Dey Samaki' (Land Solidarity) policy	demographic boom and expansion of informal settlements all over the city	number of evictions increases exponentially

5.1. Structure of the chapter, and chronology of events (elaboration by Author)





5.2. A derelict colonial building in the centre of Phnom Penh (Source: Author)
5.3. An example of New Khmer Architecture: Istitute of Foreign Language by Vann Molyvann, in the Royal University of Phnom Penh campus (Source: Author)

Following Cambodia's independence, and a period of economic and demographic growth in the early 1960s, King Norodom Sihanouk wanted to establish a new national identity through the creation of new monumental public spaces, building housing for civil servants, upgrading the infrastructural networks (Grant Ross and Collins, 2006). In order to proceed with such ambitious new plans, authorities put great emphasis on the need of internationalising the planning and design process: although in a little time Cambodia had locally managed to have a good body of architects and engineers, and its own buildings industry, authorities did not hesitate to use the services of talented technicians from all over the world, contributing to the exchange of ideas, crossing of cultures, and a stimulating intellectual environment (Grant Ross and Collins, 2006).

Vladimir Bodianski⁶³ – who was an active member of the Team X⁶⁴ and had been the engineer for Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation in Marseille – formed a team of town planners led by Gerald Hanning⁶⁵ to assist the two main figures of Phnom Penh's post-independence urban development: Vann Molyvann, who worked at the Ministry of Public Works⁶⁶ as Head of the Urban Planning and Housing Department, and Lu Ban Hap himself, who was the director of the Municipal Town Planning and Housing Department.⁶⁷ Vann Molyvann and Lu Ban Hap – who both had studied architecture in Paris⁶⁸ – became prominent figures of the movement defined as New Khmer Architecture.

In this period, Phnom Penh's image changed profoundly with the creation of monumental complexes such as the Royal University of Phnom Penh, the Tonle Bassac Tribune, Borei Keila, and other public buildings such as the Olympic Stadium and the Chaktomuk conference centre [Figures 5.3 and, above, 2.6]. Such new developments were meant to catalyse civic pride and to renew the international image of Phnom Penh (Grant Ross and Collins, 2006) – as testified for instance by the images of French President Charles De Gaulle's visit to the city (British Pathé, 1966), with several ceremonies happening in such new monumental public spaces and buildings.

⁶³ Bodianski was in Cambodia as an expert from the United Nations. He had been the engineer for Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation in Marseilles and an active member of the Team X.

⁶⁴ Team X was a group of architects established in 1953 that challenged the approach to urbanism of the International Congresses of Modern Architecture (CIAM).

⁶⁵ Hanning was another UN expert of urbanism that worked intensely in Cambodia in the early sixties, and had studied architecture under Le Corbusier at the Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts in Paris.

⁶⁶ This Ministry is today the Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction.

⁶⁷ Corresponding to today's Bureau of Affaires Urbaines (BAU).

⁶⁸ Vann Molyvann had worked with Le Corbusier, too.

Norodom Sihanouk was deposed in 1972 by a filo-American regime led by General Lon Nol, then toppled on 17 April 1975 by the Vietnamese-backed Khmer Rouge. The Khmer Rouge victoriously entered Phnom Penh, and established the state of Democratic Kampuchea: Radio Phnom Penh sent messages of hope talking about a new historical era, celebrating the 17 April as "a glorious date [that] has ushered in an era more remarkable than the age of the Angkors" (Radio Phnom Penh, 1975, p. 1). However, after a few days it became clear how, for the new era to supersede the previous one, the latter had to be declared obsolete: "The city is bad, for there is money in the city. People can be reformed, but not cities. By sweating to clear the land, sowing and harvesting crops, men will learn the real value of things" (Radio Phnom Penh, 1975, p. 2). Phnom Penh was literally emptied: in a few days, its population decreases from one and a half million residents to just three thousand – mostly Khmer Rouge *cadres* and personnel of international embassies, many of which will shut down quickly.

Phnom Penh remained a giant void for almost five years, until the 7 January 1979, when the Vietnamese troops defeated the Khmer Rouge and established the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

5.2.2. Informality in Phnom Penh

The 7 January 1979 can be set as symbolic date for the birth of urban informality in Phnom Penh, as the Vietnamese authorities: a) decided to let the city's abandoned built environment be reappropriated on a 'first-come first-served' basis (ACHR, 2004);⁶⁹ b) established the 'dey samaki' policy (the translation literally reads 'land solidarity'), allowing to settle on empty land (Guillou, 2006).

It would be naïve, however, to think of the built stock and of urban land as free and available assets: such policies meant in most cases the emergence of dominant groups of power who

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⁶⁹ Although evidence from interviews shows how there had been significant exceptions – see specifically the White Building (below, page 187) and Borei Keila (chapter 6) – the informal and spontaneous reappropriation of buildings can be assumed to be the rule in the early 1980s. Many of those urbanites who had been displaced in 1975 came back to the city in the hope to access again their old housing units, often finding them already occupied by newcomers.

were able to control their territories, often renting or selling housing units or plots of land through informal transaction, ⁷⁰ and acting de facto as *slumlords*. ⁷¹

The great majority of Phnom Penh's informal settlements (87%) was precisely established during the *dey samaki* regime (ACHR, 2004),⁷² before the privatisation of land occurred in 1989.⁷³ However, an immense afflux of immigrants, in search for livelihoods from the rural areas and other provinces, occurred in the period between 1991 and 1993 – with the establishment of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) (Keller, 2005), the repatriation of Cambodian refugees from Thailand (McLellan, 1993), and a period of overall economic boom (Hughes, 2003). Such demographic boom meant the densification and overcrowding of already existing settlements, along with the birth of new ones. In those years, the city started to grow much faster and finding vacant land or housing became difficult, with property values rapidly increasing due to the high demand: most immigrants settled on public land (Khemro and Payne, 2004). With the end of the *dey samaki* regime in 1989, informal settlements were deemed as illegal, as it would have then been stated by the current Land Law (RGC, 2001) and by the Circular 03 (RGC, 2010a).

Table 5.1 below shows how the total number of informal settlements reached a peak in 2004, and then gradually decreased till 2013 – year when the last urban poor settlements survey was conducted (Fukuzawa, 2014). Such decrease can be partially explained by the period of relative economic prosperity experienced by many informal settlements in the inner districts (Fukuzawa, 2014), and their consequent moving out from the list of *poor* settlements. Another reason lies in the high number of evictions perpetrated at the expenses of urban poor groups

⁷⁰ As explained for briberies (see footnote 57, page 136), informal transactions are a sensitive topic, being de facto illegal. An informal transaction involves usually the use of bribes toward a local authority (or local leader, or watchdog – as in the case of Borei Keila's new housing for the poor, see below), who oversees and approves the process, and an exchange of money between two or more parties. Though housing or land titles are neither issued nor exchanged, the incoming households might eventually be issued other titles (such as for instance a so-called 'family book') registering and making de facto legal their presence in a housing unit or their use of a piece of land. Throughout the text, I mention the use of informal transaction only when I was able to triangulate the information amongst multiple interviewees. An exception is represented by direct excerpts from interviews, where I use the words 'informal transaction' if the interviewee used it explicitly.

⁷¹ A slumlord is a subject controlling land or housing properties in informal settlements, typically charging extortionate rents.

⁷² The concept of 'dey samaki' would have then survived in Cambodian imagery and vocabulary about land for urban poor settlements. Some of the first relocation sites in the early 2000s, for instance, were named as Samaki 1, 2, 3 and so on. Today, in some poor settlements, inhabitant still build upon the claim that "land was originally *dey samaky* and therefore it would be unfair now for the government to pursue our eviction: we settled when it was allowed and legal" (interview 331).

⁷³ With the establishment of the State of Cambodia and the following opening to the free market.

in the last 15 years (STT, 2012d; UNHR, 2012; Brickell, 2014) – I expand on this below (page 150).

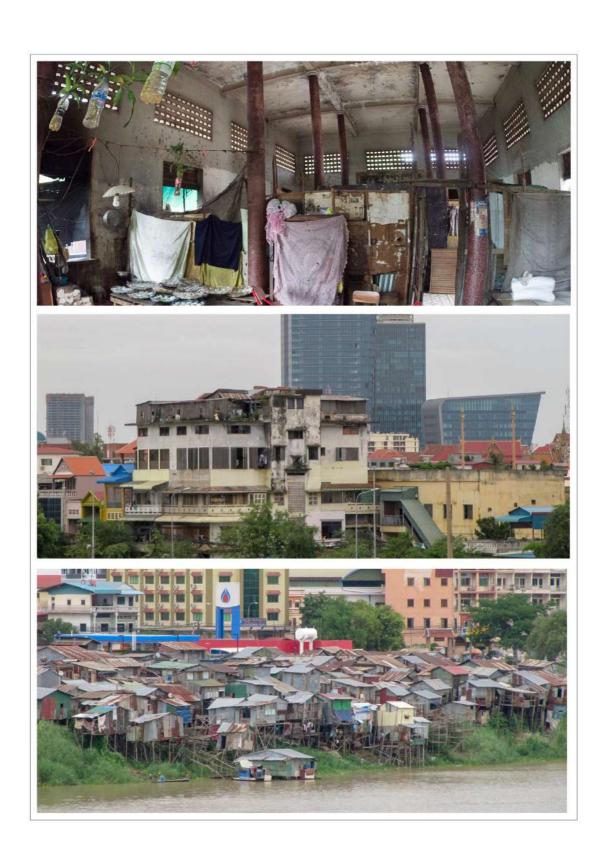
	1997	1999	2003	2009	2012	2013
	(SUPF 1997, cited in ACHR 2004)	(SUPF 1997, cited in ACHR 2004)	(SUPF 1997, cited in ACHR 2004)	(STT 2009)	(MPP 2012)	(Fukuzawa 2014 – survey by STT)
settlements	379	502	569	410	281	340
households	30100	35165	62249	40548	-	33605

Table 5.1. Number of Phnom Penh's informal settlements between 1997 and 2013 (elaboration by Author. Source of data: ACHR, 2004; Fukuzawa, 2014; MPP, 2012; STT 2009)

Data and written accounts on Phnom Penh's informality put an emphasis on the character of interstitiality and dereliction of the several informal settlements. The former director of UN-Habitat Cambodia wrote that "the poor in Phnom Penh have found shelter for themselves in [...] places like the areas besides railway tracks, canals, lakes and rivers and on the sides of streets and roads, [b]ut [also in] some very unusual locations" too, referring to rooftops, abandoned buildings, grounds of pagodas (Swan, no date, p. 3). Poor settlements in Phnom Penh have indeed emerged nearly anywhere, finding space where apparently there was not [Figure 5.4]: the most recent survey conducted by the NGO STT in 2013 (Fukuzawa, 2014, p. 11), highlighted how 177 settlements out of 340 (52.1%) were located next to rivers, canal, lakes, or ponds (141 in total), or encroaching roads and highways (5), or occupying the space of official dumping sites (2), or emerging along railway infrastructures (31). Below (page 147), I explore further the manifold ways through which informal populations settled on the semi-abandoned railway network, and how are now resisting its rehabilitation project.

The same survey points out how 23 settlements (6.8%), including 13 rooftop communities, emerged within the structure of derelict buildings: from an abandoned crematorium used by the Khmer Rouge as a centre for tortures and then reappropriated by families of the Smor San settlement in the early 1990s; to the abandoned Cinema on street 19, with a huge hall occupied by housing units, lying under a high ceiling populated by bats; from the rooftop of Block Tampa, one of rooftop squatter communities in the central Chamkarmom district; to the ruination of the White Building (page 187) and Borei Keila's Old Buildings (page 257).

The remaining 138 settlements occupy plots of otherwise idle land of different sizes – most of such plots were identified as 'state public land' or 'state private land' (RGC, 2001; Guillou, 2006): I elaborate on such distinction discussing the Land Law (see below, page 160), de facto the legal instrument setting up a framework to dispossess the urban poor groups of their land (Springer, 2011b, 2012), justifying forced evictions.



5.4. Poor settlements in Phnom Penh have emerged nearly anywhere, literally finding space where apparently there was not. From top to bottom: informal settlement in an abandoned crematorium, a rooftop squat, a settlement on the banks of the Sap river (Source: Author).

5.2.3. Forced evictions and the role of NGOs in the production of knowledge on informal settlements

"Although reliable figures are extremely hard to come by, it is estimated some 150,000 people have been displaced in Phnom Penh alone over the past two decades, representing 11% of the city's current population. Amnesty International stated in a 2008 report that between 2003 and 2008 some 30,000 people were forcibly evicted from the capital, while another estimate puts the figure of those evicted in Phnom Penh between 1998 and 2003 at 11,000. Currently, at least 36 settlements have received eviction notices, while some 100 report rumours of impending eviction" (Lindstrom, 2013, p. 11)

The gradual shift of the urban poor from Phnom Penh's inner districts to the outer ones has been caused on one side by the search for a cheaper rental market in the city's periphery (STT, 2009b) and, on the other side, more apparently, by forced evictions. In Table 5.2 below, it is striking to see the dramatic decrease, occurred over fifteen year, of number of informal settlements (from 258 to 82) and households (an overall decrease of 58%) in the inner districts. In the same time span, in the outer districts, such numbers underwent a huge increase between 1997 and 2003, and then a mild decrease until 2013.

	1997	2003	2009	2013
	(SUPF 1997, cited in ACHR 2004)	(SUPF 1997, cited in ACHR 2004)	(STT 2009)	(Fukuzawa 2014 – survey by STT)
settlements in the inner districts	258 (68%)	256 (45%)	127 (31%)	82 (24%)
households in the inner districts	14,448 (48%)	24,277 (39%)	11,353 (28%)	6,049 (18%)
settlements in the outer districts	121 (32%)	313 (55%)	283 (69%)	258 (76%)
households in the outer districts	15,652 (52%)	37,972 (61%)	29,195 (72%)	27,556 (82%)
Total settlements	379	569	410	340
Total households	30,100	62,249	40,548	33,605
Households undergoing eviction	-	7,470 (12%)	7,299 (18%)	2,688 (8%)
Households threatened with eviction	-	28,635 (28%)	18,652 (46%)	10,418 31%

Table 5.2. Number of Phnom Penh's informal settlements in inner and outer districts between 1997 and 2013, and settlements under threat of eviction (elaboration by Author. Source of data: ACHR, 2004; Fukuzawa 2014; STT 2009)

About 100 evictions have been perpetrated since 1990 (STT, 2011),⁷⁴ paving the way toward the construction of new upper-class developments (condos, gated communities, satellite cities), gigantic malls and, in a few cases, new infrastructures and public buildings or services (ACHR, 2004), as I elaborate in section 5.3 below. At the same time evictions have followed class cleansing purposes (Tudehope, 2012) and, more generally, have been used as tool to control urban poor populations within the city's boundaries (Talocci and Boano, 2015, 2016). Evicted settlements and their narratives have been constructed as disposable and criminalised: informal settlements have been turned into giant urban voids, informally occupied derelict structures have been evicted and gradually demolished, urban interstices have been gradually cleansed and re-absorbed into the circuits of formal urban development [Figure 5.5]. I expand on such dynamics in section 5.4, focusing on the cases of Dey Krahorm's redevelopment, of the White Building's demolition, of the Railway Rehabilitation Project and the following eviction of the Railway settlements.

Evictees have been led to leave the city for good, to relocate autonomously,⁷⁵ or to accept displacement toward one of the fifty-four relocation sites built in Phnom Penh's outskirts (Fukuzawa, 2014)⁷⁶ with the consequent disruption of their livelihoods and social networks (Chi *et al.*, 2010; Amnesty International, 2011; COHRE, 2011; Springer, 2012; UNHR, 2012; Brickell, 2014): "the situation is particularly dramatic once households relocate, as adults commonly abuse alcohol and children drop out from school".⁷⁷ The map in Figure 7.1 (page 323) shows the current location of the fifty-four relocation sites, with an indication of the ones I explored in depth through this research.

Evictions have fed a collective imagery about unscrupulous authorities and developers, in many occasions heightening the level of contestation within the urban landscape (Springer, 2009b). A 40 year old man living in the White Building's upper floor⁷⁸ (see below, page 187) told me he often recalls with fear his brother's house being destroyed by a fire – an arson attack – occurred

⁷⁴ Precisely 82 between 1990 and 2011 (STT, 2012d) : I give an approximate number as comprehensive reports after 2012 have not been published.

⁷⁵ In one case only (relocation of a series of urban poor groups to Aphiwat Meanchey) with the support of UN-Habitat, UPDF and ACHR (STT, 2006).

⁷⁶ the report warns against different methodologies between the survey of 2013 and this one – and overall toward the high number of displaced families (up to 10000 since 2003), of which some could have left the city. This is a normal trend when an eviction happens, since the data are often good in representing the families that have accepted moving to the relocation site but do not take into account those who have moved somewhere else – because of separate agreements with the authorities (for instance a compensation agreed at an early stage of the process) or because lacking enough documentation to be granted a lot on the relocation site.

⁷⁷ Interview 333.

⁷⁸ Interview 27.



5.5. Outcomes of evictions in Phnom Penh. From top to bottom: a forcibly vacated housing unit in one of Borei Keila's Old Building; materialisation of an urban void (on the left) in Por Sen Chey district; landfill (in the background) of Boeung Trabek, in the South of the city (Source: Author)

in 1998 in Dey Krahorm (see page 177), which almost destroyed the whole settlement. One fifty year old woman now living on the ground floor of the White Building recalls how her settlement, originally lying next to the Western side of the Building, suffered smaller fires in 2000 and 2001, and was eventually destroyed through arson in 2005: "I had to jump into the water of a sewage to save my life, while other people were carrying water with wooden buckets in the attempt of extinguishing the fire. I was able to rent a unit in the White Building after that, but most households had to accept relocation to Samaki 1".79

International attention has risen over constant human rights abuses against the evicted populations, with concerns amongst donors (CAS, 2006), and the interest and support toward the groups under threat of local and foreign activists (Amnesty International, 2011), photographers (Vink, 2012b), and cinematographers (Kelly, 2015). The recent literature on Phnom Penh has strongly focused on forced evictions (Durand-Lasserve, 2007; COHRE, 2011; Springer, 2012; Brickell, 2014; Connell and Grimsditch, 2016), and on their significance within the wider goal of creating a neoliberal order (Springer, 2008, 2009b, 2010, 2015b) in an increasingly globalised, spectacularised and privatised Phnom Penh.

Importantly, in the late 1990s, the focus of the work of many non-governmental organisations in Phnom Penh decisively shifted toward producing knowledge on urban poor settlements, to counter and document evictions and relocation processes. Solidarity for Urban Poor Federation (SUPF) carried on the first comprehensive and city-wide surveys of urban poor communities in 1997, 1999, 2003 (cited in: ACHR, 2004; Fukuzawa, 2014) – which I used as sources for tables 5.1 and 5.2 above. The emphasis was put on communities at risk of eviction and on the causes of such risk, in so doing creating the basis for a critique of the current stage of Phnom Penh's urban development. Urban Resource Centre (URC), in publications supported also by UN-Habitat and Cambodian Volunteers for Community Development, started in-depth studies of evictions and consequent relocations (see for instance: Fallavier, 2002) and put forward the first comparative studies between several resettlement processes (Fallavier, 2001, 2003a).⁸⁰ The NGO called Sahmakum Teang Tnaut⁸¹ (STT) took up the role that was of SUPF and URC⁸² in conducting surveys and detailed studies on urban poor displacements, starting also a series of publications giving constant and periodical updates on the number, condition, and population

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⁷⁹ Interview 25.

⁸⁰ These studies were framed within the framework of the MPP's Urban Poverty Reduction Strategy (Fallavier, 2007), and therefore looking at three dimensions of 'desirable improvement' for the relocated populations: 1) access to basic services (including housing); 2) income generation opportunities; 3) communities' mobilisation and role in decision making.

⁸¹ Literally translatable as Palm Tree Organisation.

⁸² SUPF stopped its activities following corruption allegation. URC dissolved and some of its leaders founded STT.

of the relocation sites in Phnom Penh (see for instance: STT, 2006, 2007, 2009a, 2011, 2012d).83

It is important to notice how such surveys and reports have never been acknowledged by the Royal Government of Cambodia or the MPP, whose 'Urban Poor Assessment Report' (MPP, 2012), instead, completely overlooks dynamics of displacement (see again table 5.1 above), and generally attempts to downplay the dramatic numbers exposed by the work of NGOs. On the other hand, NGOs' data have served often as weapon in the hands of activists and communities in order to claim for their rights, defend the evictees in Court trials, and sensitise national and international civil society toward the increasing exclusionary character of the urban realm – as in the cases of Borei Keila and Dey Krahorm for instance (Licadho Canada, 2008; Licadho & Licadho Canada, 2012) or of the Railway settlements (Bugalski and Medallo, 2012; STT, 2012c).

Connell and Grimsditch (2016) emphasised how, in numerous cases where communities were threatened with eviction, the legal system has proved inaccessible. The process to apply for land title is long and complex, and often deliberately made difficult by the authorities: in the Land Law (RGC, 2001), the term 'possession' refers to the status of occupying and use a piece of land: possession is defined as 'lawful' when satisfying five criteria, hence being unambiguous, non-violent, notorious to the public, continuous and in good faith. Lawful possession might lead to legal ownership: article 4 of the Land Law states that proving lawful possession gives the right to just request a definitive title of ownership. Such nuance creates confusion amongst poor communities, as for instance in the case of a 65 year old man living in a house built upon wooden stilts in Boeung Salang, a settlement next to the Railway (see below page 207): "we have been here since 1984, now we should have a Land title, but the subdistrict leader told us that we have to wait further".84 Poor households find often hard to prove a five-year long legal possession, and encounter objections from authorities seeking for bribes85 and other parties having an interest in dispossessing them of their land: "a district representative told us there is a sum of money to be paid in order to be issued the land title safely... but we do not have that amount of money, and we are afraid we could be displaced

⁸³ The issues 11, 19, 21 of 'Facts and Figures', STT's periodic publication, refer to evictions at the urban scale, helping to understand the process through tables and maps (STT, 2009a, 2011, 2012c).

⁸⁴ Interview 50.

⁸⁵ See footnote 57, page 136.

even after receiving the title",86 told me a a resident of an informal settlement developed in the middle of Anlong Knang relocation site.

The agency of legal protections is therefore quite limited in practice, although local legal frameworks might get supplemented by safeguard mechanisms when international funding institutions (as the World Bank or ADB) are involved in the process (Bissell and Nanwani, 2009). In such a context, attempts to organise urban poor communities prior to the enforcement of eviction orders gain particular importance, as I explore in the sub-section below.

5.2.4. Land-sharing and other forms of on-site upgrading of urban poor settlements

In July 2003, Prime Minister Hun Sen announced the intention of upgrading on-site at least 100 slum settlements per year (Goad, no date; ACHR, 2003a), through a public statement later known as One Hundred Slums Policy (UPDF, 2006; UN-Habitat, 2016). Hun Sen's statement remained (mostly remained an electoral promise)⁸⁷ had followed a fertile dialogue between authorities, local and transnational non-governmental organisations and grassroots groups (UPDF, 2008; Boonyabancha, 2014). Amongst those, there were the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR) and Slum/Shack Dwellers International (SDI). ACHR were fundamental in proposing an innovative programme of *land-sharing*, initially targeting four urban poor groups in Phnom Penh.

Such programme de facto opened up Cambodia's landscape of urban and housing policies to the influence of international experiences, in this case feeding on pioneering experiences occurred in the 1970s and 1980s in Bangkok, precisely through the activity of ACHR (Goad, no date; Shlomo and Boonyabancha, 1988; Rabé, 2005, 2010; Adler, Ketya and Menzies, 2008), and that would have then influenced experiences of slum upgrading in other countries, including India, through the activity of SDI (see also: Talocci and Boano, 2018).

Land-sharing is a powerful tool for slum-upgrading, essentially consisting in partitioning a piece of occupied land in two, in so doing allowing on-site upgrading: informal occupants are accommodate only on one portion of the site, so that the rest can be given back to the landowners for, for instance, future commercial development. Phnom Penh's pilot projects (Railway A, Railway B, Dey Krahorm, Borei Keila) were targeting urban poor groups settled on

⁸⁶ Interview 330.

⁸⁷ Elections were then held in October 2003 (Hun Sen was confirmed as Prime Minister).

State Public Land (see Land Law below, page 160):88 such land was purposely converted into State Private Land and then divided into a Social Land Concession (SLC) for the poor and an Economic Land Concession (ELC) for private developers. Developers, in exchange, would have ensured the construction of housing for the poor on the SLC thanks to the use of cross-subsidies from the commercial development of the ELC.

In the original intentions, the urban poor would have obtained the legal right to stay in the city, and on the land they used to occupy – although on a smaller portion of it and therefore at a higher density. Therefore, potential land disputes would have been solved through a compromise and avoiding evictions. However, Rabé (2010) shows how the lack of adequate institutional support and mediation brought the programme to a deadlock and provoked divisions and clashes amongst the urban poor groups. With the partial exception of Borei Keila (see chapter 6), this has been the case for all the four-land sharing projects in Phnom Penh, all ended up with the total or partial eviction of their populations (I expand on Dey Krahorm's case below, page 177, while the entire next chapter focuses on Borei Keila).

The One Hundred Slums Policy had not been the first attempt to tackle the upgrading of urban poor settlements in Phnom Penh. The city's Urban Poverty Reduction Strategy (Fallavier, 2003a) was introduced in 2000, with the aim of achieving adequate living conditions and economic opportunities for the urban poor, and of improving local governance through partnerships for urban poverty reduction. Two years later, with the support of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, the Royal Government of Cambodia devised the National Poverty Reduction Strategy (RGC, 2002): however, such programme was soon stopped because its core team was deemed as operating in a regime of opacity and widespread corruption by the World Bank, which had provided part of the funding for the Strategy (World Bank, 2003). In 2002, the World Bank supported the implementation of the Land Management Administration Project (LMAP), "an ambitious agenda of legal drafting, capacity building, dispute resolution, land management, and, crucially, land titling and registration" (see also: World Bank, 2011; Williams, 2013). The programme's primary focus on agricultural land meant that urban poor populations remained ultimately vulnerable to land grabbing (Williams, 2013). A significant case is the one of Boeung Kak lake (Grimsditch and Henderson, 2009; Schneider, 2011; Bugalski, 2012), that I recalled at the beginning of this thesis (chapter 1, page 19): a World Bank panel highlighted important violations of the Project's policy, with the Cambodian developer Shukaku Inc. found guilty of evicting thousands of households (Schneider, 2011;

⁸⁸ For Dey Krahorm and Borei Keila, see respectively page 187 and chapter 6. As for Railway A and Railway B, such settlements were part of the galaxy of Railway settlements I will explore below (page 207), and located just South of Boeung Kak lake.

STT, Water and Ket, 2012). The panel decided the indefinite suspension of the programme in 2009 (IDI, 2013).

In recent years, social and spatial upgrading of urban poor settlements has been carried out with little or no coordination amongst NGOs and between NGOs and public authorities. Projects [Figure 5.6] have been mostly targeting infrastructural upgrading, income-generating activities, structures for education, means of community organisations such as saving groups and, rarely, housing (Boonyabancha, 2000; Fallavier, 2007; UPDF, 2008).

In May 2014, the RGC approved the first National Housing Policy (MLMUPC, 2014). The Policy acknowledges increased land and housing needs, and the necessity of housing and spatial planning policies in order to limit the proliferation of new informal settlements, reduce the risk of forced evictions and provide "adequate housing to reside with welfare, peace and dignity" (MLMUPC, 2014:3).89 The Policy was developed by personnel of the Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction, with the support of the German Cooperation Agency (GTZ, then GIZ) and of both UN-Habitat and the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights, following the momentum of their early involvement with the land-sharing programme. It is not a surprise, therefore, to find commonalities between the National Housing Policy and the processes and projects who followed the 'One Hundred Slums Policy': there is an emphasis on the need to avoid displacement of urban poor communities and, rather, pursue on-site solutions; on the necessity of setting up multi-stakeholder participatory platforms; on the roles that public and private sectors, civil society, and urban poor communities should play, working together. The Policy sets as enabling tool to spark off solutions to the housing demand and pursue access "to adequate housing to reside with welfare, peace and dignity, especially [for] low and medium income households and vulnerable groups" (MLMUPC, 2014:3). It does however abstain from clearly stating the right of the poor to live in central urban areas, simply stating that relocation should be considered as last possible option (MLMUPC, 2014; Talocci and Boano, 2018).

Talocci and Boano (2018) have recently put forward a critique of the Policy, emphasising how it does not acknowledge the necessity of a governance mechanism able to recalibrate uneven power relations between (and within) several groups of stakeholders; and

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⁸⁹ Three drafts and concept notes had been issued in the previous ten years (Meng, 2004): the text and founding principles amongst the several drafts have not changed significantly. From interviews with several stakeholders and government officials (interviews 328, 333, 343) it appears that the delay in reaching its approval was mainly due to an internal fight between different members of the ruling party CPP and between different ministries (mainly the MLMUPC on one side and the Ministry of Interior on the other, with a smaller role played by the Ministry of Infrastructures): each ministry supposedly wanted to take the lead on the Policy and place the final signature on it.







5.6. Activities of socio-spatial upgrading in several settlements in Phnom Penh. From top to bottom: livelihoods-building activity by ISF in district Chbar Ampov; education-related activity by ISF, in district Chbar Ampov; housing upgrading by CDF, in Andong Tmey (Source: Author)

how it fails to outline a framework for the participation and empowerment of urban poor groups throughout all stages of the housing process (from surveying to financing, from design to construction, to management and so on). The Policy depicts a scenario where housing units would be provided by the private sector. Such criticisms have been put forward by the local press too (Post Staff, 2015; Siv, 2015; Vida, 2015), that has often reported talks between authorities and representatives from the private sector: journalists have expressed a concern over the construction of non-affordable and non-public housing units, with little or no involvement of the urban poor groups in the process, highlighting the risk of further exacerbating the exclusionary character of the current urban transformation processes — which I explore in the next two sections.

5.3. MODERNISING PHNOM PENH

5.3.1. Phnom Penh's modernisation: The Land Law as a framework for capital accumulation

The constant pressure and threat of eviction over informal settlements tremendously increased with the approval of Cambodia's Land Law (RGC, 2001; Springer, 2012). Springer (2012, p. 3) has read the Land Law as capstone for Cambodia's political economic transformation and rapid neoliberalisation: "with its enactment, significant land reform was implemented and widespread land conflict ensued". The Land Law is relevant for this research insofar as it creates the conditions for, on one side, widespread commodification of land and, on the other side, for the systematic denial of any right of poor populations to stake claims over the land they occupy. The Law indeed entitles the State to deprive a person of his/her property for reasons of public interest. The following Expropriation Law (RGC, 2010b) "adopts a broad definition of 'public interest' which includes a catch all category of infrastructure projects" (Bugalski and Medallo, 2012, p. 10), providing the legal basis to justify evictions for purposes that exceed the ones permitted under international law, as Bugalski and Medallo (2012) point out.

Springer (2012, p. 3) states that "high-ranking government officials and military personnel have become emboldened by what they view as a *carte blanche* to capital accumulation in the form of land." The instrument for such accumulation has been the institution of the 'State Private Land' category. State Public Land is clearly defined by the Land Law as land of public use or service: it includes schools, hospitals and administrative buildings, but also public gardens, archaeological areas, railways, roads and land of natural origin such as rivers, lakes and seashores – all informal settlements defined above as 'interstitial' are therefore on State Public

Land. State Private Land is instead a 'catch-all' category comprising all the land that is neither privately nor collectively owned: State Private Land may be subject to sale, exchange, distribution or transfer of rights to private individuals or companies (RGC, 2001; Lindstrom, 2013). Through the State Private Land 'expedient', authorities have been able to lease massive amounts of land to private developers (Thiel, 2009; Bugalski and Medallo, 2012; Neef and Touch, 2012). The *borei* developments and satellite cities' projects presented below, and the land-sharing attempts in Dey Krahorm (page 177) and Borei Keila (chapter 6), have all been made possible through the introduction of the State Private Land category.

5.3.2. An ordinary modernisation

With a focus on the clearance of homelessness in central areas, Springer (2015a) speaks of an urban 'gentrification' process happening in Phnom Penh: he defines such phenomenon as an effort to "transform the aesthetic of the city from an 'undeveloped', anachronistic space of chaos into a 'developed', modern site that is well ordered for facilitating the inflow of investment capital and tourist revenue" (Springer, 2015a, p. 3). A new modernity, therefore, replaces an urban environment singled out as *obsolete*, as disposable, to make room for new iconic projects, in the general pursuit of a globalised image of the city and of an increase of investments.

A number of recent real estate developments geared toward the upper-class testify how the urban environment is getting increasingly exclusionary [Figure 5.7]: high-rise residential condos in prime central areas such as Boeung Keng Kong 1 quarter (Chamkarmom District) or North of Sihanouk Boulevard in Daun Penh District; rows of *shop-houses* being built literally anywhere, from inner districts like Pram-Pi Makara and Tuol Kork to outer parts of the city; new gated communities and *borei* developments (to some extent gated), containing several types, from shop-houses to high-rises to individual villas; and satellite cities, de facto *augmented* gated communities.

While satellite cities and other spectacular developments, such as towers raising in central areas, are increasingly on the spot on both media (Son, 2012; Chen, 2017; Siv, 2017) and academic debate (Paling, 2012a; Percival and Waley, 2012), Fauveaud (2013, 2016) has analysed real estate dynamics and demonstrated how the dominant typologies of development are actually very *ordinary* ones: the so-called *borei* developments and the traditional *shophouse* type (see also: Wakita and Shiraishi, 2010; Weinberger, 2010). Borei developments are gated developments occurring in the city's outskirts: they most often incorporate traditional housing



5.7. Recent redevelopments in Phnom Penh. From top to bottom: a new condo in the neighbourhood BKK1; the residential towers in Rose Town gated community; the entrance and housing type in Borei Angkor (Source: Author)

types (usually detached *villas*) that sell quickly on the market, being an object of desire for Phnom Penh's upper middle class. Shophouses are instead townhouses on 3 or 4 storeys, characterised by their ground floor —traditionally used for commercial activities. Endless rows of shophouses are being built everywhere in Phnom Penh, targeting different groups of buyers from the upper to the middle class — as I explore in Borei Keila (chapter 6, page 301).

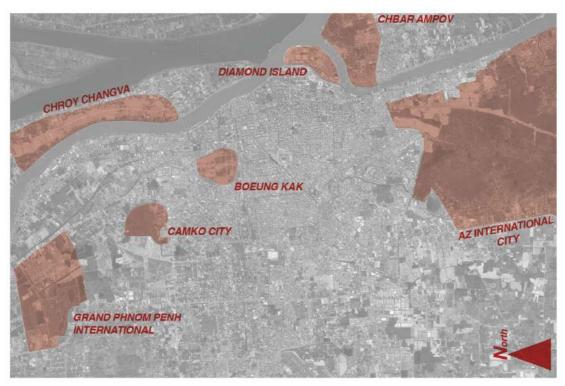
Fauveaud (2016) acknowledges how "new urbanised spaces [...] seem to be more and more fragmented: the multiplication of new residential projects and new individual houses leads to the multiplication of walls and private urban space. As a consequence, older neighbourhoods appear to be more and more spatially enclaved" (Fauveaud, 2016, p. 8). However, Fauveaud stresses how such spatial condition is not reflected in the social dimension of the urban transformation, since the class difference between the inhabitants of the new developments and the residents of the surrounding areas do not impede an interaction between them. Rather, the arrival of the new population generates new economies and a reconfiguration in the relationship between the different groups (I will discuss such dimension of interaction looking at the profit-driven developments in Borei Keila, see chapter 6, page 301).

Nevertheless, social fragmentation still is an issue. Overall, the production of shophouses and other *ordinary* types in Phnom Penh has profoundly affected the city's fabric, contributing to a general shift of lower income populations toward the periurban areas. Moreover, the production of *borei* developments has worsened social and environmental issues in the periurban areas. As an example, I recall the words of a community leader in Boeung Chhoeuk Meanchey Tmey II, a settlement in District Chbar Ampov,⁹⁰ when he took me to the top of a house to show me the extent of a nearby *borei* development [Figure 5.8]: "the new development is massive, and since they built it the level of water during the rainy season has strongly increased here in our community and in all the surroundings… They made a big landfill before starting to build. Now the situation for us is very grim during the rainy season".

While I will discuss further such fragmentation in my conclusive chapter, below I explore another element of rupture in Phnom Penh's periphery: the satellite city type, whose construction has caused further socio-spatial fragmentation and has had huge environmental impacts on Phnom Penh's natural landscape.

⁹⁰ I worked in Chbar Ampov in the framework of the May 2015 workshop "Cambodia: Transformation in Time of Transition", jointly organised by DPU and ACHR.





5.8. Borei development in Chbar Ampov, in the background (Source: Author)5.9. Plan of satellite cities currently under-construction (elaboration by author; source of data: MPP 2011)

5.3.3. An extraordinary modernisation: satellite cities

Phnom Penh is certainly not the only case of city in the South-East Asian region to be expanding through privately developed and managed *global* enclaves (Douglass and Huang, 2007; Percival and Waley, 2012), as the purest form of inter-referenced urbanism (Shatkin, 2011b) and overall partaking to the *worlding* process (Ong, 2011; Roy, 2011, 2017) discussed in chapter 1 and 2 (pages 31 and 65). Satellite cities are a form of *augmented* gated communities "contain[ing] villa and condominium housing marketed to emerging upper-middle-class urbanites and expatriates, consumption spaces such as shopping malls, office space, and private hospitals, schools and other facilities" (Percival and Waley, 2012, p. 2873).

The history of satellite cities in Phnom Penh dates back to 2007, when the masterplan of Phnom Penh (then approved eight years later) identified a number of 'secondary centres'. in the outskirts of the city (BAU, 2007). These were satellite cities *ante litteram*. The masterplan's text speaks of four new sectors: the area around the 'new railway station' of Samrong, on the Western access of the city; two 'great projects,' Chroy Changva and Chbar Ampov peninsulas, aimed to increase the value of the Sap and Bassac rivers' areas;⁹¹ and a big 'administrative city with structural facilities' in the North, surrounded by a green landscape and a 'waterscape of great quality'.

The Masterplan documents did not give further details. However, such secondary centres will materialise again a few years later, in a different shape and with different branding, in a report titled "Overview of Urban Development in Phnom Penh Capital City" (MPP, 2011). Here the 2007 Masterplan is cited along with the 'Land Use Plan' it proposed, though listing a number of seven (instead of four) "large scale urban developments by private sector" (MPP, 2011, p. 65) – as the map in Figure 5.9 shows. The document offers a few details for each project, using the term 'satellite city' a few times. Chroy Changva and Chbar Ampov were among the elected locations for two of these large-scale developments, while the idea for a new quarter in the Western access of the city is no longer present. Two new centres instead appear in the North of the city, though not corresponding to the initial prevision of an 'administrative city' contained in the original masterplan (BAU, 2007). Rather, these now configure as two independent and self-contained satellite cities, named respectively Grand Phnom Penh International City and CamKo City. Table 5.3 below summarises the current landscape of satellite cities being built in Phnom Penh, starting from the ones that are closer to the city centre.

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⁹¹ Respectively with a cultural and touristic programme for Chroy Changva and a business and residential centre in Chbar Ampov.

The table shows how the 'satellite city' typology is far from being a homogeneous one. The built area varies a lot, from the 119ha of Camko City to the huge plan for AZ City, that forecasts a total of more than 2600 built hectares, and to nearly double the current footprint of the city. The same can be said in terms of distance from the centre: for two of these satellite developments, actually, the term 'satellite' is not really appropriate since they are being built in central areas, respectively on the remnants of what used to be Boeung Kak Lake and on the island of Koh

Name	Approval date	Built area (ha)	Distance from the centre	Main investors (country)	Further info provided by the MPP (2011)
Boeung Kak	Late 2003	133	1km NW	Shukaku Inc. (Cambodia)	Not provided.
Chroy Changva (formerly Sunway City)	Not provided	387	2km NE	Overseas Cambodian Investment Company (Cambodia)	It will feature a botanic garden, an international stadium, the 'Asean plus 3' zone for meeting and events, housing complexes and business centres, banks, schools, theaters.
Diamond Island (Koh Pich)	Not provided	Not provided	2KM SE	Not provided	Not provided.
Chbar Ampov (Boeung Chhouk / Boeung Snor)	Not provided	238	5km SE	Sokimex (Cambodia)	Not provided.
CamKo City (World City)	February 2003	119	5km NW	World City (Korea), CamKo (Cambodia and Korea)	It will be characterised by high speed information and telecommunication lines and systems, electronic security systems and 'sustainable environmental system', along with a "new residential system that will enhance the Cambodian life style" (2011:68). It will boast the "first introduction of modern high-rise condominiums in Cambodia" (2011:68).
Grand Phnom Penh International City	August 2006	233-260	7km NW	YLP (Cambodia) and Ciputra Group (Indonesia)	It will provide 4000 households, next to a 18 holes golf course. The residential areas incorporate a gated cluster system of 200-300 units per cluster. "This concept will provide privacy, safety and comfortable environment for the people. Convenient pedestrians along the green and flowery road network bring the neighbourhood a convenient, healthy and safe activities" (2011:68)
AZ International City (Green City)	May 2006	2634	"immedi ately South of existing PP"	ING holding co. ltd (Cambodia)	ING is working together with MLMUPC "to develop a new township" with the "approval by the Council of Ministers to develop two lakes into an eco-friendly city expansion" (2011:68). AZ city "helps to reduce pressure off existing area, preserves large part of the history, culture and urban fabric of the existing core" (2011:68). Its "transport and infrastructures [are] planned for large scale modern developments necessary for the efficient modern city" (2011:68). It will be "the largest modern urban development project in Kingdom of Cambodia and South-East Asia" (2011:68). A system of ring roads and a future rail system will link the satellite city centre to Phnom Penh, of which AZ city will become the new gateway.

Table 5.3. Satellite cities in Phnom Penh (elaboration by Author. Source of data: MPP, 2011)

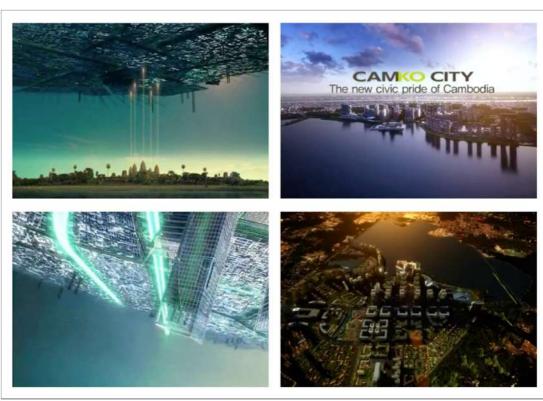
Pich, separated from the mainland by two short bridges and therefore availing itself at the same time of the close proximity to the city centre and of the physical separation from it.

From the table, it is apparent how all projects are constructed and managed by private sector organisations, and funded by Cambodian companies or by intra-Asian foreign investors (MPP, 2011; Percival and Waley, 2012). Importantly, it is possible to see how the discourses supporting the construction of satellite cities – in line with what I discussed in chapter 2 (page 60) – revolve around the creation of prime infrastructural networks and of securitised spaces, and the provision of a new healthy life-style, often intersecting with claims of environmental sustainability. Percival & Waley (2012) demonstrate how most satellite cities: present a degree of influence from other East Asian countries, in terms of invested capital, planning concepts or urban design and architecture; are based on governance practices of other East Asian cities; extract and simulate other cities' best practices. In sum, satellite cities symbolise the complete adoption of urban planning and design principles "based on an interpretation of how a global urbanism should look and function" (Percival and Waley, 2012, p. 79), and how the new life-style of their inhabitants should work accordingly.

Camko City [Figure 5.10] for instance is celebrated for its high speed information and telecommunication lines, its electronic security systems and 'sustainable environmental system', along with a "new residential system that will enhance the Cambodian life style", being also the "first introduction of modern high-rise condominiums in Cambodia" (MPP, 2011, p. 68). In a promotional video (World City Co., 2009), a huge alien starship gravitates above the rural landscape of Cambodia, hinting to a new civilisation arriving from the sky, with a shade of technological perfection and a supernatural *aura* [Figure 5.11]. While Wagnerian music plays, CamKo City flies above Khmer ruins and the narrator evokes a "mystical Khmer culture, the legacy of Angkor Wat" (World City Co., 2009, p. 0'05"), claiming that the myth will become new history. New shining towers and glass pyramids appear suddenly to symbolise "the new civic pride of Cambodia" (World City Co., 2009, p. 0'40"). The video stands for an allegorical but scaring manifestation of an urban design artefact as quasi-supernatural phenomenon: programmatically detached from the actual reality of the city and, rather, being born from an otherwise supposedly lost ancient culture. A very similar video has been released for presenting AZ satellite city, the biggest and southernmost satellite development (Archetmedia, 2014).

Currently, however, CamKo City looks quite different from the city presented in the promotional video. Only a small part of the project has been built thus far or is still under construction. A series of fifteen-storey residential buildings border threes sides of such portion's perimeter [Figure 5.12]. The façades of these blocks are mute and repetitive, marked only by the recessed terraces of the several flats (and by the duplex apartments' volumes on top) and finished in





5.10. Plan of CamKo city (Source: World City Co. 2009) 5.11. A frame from a promotional video for CamKo City (Source: World City Co. 2009)





5.12. Residential buildings in CamKo City (Source: Author) 5.13. Public square at the entrance of CamKo City (Source: Author)

green and grey plaster crossed by white horizontal lines. On the South-Eastern corner, a small triangular public square was built, marked by two symmetrical circular volumes, hosting no uses yet [Figure 5.13]. The square seems just an attempt to beautify with greenery and flowers a leftover space at the extreme corner of the development and does not establish any dialogue with the urban environments lying on the other side of the crossroad. Significantly, the square ends in a bench placed against a fence: there is no entrance to a complex designed only for pedestrian use. The other entrances, marked by checkpoints, cater mostly for to car traffic, on the Eastern and Southern sides of the complex [Figure 5.14]. On the Eastern side, the complex lies along Angkor Boulevard, that connects thus far only to a borei development called Borei Angkor [Figure 5.19]: such boulevard is shut, at its beginning, by a checkpoint – although this is loosely enforced,⁹² supporting to some extent Paling's (2012b) remark on the 'openness' ensured by the very slow construction pace of Phnom Penh's gated developments. The ground floors host commercial activities, though only a few commercial units were occupied by a business at the time of my fieldwork [Figure 5.15]. In the open spaces between the several building blocks, lie car parks and small green spaces, with a small artificial lake and a swimming pool. The inner side of this CamKo City's fragment hosts a mix of two-storey detached villas and terraced housing, with each unit enjoying a private garden. Looking at it from its Northern side [figure 5.16], CamKo City looks suspended in a periurban reality, a series of vertical quasimonumental buildings embracing a fine fabric of villas, separated from the outside world through a metallic fence. Such periurban reality was once occupied by a massive lake [Figure 5.17], filled between 2003 and 2005 (Tudehope, 2012).

Mauret (2008, cited in Percival and Waley, 2012), one of the advisors for the 2020 Masterplan, commented on how satellite cities mega-projects, although defined initially as 'secondary centres', were actually caring only about the development of their own locations – turning blind eyes on the development of the rest of the city. While an observation of CamKo City seems to confirm such perspective, another satellite development, Diamond Island — benefitting of a very close distance from the city centre (see Table 5.3) — renders Mauret's comment questionable, along with Percival and Waley's definition of "integrated, purpose-built developments that are normally to some degree gated, providing access only to residents" (Percival and Waley, 2012, p. 2873).

While hosting a gated community ('elite town') and other environments where access is regulated (such as an area for fairs and a golf club), Diamond Island [Figure 5.18] has also become a new pole for the city's public life. Most of its roads are freely accessible, and many

⁹² Cambodian nationals were apparently not allowed beyond the checkpoint. I was able to pass through but guards discouraged to take pictures of the new developments.





5.14. One of the guarded entrances to CamKo City (Source: Author) 5.15. CamKo City: ground floor activities on Angkor boulevard (Source: Author)





5.16. View of CamKo City from the Angkor Boulevard, North side (Source: Author)
5.17. Satellite image of then natural landscape, before (2003) and after (2019) CamKo City's landfill (Source: Digital Globe 2019)







5.18. Plans of Koh Pich (Diamond Island) in 2003 and 2019 (Source: Digital Globe 2019) 5.19. Recreational gardens in Diamond Island (Source: Author)





5.20. Multi-use pavilions in Diamond Island (Source: Author) 5.21. Koh Pich City Hall in Diamond Island (Source: Author)





5.22. Style 1 (classic) housing type in Elite Town, Diamond Island (Source: Author) 5.23. Style 2 (contemporary) housing type in Elite Town, Diamond Island (Source: Author)

new shops and public facilities – such as gardens [Figure 5.19], restaurants and halls for celebrations and public fairs [Figure 5.20] – attract people from a wide social spectrum and from all the surrounding areas, as evidence from my observation suggests. Interestingly, such interactions happen against a background of built forms that are completely exogenous to the ones of Diamond Island's surroundings: from a neoclassical city hall⁹³ [Figure 5.21] to Elite Town's mix of traditional and contemporary-looking terraced housing and villas [Figures 5.22 and 5.23], from the bright red volume of the fire station to the high-tech and spectacular architecture of the soon to be built Riviera complex [see again Figure 2.5], which is expected to configure as one further gated development (Son, 2012).

5.4. OBSOLESCING PHNOM PENH

5.4.1. Creating voids, demolishing ruins, reconquering interstices in Phnom Penh

The developments explored in the previous section represents the attempt to establish a new modernity in Phnom Penh. Paraphrasing Scott's (1995) you work on governmentality, for a new modernity to take place, all the other modernities must be removed: pre-modern possibilities are no longer allowed and must therefore be eradicated. In Phnom Penh, the establishment of such modernity has put decayed portions of the built environment under threat, purposely leaving them in a state of dereliction or rhetorically constructing them as ruins to justify their demolition; it has created urban voids, demolishing and cleansing informal settlements and often superseding them with fenced construction sites, whose development often got slowed down or stuck; it has confined unwelcome urban realities to an interstitial life, and still threatened such realities with eviction because of infrastructural redevelopments and issues related to environmental safety.

As outlined in chapter 3 (page 94), voids are stuck construction sites with buildings left in a perpetual unfinished state, or simply empty and fenced-off spaces waiting for development plans. Ruins take the shape of rundown monumental buildings, or of derelict pieces of historical urban fabric, of abandoned buildings, of once-abandoned or parts of buildings that have now acquired a new use through an informal reappropriation. Interstitial urbanisms develop along rivers or canals, on lake shores, along infrastructural networks, in residual pieces of land, with built forms responding to the morphological and environmental challenges of their sites.

⁹³ The building is actually a sub-district hall, but has been branded as Koh Pich City Hall causing clashes with the MPP.

If urban voids are the tangible manifestation of a *removal* that has already occurred, of the erasure and displacement of the settlements they once hosted, ruined and interstitial urbanisms are at risk of running into the same destiny. The following sub-sections explore the cases of the eviction and attempted redevelopment of Dey Krahorm's land, which has resulted in a massive void; of the adjacent White Building, the most famous urban ruin in Phnom Penh until its demolition in 2017; of the informal settlements along the railway line, under threat of eviction because of the Railway Rehabilitation Project.

5.4.2. Creating voids: the case of Dey Krahorm's redevelopment

The informal settlement called Dey Krahorm [Figures 5.24, 5.25] was amongst the ones targeted for the land-sharing pilot programme in 2003 (see above, page 156). On a total area of 4.7 hectares the Council of Ministers granted a social land concession of 3.7 hectares, where to build new housing for 1465 poor households, while the remaining hectare would have been available for commercial development by the private company 7NG (Licadho Canada, 2008). Amidst pressures and claims of unviability, 7NG and the MPP managed to reject every upgrading proposal elaborated by the households assisted by community architects from Urban Sector Group (USG).94 In the meantime, community leaders – allegedly bribed95 by 7NG – had managed to convince a relevant number of households to accept relocation to Borei Santepheap II: I explore the discourses behind such relocation in chapter 7 (page 328). Such situation created divisions and tensions amongst the poor groups, resulting in their forced eviction.

A few interviewees in the once-adjacent White Building (see following sub-section) recalled the ferocity of Dey Krahorm's eviction in January 2009: "The bulldozers woke us up at dawn, and immediately started to destroy a few houses... We managed to save just a few things" told me a former resident of Dey Krahorm, a 40 year old woman⁹⁶ now living in the relocation site called Tang Khiev (see chapter 7, page 338), adding that "the government was not allowing foreigners to take pictures in that moment". A few videos were actually shot and are now available on YouTube (Ngeth, 2009; Licadho/Licadho Canada, 2011; Amrith, 2013), and show the subtle play of provocations by the armed forces against the evictees, some of them trying to resist [Figure 5.26]. A restaurant owner, now living in the White Building's ground floor recalled the

⁹⁴ Interview 334.

⁹⁵ See footnote 57, page 136.

⁹⁶ Interview 13.





5.24. Satellite images of Dey Krahorm (2003 and 2015), and notes produced after first reconnaissances (elaboration by Author; source of satellite images: Digital Globe 2019) 5.25. Photographic notes on spatial dimensions of Dey Krahorm, after first reconnaissances (elaboration by Author; source of photographs: Author)





5.26. Frames from a videoclip shot during the eviction of Dey Krahorm (Source: Licadho / Licadho Canada, 2011) 5.27. 7NG Group's plan for Dey Krahorm (Sources: 7NG 2010; Author)

presence of many violent guards, adding sadly that "I hope they were foreigners hired by 7NG. Cambodian people wouldn't do that to other Cambodians... It is terrible when the government evicts people, we all belong to this country after all".⁹⁷

After the eviction, 7NG Group was eventually given a concession to develop the whole site (Licadho Canada, 2008). 7NG Group is the parent company of 7NG Construction Co. Ltd., 7NG Real Estate, 7NG Saving, 7NG Microfinance, 7NG Agriculture and Mining, and overall one of Cambodia's largest companies (7NG Group, 2010). 7NG group became an incorporated in the 1990s, and works for both private and public sector clients in the delivery of new development areas and infrastructures (7NG Group, 2010). As explained in chapter 4 (page 103), during the course of my research I have not been able to talk to 7NG representatives, that declined to provide information. Information on 7NG is available on the web, though not necessarily easy to find: the group's website has been off since July 2013,98 and their Facebook page (7NG Group, 2012a) has been updated only a few times, the last one in March 2012. The last update on their Facebook page was about the project named Borei Santepheap III - just a link to a video, actually the only one present on the group's YouTube channel (7NG Group, 2012b). The project was the last one in the series of 'Villages of Peace' (literal translation of 'Borei Santepheap'): while Borei Santepheap II, though, was conceived partially as relocation site (see chapter 7, page 328), Borei Santepheap I and III were born and built solely with commercial development purposes (7NG Group, 2010; Sun and Blomberg, 2014). The three developments are presented as great achievements in "providing new development areas [...] to satisfy the market needs. There are flats, markets, schools, roads, offices and so forth" (7NG Group, 2010, p. 5). The company boasts about its technical and infrastructural achievements, remarking the provision of 30-metre-wide main roads, of electricity and water supplies, of sewage, of parking for buses. In the current urban condition – where sewages and drainages fail most time to provide a barrier against floods, where roads are stuck because of traffic jams and in bad conditions, where security is often on the top of the urban agenda – 7NG attempts to present itself as a builder of a city that is effective and functional.

Additionally, 7NG boasts about its work in housing development for the poor, citing the provision of small loans for Cambodian residents to start up new businesses or growing their current ones, to build or upgrade their houses, or simply to solve other financial issues (7NG Group, 2012b). Not only 7NG, but also another private sector giant such as AEON has now entered a microfinance market that – in spite of doubts and criticisms (Simanowitz and Knotts, 2015) and

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⁹⁷ Interview 42.

⁹⁸ I personally was able to access it only up to that date.

occasional scams (Sen, 2015) – is constantly growing (Kang and Ho, 2015). In the context of this research, it is particularly significant how the private sector gets into micro-finance programmes (Bylander, 2015): playing the double role of landlords and creditors, private developers grant themselves a high level of control on the populations occupying the housing they have built.

In a slide-presentation⁹⁹ by 7NG Group (2010), the original project for the re-development of Dey Krahorm is defined as "the most modern building in Cambodia [and also] the highest [one, with its] 45 floors" (7NG Group, 2010, p. 67). The building supposedly includes apartments, a five-star hotel, a business centre, a fitness centre and a 'super store'. In the drawings, the 'most modern building' lies on a multi-storey platform (9 floors on the front and 5 on the back) that occupies most of the lot [Figure 5.27]. A small open public space is present at the ground level, facing the main road where today also the National Assembly lies. The platform hosts parking space in the back and, in the front, rental shops in the first two floors and offices from the third floor on. From the platform's terrace, amongst deck gardens with water and plants, rise three towers with views toward the Mekong and the Tonle Bassac River – one for offices and two for apartments, each of them counting 45 floors and topped by a heliport.

Overlapping the project's plan with the map of the area [Figure 5.28], this leaves free the northernmost part of the lot, whose future use is not specified. The 12-metre-wide road planned in the Western side of the plot should have run next to the where the White Building's footprint used to lie. The White Building itself, though, is forgotten, and replaced by a hatch of parallel lines, as if suggesting future shophouses developments there – at the expenses of the Building itself, whose demolition was clearly already part of 7NG's plans (see following sub-section for the project currently being built over the White Building footprint).

This project has been stopped for uncertain reasons. No development information has been made available on site, apart from a board with a faded drawing¹⁰⁰ featuring two towers, depicted through a dramatic perspective [see again Figure 5.27]. The original project has been scrapped: Dey Krahorm's site has today been parcellised and is marked by a multiplicity of fences, most of them occupied by construction sites or temporary uses. The following paragraphs take the reader for an exploration of the area, starting from the South-Eastern corner of the adjacent White Building and moving counter-clockwise along the site's perimeter. I deliberately move beyond the original perimeter of Dey Krahorm's land, as the wider area,

⁹⁹ This presentation was not supposed to be released publicly but was leaked and available online through a simple search with keywords '7NG' and 'Dey Krahorm'.

¹⁰⁰ In the last visit to the site (mid-May 2015) this board had disappeared too.





5.28. 7NG plan for the redevelopment of Dey Krahorm, overlapped to a satellite image of the area (elaboration by Author; source of plans: Digital Globe 2019; 7NG 2010)
5.29. A fence on the Southern side of Dey Krahorm's plot (Source: Author)

overall, is undergoing similar dynamics – Dey Krahorm was part of a wider landscape of slum settlements in the area of the Tonle Bassac river, and the last one to be evicted (Vink, 2012b). Noticeably, as explained in chapter 4 (page 129), none of the people involved in the businesses or construction sites were available to share information, and refused to interact with me, hence the data below come from a solely morphological exploration.

On the Southern side of the plot there lies a fence made of thick bars painted in white, which reduced the visual permeability toward the White Building [Figure 5.29]. Not surprisingly, a new board mentions that the site (or part of it) has been sold to another company, named 'Wonderful 168 Group', a Chinese company registered in Cambodia (Open Corporates, 2018) — no other information is available on the web. Most land here is completely empty and looks abandoned, although there is a small road bordering it on the Eastern side: its entrance is guarded, and I have been denied access several times; two dogs are kept in a cage and are let free at night to keep away possible intruders. Until 2012, there had been a few football pitches right next to this area, that, as per evidence from the interviews, were rented by the hour and open to everybody. ¹⁰¹ It is not clear why these spaces for sport have been dismantled, but a new scaled-up version has been built in a different part of the lot, as I explore below. Prior to the White Building's demolition (see below), only a volleyball pitch had remained next to it: its access was free and evidence from observation and interviews ¹⁰² at the White Building suggest that it was used by young people from the White Building itself.

Moving toward the South-Eastern corner of the block, there lie a series of constructions, of which only the very first one seems permanent, built through an armed concrete structure [Figure 5.30]. These are restaurants, BBQ places and clubs, with terraces or roofed open spaces [figures 5.31]. A big sport centre with two football pitches [Figure 5.32] lies next to the relic of an abandoned building that was part of the Tonle Bassac Tribune [Figure 5.33]: in the first stages of my fieldwork, back in 2013, this was inhabited by a few individuals who had illegally occupied it after the land had been fenced off and Dey Krahorm had been demolished, as observation and evidence from interviews suggest. The building was still standing in the last stage of my fieldwork in May 2015, but it had been forcibly vacated.

Further North, a space has been rented out to a traditional Cambodian circus. On the North-Eastern corner, the huge construction site of NagaWorld 2 – that will double the current Hotel

¹⁰¹ Interviews 32 and 38.

¹⁰² Interviews 20 and 28.

¹⁰³ Interviews 23 and 36. I did not manage to talk to the inhabitants of such building.





5.30. A permanent structure hosting a restaurant in the Southern side of Dey Krahorm's site (Source: Author) 5.31. A series of temporary structures on the Southern side of the Dey Krahorm's site (Source: Author)





5.32. A sports centre in Dey Krahorm's site (Source: Author) 5.33. A derelict building on Dey Krahorm's site (Source: Author)

and Casino just one block away – is replacing Vann Molyvann's National Theatre, destroyed in 1994 by one of the many arsons that vexed the area (Grant Ross and Collins, 2006). In the North-Western part of the site, there is the the only open public space that survived the transformation of the area: here, public life is always really vibrant, with many families gathering and eating street food, especially at night. Parallel to such public space, there runs one temporary one-storey structure, hosting a few restaurants, one small phone shop and a supermarket. On the public space's southern side, there are a few more restaurants and shops for clothes and, immediately next to the space where the White Building lay, a luxury car dealer - that was in stark contrast with the White Building's ruined image in the background.

Beyond this line of commercial spaces, is the long slab of the Build Bright University, a renovation that has completely transformed the original Grey Building built by Vann Molyvann. In 1996, the Grey Building was sold to a Malaysian developer, which wanted initially to transform it into a high-class hotel (Grant Ross and Collins, 2006). All the balconies and façades were walled to gain internal space, then sold for commercial purposes [Figure 5.34]. The building is today known all around Phnom Penh as the Build Bright University - the institution that eventually rented out its spaces – and no memory of the original project by Vann Molyvann has remained.

On the Western side of the White Building, finally, it is possible to find a triangular parcel of land that has been intensely densified after the eviction (in 2001) of about 560 families then displaced to Samaki I, in the Chung Ruk locality (Fallavier, 2001, 2002; URC, 2002). A K-TV104 building [Figure 5.35], which evidence from the interviews¹⁰⁵ at the White Building says to be hosting drug-dealing and prostitution, is followed by a long series of four to five-storey shophouses - which hosts commercial activities on the ground floors, including sauna & spas that are used by Cambodian and foreigners in search for sex-workers. 106 A hotel and the building for the Ministry of National Assembly and Senate Relations and Inspection complete the picture, right opposite the Southern end of the Building.

Table 5.4 synthesises the above information, acknowledging the complexity of spatial and governmental practices in Dey Krahorm. I will analyse such synthesised information in section 5.5 below.

¹⁰⁴ K-TVs are facilities where people gather to play video-karaoke. While not all K-TVs are places where illicit activities occur, many Cambodians see them as receptacles for sex-workers and drug traffickers.

¹⁰⁵ Interviews 15, 21, 24.

¹⁰⁶ I personally have been approached by 'middlemen' every single time I cycled next to that block.





5.34. The Grey Building, now converted into the main venue of the Build Bright University (Source: Author) 5.35. A K-TV building in the adjacencies of Dey Krahorm's land (Source: Author)

OBSERVED	SPATIAL DIMENSIONS						GOVERNMENTAL DIMENSIONS	SIONS			
PRACTICES	A. Spaces for cultures and economies	B. Infrastructures	C. Public and open spaces	D. Bullt fabric / Land- marks	E. Housing and dwell- ing	F. Leftovers and thresholds	G. Architectural Forms	H. Discourses and sol- entific / philanthropic statements	L institutions and "lews"	J. Polloy and regula- tory frameworks	K. Techniques of gov- ernment / administra- tive measures
1. TNG and the MPP, in collaboration with ACHS, 502 and UN- Habbet, sign the land- sharing agreement for Dey Krahorm	The community groups were initially put all the service of the process and should have had prominence in the future editings of Dey Kahorm.	The land-sharing pro- gramme across Phnom Perh across across across shared as the ic- cultural pations for the ic- cultural and share national and share national sive).	(i)	3.7 hectares out of 4.7 should have been dedicated to rechousing the poor, write 7MG would have strongly densitied the remaining hectare.	Housing for 1455 poor households should have been provided through the use of cross-subsi- des from the commer- cial development of the site.	14	Community architects came up with several proposals, al deemed unit by 7NG.	TNG from the initial stages claimed the land-sharing project would have been economically unviable.	Following the 2001 Land Law, Dey Krathorn was furned in 818ap Frivale Land, and divided be-tween a Social Land Cornession and an Economic Land Corness.	The land-charing pro- gramme was part of the so-called One-fundhed Sums Policy faundhed by PM Hun Sen in 2002.	7NG is said to have brited community lead- es and MGD represent- aftwes in order to dis- manife all projects by the community archi- lects (see #1G).
2. After the land-shearing process this, Yind and the MFP evict all touse of the MFP evict all touse cated other to Borrid Samplehap II or to Samplehap II or to 7.2 and 7.3).	Albushess and social newtoks are distrated pryns broad edition. and relocation.	9	ÿ.	No trace of the original state of the original state of the original state of the original state is by TNG.	Af housing on ate is buildozed by TNC.	Day Krathom is throod of the matery at its a get and matery at its a get and matery at its a received perment.	See #2F.	After the faither of the land-shring proposel, TMG described Day Kie-horn as anarchic, un-leastly, vident, political, vident, political, vident, political, vident, political, vident, political, massimits to move out of the site.	7MC and Mipb used the evident and evident and recognition to boost their consensus amongst Phrom Penh's middle class.	The eviction and reloca- filon happened before the promupgation of the Circular 08.	7MG is said to have been ormunity well- ers and NGO represent- always in order to on- whose an increasing number or households number or households number or households number or prosession. Nost households were evicual through the use of physical and psycho- bejical volence by po- bejical volence by po- plants.
3. 7NG plans to develop on site 'The most mock- em building in Cambo- dia".	The building is said to include apartments, of- fices, a five-star hotel, a business centre, a fir- ness centre and a 'super- store'.	The new project does not take into account any of the transportation axes present in Dey Krahoim.	A small open public space is present at the ground level, facing the main road, opposite to the National Assembly.	The building articulable in three 45-storey low- ers that at the time were said to be the tallest in Cambodia.	Two towers are entirely occupied by luxury apartments.	84	See F3A to 3/FE.	7NG presents the Build- ing as the most modern and as the tallest one in Cembodia.	7NG wants to use the project to present itself as powerful developer.	The project builds upon the possibilities granted to private developers by the 2001 Land Law.	ī
4. After the project for the 'most modern build- ing in Cambodia' gets suck, 7MG sub-tesses the land to several third party-investors.	A multibude of construc- tion sises populate the area. Agait from a ree- baurent and a nearby ca- sino (Maga World 2), it is of fincult to access in- formation on the pro- lects currently being butt.	The infrastructural net- work blows the sub-dr- work blows the sub-dr- vison of the plots and do not take into eccount any of the original trans- portation axes.	Sas #5C; No information is available on future scenarios, public space-wibs:	The free grain of the original seafteement is De- ing transformed into a very coeres one, made of huge sub-pidts.	No information available on future scenarios.	See PS.	No information available on future scenarios.	7NG bosets the redevel- opment of a dengerous and develor slum into a modern neighbourhood of central Phrom Penh.	The 2001 Land Law (2001) slibwed to trans- form Day Krathorm's State Public Land into State Public Land into State Public Land, hence to lease it to pri- vate investors.	See #3.1	The construction sikes are guarded by private are guarded by private socially. Businessemen and other workers are not entitled to ahare information.
5. Several plots are left undeveloped and be- come the bous of tem- porary uses.	See RTC.	*0	Piots are sometimes transformed into brinal temporary public spaces, implementing activities that generate an income (e.g. football pitchen, bars, a chous) for the sub-lesse hold-ers.	See IfSC.	A ruhed building, origi- mally part of the 7 cone Bessor though, had been informally occu- tied by a few house- holds, until its demoi- tion.	Empty plots (and slowly proceeding construction also proceeding construction also configure as self-over spaces. Sometimes they continue, see #5C. See also #5F.	See /foc.	p.	E.	The informal trespess- ing of plats can be proe- ecuted following the Land Law (RGC 2001).	Undeveloped plots are generally ferrord off and sometimes guarded.

Table 5.4. Synthesis of Dey Krahorm's design practices, deconstructed in their spatial and governmental dimensions (elaboration by Author)

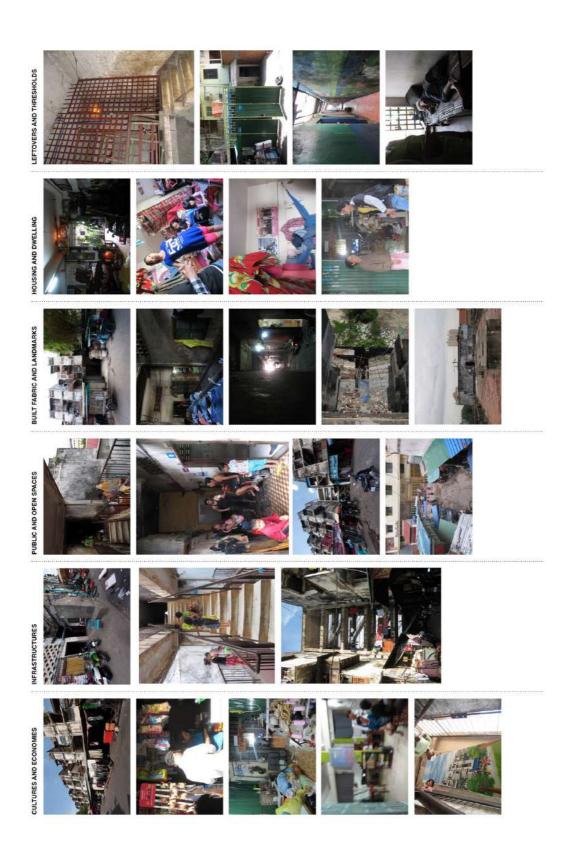
5.4.3. Demolishing ruins: The White Building

The White Building [Figures 5.36], or simply Building, ¹⁰⁷ was a 335 metre long residential slab, originally part of the monumental complex called Tonle Bassac Tribune [Figure 5.37]. The Tonle Bassac Tribune was a monumental expression of the Cambodian wealth and economic growth in the early 1960s, strongly wanted by King Norodom Sihanouk as part of a wider momentum toward the beautification of the city, and acknowledging the need to cater for "the construction of low-cost apartment buildings that can be rented or sold to average and small-income families" (Norodom Sihanouk, cited in Grant Ross and Collins, 2006, p. 16). The Tribune was meant to catalyse civic pride and collective imaginations of Phnom Penh, and was part of an ambitious plan to redevelop "24 hectares of reclaimed land along the Bassac River with low-cost housing and public buildings that completed the perspective up to the Independence Monument" (Grant Ross and Collins, 2006, p. 16). The construction started with the demolition of a nearby slaughterhouse, amongst discourses of urban hygiene, and with a massive landfill of the Bassac River, whose original path was partially diverted.

The original project, by local architect Lu Ban Hap dates back to early 1960s, with the Building's construction ended in 1963 (Grant Ross and Collins, 2006): the Building configured as a slender slab, sustained by an armed concrete structure and covered by a layer of white plaster, from which the name 'White Building' derived [Figure 5.38]. The Building articulated through six blocks (A to F), four to five storeys' tall, separated by five open-air staircases, that ensured visual permeability toward both sides of the Building [Figure 5.39]. Spatial permeability was ensured through raising the Building on a typically modernist *pilotis* structure on the ground floor. The upper floors were cut by long corridors, which distributed to flats on both sides of the Building [Figure 5.40]. The rectangular layout of the flats [Figure 5.41] extended over the protruding balconies, that were hosting services. The balconies strongly characterised the Building's façades, turning them into an interesting play of volumes and shadows services. Adding to such play, a composition of white-plastered bricks concealed the secondary staircases' volumes (one per block).

The Building was initially meant for Civil Servants working in the nearby National Theatre and in the Ministry of Culture. After the fall of the Khmer Rouge Regime, Vietnamese authorities had initial kept the Building for their soldiers, then assigned the units again to artists and to policemen (Grant Ross and Collins, 2006). From this moment on, the Building will be described as roughly divided in a Northern part, where artists reside, and a Southern part, where policemen do (see also: Simone, 2008). However, evidence from the interviews shows how the

 $^{^{\}rm 107}$ Sometimes simplified to 'Boding' in the Cambodian pronunciation.



5.36. Photographic notes on spatial dimensions of the White Building, after first reconnaissances (elaboration by Author; source of photographs: Author)



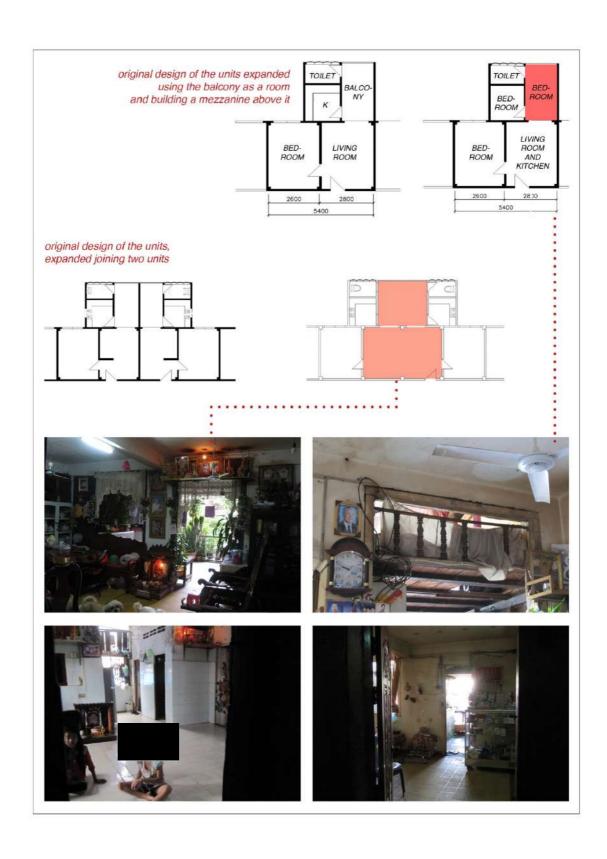


5.37. The Tonle Bassac Tribune in the 1960s (source: Stott, 2012) 5.38. The White Building in the 1960s (source: Stott, 2012)





5.39. Open air staircases at the White Building (Source: Author)5.40. Distribution corridors on the upper floors of the White Building (Source: Author)



5.41. Housing units in the White Building and their expansions (elaboration by Author; Source of plans: Pho, 2010; Source of photographs: Author)

Building's situation prior to its demolition was quite a different one, as many households had moved out and sold to newcomers.¹⁰⁸

According to a 2012 survey by STT, the Building hosted 293 households¹⁰⁹ (Sok and STT, 2012): of these, only 93 households out of 293 (31.7%) had arrived between 1979 and 1982, years when the flats had actually been assigned. The rest of the households can be considered, to different extents, newcomers. A total of 145 households (49.5%) said to have settled in the Building during or after 1991, i.e. during or after the period of economic and demographic boom (Sok and STT, 2012). Of these ones, noticeably, 35 households (11.9% of the total) got to the Building after the eviction of the adjacent Dey Krahorm settlement – occurred in January 2009, as I explained in the previous sub-section – to which the Building's life had been inextricably connected. After the eviction, a long brick wall – about 2.50 metres tall – was built to physically separate the Building from the series of construction sites and plots I explored above [Figure 5.42]. The wall stood until the Building's demolition in January 2018.

The original subdivision between artists and police officers had therefore become blurred through the massive affluence of newcomers. The physical structure of the Building changed profoundly, with informal subdivision of the flats, or flats joined two by two by richer newcomers or bigger households [see again Figure 5.41]. Flats had been strongly changed, with the opening of new windows, the tracing of dividing walls, and most noticeably the modification of the balconies [Figure 5.43]. There, households had often carved out often the space for one more room, covered by a roofed structure, in so doing significantly altering the original modernist façade of the Building.

The Building's collective open spaces were further appropriated by the households, with their productive, leisure and income-generating activities exuding the private space of their units. While the Building's open-air staircases had always been meant as a space of encounter, evidence from the interviews¹¹⁰ show that, with the arrival of newcomers, the informal appropriation of common spaces became a widespread phenomenon. Households started using the inner corridors to open commercial activities, the secondary staircases to dump rubbish, the open-air staircases to lay hammocks [Figure 5.44]. Many households personalised the entrances to their flats, painting the wall of their units or decorating the entrance door.

¹⁰⁸ Interviews 17, 22, 33.

¹⁰⁹ This number would gradually decreased until the White Building's demolition, in January 2018, with the Japanese private company Arakawa (Chea, 2017; Muong, 2017; Robertson, 2017) gradually buying out households (see below)

¹¹⁰ Interviews 10 and 33.





5.42. Interstices next to the wall (on the left) dividing the White Building from the redevelopment of Dey Krahorm (Source: Author)
5.43. The White Building: modifications to the balconies (Source: Author)





5.44. The White Building: the common spaces on the open-air staircases (Source: Author) 5.45. The White Building: Modifications of the ground floor structures (Source: Author)

Importantly, a multitude of households had settled on the ground floor, turning the Building's otherwise entirely permeable built fabric into a much coarser one. As visible in Figure 5.45, ground floor units had been built with accesses either from the two sides of the Building (blocks A-B-C), or from an internal road (blocks D-E-F), or from the space underneath the open-air staircases (between all blocks). Noticeably, the occupation of the ground floor had meant also the parcellisation and commodification of the adjacent strip of land, facing the road running parallel to the Building. Here, households living on the ground floor had built a multiplicity of commercial units [Figure 5.46] and either run the businesses themselves or rented out their spaces to other Building's inhabitants, or to businessmen living elsewhere.¹¹¹ Most often, members of the household had to enter their residential units passing through the commercial spaces.

Evidence from the interviews¹¹² shows how expansions and modifications of the Building's units had happened after the payment of a bribe¹¹³ to local authorities, and how the same mechanism had applied to the opening of commercial activities and to informal transactions¹¹⁴ of flats and land on the ground floors. The Building was indeed divided in two *phums*,¹¹⁵ whose leaders were connected with authorities at the sub-district and district level, and in such a way were able to maintain a level of control over the inhabitants. One of the *phum* leaders told me that squatting on the rooftop [Figure 5.47] would not have been permitted, following my question on whether there had been any attempt to do so in the past.¹¹⁶ Modifications to the flats involved negotiations amongst neighbours too, often with more powerful groups of households being able to exercise control over a certain space – as for instance in the case of the privatisation of the fourth floor of block A, which is accessible only by the 5 households inhabiting there (de facto blocking one of the accesses to the rooftop terrace).

Another source of conflict was represented by the increasing rate of vandalism, robberies, drug trafficking and prostitution activities (Nag on the Lake, 2010; Wills, 2015): evidence from the interviews¹¹⁷ shows how the original assignees of the flats blamed such issues on newcomers. A specific area of the Building, on the two sides of the Northernmost open-air staircase, and right in front of a K-TV building, became known as the sex-workers' area: evidence from

¹¹¹ Interviews 39, 40, 42.

¹¹² Interviews 39, 40, 42.

¹¹³ See footnote 57, page 136.

¹¹⁴ See footnote 70, page 148.

¹¹⁵ See footnote 59.

¹¹⁶ Interview 12.

¹¹⁷ Interviews 12, 24, 30, 36.





5.46. Commercial activities on the White Building ground floor (Source: Author) 5.47. The White Building: the rooftop (Source: Author)

observation and interviews¹¹⁸ suggests the presence of at least two brothels in the upper floors. A 40 year old woman, living on the second floor of block B, told me that she would have never used the secondary staircases to go downstairs: "those are the places that criminals use to exchange drugs or to hide when the police is raiding the area. Sometimes they are there for many hours: that is why those spaces are so stinky, because they use them as toilets too, when they need".¹¹⁹

Although eventually spared from 7NG's development plan for Dey Krahorm [see again Figure 5.35], the Building remained under threat. With all the urban poor settlements around the White Building treated as disposable and eventually evicted and erased, the Building stood as the only remnant of an area that had originally become a prominent receptacle of urban poverty in central Phnom Penh. While its surroundings transformed, the Building looked like a locality under siege [see again Figure 5.24]. In its immediate proximities, soon appeared the new developments of Dey Krahorm (see previous sub-section). A little further, it is possible to find the AEON mall (the biggest one in Cambodia – Hor, 2014), the luxury hotel and Casino Complex Naga World (with NagaWorld II under construction just one block away), the new National Assembly, the Embassy of Australia. Beyond three bridges running over the Bassac river, rises the satellite development of Diamond Island, and its gated community branded as Elite Town (see above, page 164). In such a landscape, a structural study (Pho, 2010) was commissioned by the MPP in 2010, making the case for the White Building's demolition.

The Building, however, survived until 2017, and its somehow awkward presence in the area catalysed the attention of artists, architects and activists and civil society organisations – whose actions often met the opposition of local authorities. A survey by STT (Sok and STT, 2012) could not be officially published because of threats from the MPP.¹²⁰ In the same fashion, the outcomes of an architectural competition for the Building's upgrading, held by STT, were systematically ignored by the local authorities. STT organised also a saving group allowing to entirely re-paint (in green) three open-air staircases [Figure 5.48]. A local artist painted a mural on the Northern façade which was, however, immediately covered in white paint by the authorities [Figure 5.49] – with ironic comments by the press (Aun and Ford, 2015; Muong and Jackson, 2015), remarking how that was the first time in years in which authorities had taken care of the 'whiteness' of the White Building.

¹¹⁸ Interviews 15, 21, 24.

¹¹⁹ Interview 19.

¹²⁰ Interview 44.





5.48. One of the White Building's open-air staircases, repainted in green by the inhabitants (Source: Author) 5.49. The erasure of a mural on the Northern façade of the White Building (Source: Muong and Jackson, 2015)

A series of video-makers (Heng, 2017; KramaAcademy, 2018) and photographers (Zarattini, 2011; Hale, 2016) realised documentaries or short clips on the Building, contributing to expose its reality to a wider audience – such as for instance locals and tourists attending projections in local cultural centres such as Metahouse (literally one block away from the Building) and Bophana Centre. Evidence from the interviews shows how, in realising such videos, the engagement with the local community was extremely low – merely an interaction to gain permission to shoot in the Building's premises.¹²¹

The project Open Photography Cambodia (OPC) and the Sa-Sa Art practice have used a similar interest in visual arts production to play a catalytic role in the everyday life dynamics of the Building. OPC, funded by UNESCO and by the Bophana Centre in Phnom Penh, aimed to build critical discussion and engagement on urban planning and development in Cambodia (Stott, 2012). OPC attempted to do so through the use of different research methodologies: participatory photography processes; archival research to recover lost pictures of the Tonle Bassac Tribune; collection of everyday life stories of the Building's inhabitants; a workshop with children and a local artist (Neang and Studio CLA Film, 2011), resulting in painting the bottom of a few staircases with colourful drawings [Figure 5.50]. In so doing, OPC attempted to revitalise the image of the Building as both past and current living landmarks of the city, while at the same time exposing the everyday narratives of its inhabitants (Stott, 2012). Evidence from the interviews¹²² shows how OPC was never perceived as an exogenous and alien practice, and how inhabitants of the Building, especially youngsters, felt close to the researcher and engaged with the research process.

Sa-Sa Art is a well-known foundation in the landscape of Cambodian visual arts, and has contributed to give international visibility to many young Cambodian artists (see for instance: Barsch, Gleeson and Fischer, 2013). Sa-Sa art rented out a space within the Building's second floor (block D) to host exhibits of its artists in residence [Figure 5.51]: one artist every six months was awarded a research fund and given the possibility to live in the Building. The rooms serves also as archive and library, with an online version at www.whitebuilding.org (Sa Sa Art Projects and Big Stories Co., 2014), created as database for the living history of the White Building [see

¹²¹ Interviews 341 and 342.

¹²² Interviews 20, 26, 31.







5.50. The structure of the open-air staircases, painted during a workshop organised by OPC (Source: Author) 5.51. The Sa-Sa Art space on the second floor of the White Building, and the homepage of the website whitebuilding. org (Sources: Author; (Sa Sa Art Projects and Big Stories Co., 2014)

again Figure 5.51]: the website gathers visual and audio materials produced by art and media students and residents of the White Building, and selected materials from projects collaboratively created by Cambodian and visiting artists in the neighbourhood. While definitely opening up and exposing the reality of the Building to outer contexts, evidence from the interviews shows how the activity of Sa-Sa Art has created an internal threshold between the Building's inhabitants and visitors – with the former feeling unwelcomed in the Sa-Sa Art's space and the latter at risk of fostering a dynamic of slum tourism.¹²³

Similary to Sa-Sa Art, the NGO Empowering Youth Cambodia (EYC) had rented out two spaces on the ground floor of block C [Figure 5.52] to set up an educational structure (named Aziza School) for children and teenager of the White Building. The school was initially established in Dey Krahorm and then, after the eviction, rebuilt in the White Building. Not only did Aziza cater for the education of children and teenagers – through, amongst others, English language and IT classes – but it also helped teenagers in their professional development, putting them in relation with a wider network of businesses and opportunities. Professional development activities were also extended to adults, renting out a room on the second floor where techniques for productive activities are taught and carried on in groups, fostering in such a way also a sense of community. Evidence from the interviews shows how Aziza acted as landmark for many households and their youth. EYC representatives, in an interview, emphasised how their work revolve around the capitalisation of local skills and the reactivation of 'old' spaces.¹²⁴

The Building was eventually demolished in 2017 [Figure 5.53], after the Japanese company Arakawa, through the mediation of the Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction, agreed to compensate each household with 1400USD per square metre (Muong, 2017; Robertson, 2017). Arakawa Co. will supersede the Building with a 21-storey mixed use structure, with residential units geared toward Phnom Penh's upper-middle class. There had been reports of pressures over the dwellers (Muong, 2017) and evidence that the amount of money initially offered was much lower: it was however rounded up to 1400USD per square metre, after a 'recommendation' by the local authorities to vote for the ruling party CPP in the upcoming elections (June 2018), as this would have granted a speedier and better deal (Chea, 2017). I conducted my fieldwork prior to the demolition: at the time most households agreed that a similar amount of money would have meant a displacement toward a peripheral area of the city¹²⁵ – a compensation of roughly 50'000USD for, for instance, a 35sqm flat, de facto

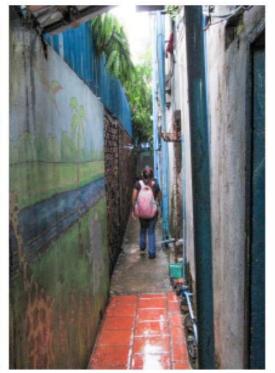
123 Interview 339.

¹²⁴ Interview 45.

¹²⁵ Interviews 22, 40.









5.52. Aziza School, run by EYC on the ground floor of the White Building (Source: Author) 5.53. Demolition of the White Building (Source, Muong 2017)

OBSERVED	SPATIAL DIMENSIONS						GOVERNMENTAL DIMENSIONS	SIONS			
PRACTICES	A. Spaces for cultures and economies	B. Infrastructures	C. Public and open spaces	D. Built fabric / Land- marks	E. Housing and dwell- ing	F. Leftovers and thresholds	G. Architectural Forms	H Discourses and sci- entific / philanthropic statements	i. Institutions and itsws."	J. Policy and regula- tory frameworks	K. Techniques of gov- emment / administra- tive measures
1. After the former Rouge fregime, Vast- mannes a utto-rities a soft control flest and control flest from the State of Cam- bodie, avisitally kept the building for their and their and their and their and their and their soft flest, their assignment the mints to artists; (as in the original plan from the original plan from the 1960s) and policiemen.	The Ministry of Cuffure assignment of assignment of assignment of assignment of assignment of a service and a service assignment of a service assignment of a service assignment of a service of a servi	The Vietnamese Army was using the ground floor as a car park.	While being used as a parked for the Burding was a permetable space. Contently crosed by wurd the Took Besaw's landscaped gardens.	The Building's built form is central in the mercur- is central in the mercur- ese, and the interview one, and and seemed to have acted seemed to for the settlers in Day Kethorm (see #5).	See #1A.	Several sources confirm how the original back- ground of tambes binds ground of tambes binds ground 1979 was tables a nough feeting a nough feeting had between part of the Building administrated by the Mantary of Cut- bure, and Southern part. Manistry of historic confirmation of the building administrated by the Manistry of Cut- bure, and Southern part.	in 1979, the building wase in part deceld buil and marked is original nal renoumental and modernal image.	1	After the departure of the Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Interdor were the institutions including power over the Building.	The Building has been divided in two plum in the first plum in the first plum in the first power over, respectively, Northern and Southern and Building.	Public authorities had indiable place in the Budding as part of an effort to keep control of the space.
2. A number of fami- lies have moved out and sold off or remed out their flat to new- cometrs.	The original subclivision between artists and policemen that subcliving the policemen that the become blurred. The Northermons part of the Building has become known for the presumos of serv-work-ers.	U)	See fizE.	The inner structure of the Bulling starts to change, with ritermal change, with ritermal subclikesing of the flats, or two flats joined by merconners in one single unit.	The everyday lile activities the Boulding asters to change, fedowing the neveronners back. ground Such activities and even the event and and material space of the unit and material lies in the distribution condon and in the mon-curred open-air stair-cates.	The mainstream name, then of the Building as a receptace of crimmas stars with the arrival of newcomes. A clear acceptace of crimmas and the A clear acceptace of crimmas and the contract of the arrival of between original serial preservant insurance and insurance era materialises too.	See FZE and FZF.	See #2F.	Newcomers bought or rout the units in an ap- parent institutions vice, uum Housever, eni- dience from the inter- dence from the inter- processes incoved trib- processes incoved trib- reites to the phram tead- rest case at Ju and other local authorities by the original assignees.	t.	See #21.
3. Most households have transformed their fill, through erebeting the baltcoles' volumes cettons,	Modifications are often a head of the Moses- head of the Moses- ten in a strot to ac- commodate these within the units.	Most households have modified the bise. Inches come of these now as widthe on the figuration.	i .	The landmark character of the building character of the building charaged, anough in a country of the building character of the public at the urban level.	gles aveninglish aventum gles aveninglish aveninglish belloonies protruding vol. emas, Stabonies vould cormally boat an open spaces deding to a small skellon and a small by. Bit, but households have thranged such tay out. somethres carving out the space for one more room.	See #3D.	See #3A, #38, #50 and #3E.	ī	Phum leaders and other public authori- dute public authori- dus germa son for such modifications, some- times in sochange of bribaties.	ı	See #31. Expansions and modifi- cations and hopen also responsions to a proper a pro- mean neighbouring households.
4. A number of house house have served on the ground frost, missing thought as an open space.	Such households have expossible to nur an expossible to nur and you exposs to nur and you exposs to nur and you house to nur and you house to nur and out a house sent to nurse househouse the tructure to the househouse the nurse as a nurse as a able only presenting the bus reses spano.	The road naming along the Western Regards of the Building systement are man connection are man connection and the set of the old with the set of the old brought mandators pool to the processment of people and goods.	The public space on the group of the public space on the work for the public space of	The built fabric of the accordance as a costang gain on the accordance as the costang gain on the accordance as the entering of the accordance as the entering the accordance as the accordance accor	The housing typology is a great of ones, who has of different days. Since households have our neeted.	PSw 4D.	See #40, #40, #4E	1	See #51.	ā	See 55K
S. The Mayor and YMC And	Families originably the in the bolding in the bolding in the bolding person of the bolding person of the bolding person of the bolding that the bolding state or bolding state o	J.	Son MSE.	The fire under gelin of The fire under see bear considerable to be bear principal of the ever profit divinor developments. We therefore see seen of the Building pet- sent signer of rapport (see effo.) as the white paint has biaccamed	In moving tran Day Kan- than the University Bellet- Page from a Chine Stoney of the Stoney Chine Stoney Chine Stoney Chine Stoney Chine Stoney Chine On the ground to that the On the ground to that the Ones grower chine Those who were fruming the Chine Stoney Chine Mere commercial radially. Mere General stones of the Building.	The Meep List is well with the bound of the meeting	See #50, #5E, #6F.	After the failure of a control	The and All Posed the existence with the existence for the service services and services and arrough Present Pents in models class.	The existion and reloca- integrated before the permyglation of the Circular 70.	LCADNO representa- tion of the control of the contr

Table 5.5a. Synthesis of the White Buildings' design practices, deconstructed in their spatial and governmental dimensions (elaboration by Author)

OBSERVED	SPATIAL DIMENSIONS						GOVERNMENTAL DIMENSIONS	ISIONS			
PRACTICES	A. Spaces for cultures and economies	B. Infrastructures	C. Public and open spaces	D. Built fabric / Land- marks	E. Housing and dwell- ing	F. Leftovers and thresholds	G. Architectural Forms	H. Discourses and sci- entific / philanthropic statements	I. institutions and "taws"	J. Policy and regula- tory frameworks	K. Techniques of government / administra- tive messures
6. EVC establishes Az- za School in the White Building after the evto- for and demolition of Dey Krahorm.	Azka School provides education and provides education and professional training to chill dron and reenagers of the Building.	Aziza School repre- sents he miratructure for many children and representation to be an possed to wider educa- possed to wider educa- torial and business me works.	Aziza Sehool is made our of a series of public space within the Build-ling's ground floor, plus a small or como on the second floor. The School is accessible to every:	Aziza School repna- aeans a fandramik for many households, ego- clahy mosa with children and liking in the proxim- ity of the school.	Axiza School for many children and teenagers represente a natural ever represente a natural ever lension of their locuser-hold environment.	i es	The School's activities the place in two rectantive place frome. One is a fleuche room for itse, the other is a multimedia lab.	EYC stables have its community centrels and some murity centrels and number bease bless, enrophasie-ing how the schools are her or of housed in the heart of poor communities, and in old housest that have been converted into learning centrels.	EVC is activowedged as important reference in the Be of many youngstees of the White Building.	ı	j. 4 00
7. Open Photography Cambodia statis a pro- set in the Whie Buich ing	Meny inhabitents stated forthes above the reversely lie in the Building and box part in Building and box part in Explicit party probaby raphy sprovess, confin- traphy provess, confin- traphy provess, confin- by lendings of the ority.	Ŷ	The project entibled part file automose in the Sta Art spaces (see FB).	OPC uncovered archival magicalists controlleding to the past since mark characters of the mark archive to the core (see #77).	See 67A.	OPC's project contrib- und to excee the intent- or between extens and antiberations and classifications are a busing a intellums (see to restance #8F).	See 870.	The CPC project aimed for other and a some sequential by a con- containing the con- con- con- con- con- con- con- con-	The project was hin ded by Bohana Centre in Princent Penin and by INEGO, and got the aspect of the Varia Mohyama (Buryama (Buryam	,	3
8. Sa-Sa-Art establishes a residence in the White Building's second floor.	The Buiking was em- phaseed as site for ar- listic experimentation. It such a way, Sa-Sa Art put the Buiking in a re- istrocistly with many lo- cal and foreign artists. and their followers.	See #8A.	Se-Se Art's spanos within the Building es- tables a public gesse on the second floor. The public spanos is howers reflect gessed toward visitors (see 88F).	U	The residence, per defi- nition, as last a pless where artists could stay overnight – all of them did.	The presence of visitors have been a functional and the presence of the functional and a fu	See #8C and #8E.	ī	Se-Se Art (along with its twin project Ba-Se Bases sax) is an acknowled and artists famous internations.	. i	T.
9. STT atlentots a sur- vey of the White Build- ing and participale to upgrading activities with its inhabitants.	The survey listed roughly 50 different forms of employment.	The survey listed the coast of water and elec- tricity for each house- hold.	Inhabitants of the Building and STT repre- sertatives repeinted (in green) two of the open- al staticases, and cleaned two of the sec- ondary starcases.	One (unnamed) artist invited by STT painted the beat of the open-air stationage inspired by diskings made by the White Bulkdings chill-dren.	The survey counled 292 households	12	i.	STT wanted to chal- lenge the official vision of the Building as a dis- posable piece of urban fabric.	The survey could not be officially published be-cause of lensions with the RGC.	ř.	The survey was conducted by STT representatives in a door-to-door modality.
10. Japanese company Arakawa buys out the Building and decide its demolifion.	The company will build a new build a new building to a part-ments geared sweed the upper-midle class.	i i	.a	A monumental landmark will be replaced by an conte building, who will roughly have the same thoughly have the the formation of Dey Kra- formation of Dey Kra- formation.	There is not yet any in- lormation on the hous- ing typology.	The Building is demoi- ished to make room for an apartment building.	See #100.	A Japanese team (not connected in the com- peny) conducted in state assessment years be- fror the obmollion, add- ing up to the obsolete image of the Building. The project to fows the MPPs vision for the MPPs vision for the	See #10H.	1	[#]

Table 5.5b. Synthesis of the White Buildings' design practices, deconstructed in their spatial and governmental dimensions (elaboration by Author)

forces households to consider a faraway relocation, given the current market prices in the Tonle Bassac area.¹²⁶ Some households did even consider to go back to their hometowns in the provinces.¹²⁷

Table 5.5 synthesises the above information, acknowledging the complexity of spatial and governmental practices in the White Building. I will analyse such synthesised information in section 5.5 below.

5.4.4. Reconquering interstices: the case of the Railway Settlements

The Railway Settlements [Figures 5.54] are a complex system of squatter settlements, built since the early 1980s in the immediate proximities of quasi-abandoned railway tracks, on land that was sold for very cheap, through informal transactions.¹²⁸

The first line of the national railways, from Phnom Penh to Poipet, on the border with Thailand, was built by the French colonial government between 1930 and 1940, with Phnom Penh's Railway station inaugurated in 1932 (L'eveil de L'Indochine, 1932). The second line, from Phnom Penh to Sihanoukville was built between 1960 and 1969 with support from France, West Germany and the People's Republic of China, in order to cut down the maritime dependence from Vietnam and Thailand, building a harbour in Sihanoukville (ARHS, 1960). Within Phnom Penh, both such lines run on what below I refer to as Western branch of the railway. In the same period a short Northern branch was added, connecting the central station to a harbour on the Sap river, to facilitate exchange of goods. 129

With the advent of the Khmer Rouge in 1975, the railway services ceased their activities. Activities partially resumed in the early 1980s, although often disrupted by guerrilla attacks. This is the period during which most informal settlements along the railway were built, with people flowing back into Phnom Penh: out of 95 interviewees in the railway settlements, 66 stated to have settled between 1980 and the early 1990s. Significantly, 10 interviewees stated to have settled along the railway in the years between 2001 (year of the promulgation of the

¹²⁸ Interviews 46, 70, 84, 101, 117. See also footnote 70, page 148.

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¹²⁶ Housing units in the Tonle Bassac currently sells for about 4000USD per sqm.

¹²⁷ Interviews 15, 36.

¹²⁹ Interviews 129 and 333.



5.54. Photographic notes on spatial dimensions of the Railway settlements after first reconnaissances (elaboration by Author; source of photographs: Author)

Land Law) and 2013 (year when the interviews took place), after having moved several times within the city, in search for a cheaper housing market and easier access to livelihoods:

"I have settled here in 2011, after having been displaced from Boeung Kak lake to Borei Santepheap II. I could not live there; I had no way to get a job. I decided to move back to the centre, not far from where I was living before the eviction: I know some people around here and I could easily find a job as a construction worker, it's full of construction sites around here!" 130

The groups of households have settled along the railway tracks in multifarious ways. The housing typology is remarkably diverse, and comprises housing built directly on the ground, with shallow foundations, and housing built on stilts, in the areas more affected by flooding. The units were mostly built for one family, although I documented the widespread presence of housing for rent built by slumlords. In this case, a common open-air corridor distributes to the several units, which include one single room and do not have en-suite services (collective toilets are usually in another part of the same lot).

The railway service was suspended entirely in early 2009. In 2010, a rehabilitation project was launched, emphasising the obsolete status of the tracks. The so-called Railway Rehabilitation Project (RRP) was sponsored by the Asian Development Bank and Australian Aid and aimed to rehabilitate a total of 612 kilometres of dilapidated railway tracks, within the wider framework of the construction of the Mekong Sub-Regional Corridor. Once completed, the RRP will connect again the capital Phnom Penh to Sihanoukville in the South, where a new harbour has been planned, to achieve competitiveness against the neighbouring Ho Chi Minh City; and to the border-city of Poipet, toward North-West, in order to intensify economic exchanges with Thailand. The total investment amounts to 125 million USD, of which 84 provided by ADB, 21 by AustralianAid, and 20 by the RGC. In the same year, the Australian company Toll Holdings was awarded the contract to begin reconstruction of Cambodia's rail network, and to run it once completed.

The RRP has been object of contestation through the action of many local and international NGOs, as its implementation entails the displacement of a high number of families. Besides undermining the evictees' livelihoods and social networks, the displacement process contravenes ADB's policy itself, that condemns displacement. The project, in fact, would have initially displaced the households living within the so-called Corridor of Impact (CoI), 17.5 meters on each side of the railway axis. This number was then greatly reduced, and the parameter of reference became the so-called Right of Way (RoW), 3.5 metres on each side of

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¹³⁰ Interview 110.

the Railway axis. Accordingly, the number of families under threat of eviction decreased. Nationwide, a the project has affected total of 1400 households: 1050 of those had to relocate. In a document published by ADB (2007), the rationale for not providing possibilities of on-site upgrading or, at least, nearby relocation lies apparently in the poor construction of the overall built fabric lying in the proximity of the railway tracks, and of the rather irregular shape and small size of the plots available in the immediate surroundings. However, STT and Equitable Cambodia (EC) accuse ADB's surveys to be inaccurate, resulting in increased evictions and cost overruns.

Although only the households within the RoW should have been directly affected by the RRP, the households within the CoI worry about their future, too, feeling under threat because of both the RRP and the regeneration of many adjacent areas. Walking through the 15km of railway extending within the municipal boundaries, it is easy to realise the complexity of such situation. In the next paragraphs, I outline a series of exemplary conditions.

The Westernmost settlement counts about thirty households living next to an industrial area [Figure 5.55]. Evidence from the interviews shows that the totality of these units was built by the factory owners:¹³¹

"We arrived here in 2001 from the province of Kandal and found this place by ourselves. When we arrived, there were only two factories and about ten houses, all the rest was built about two years later. Our landlord is the factory owner, everybody around here pays a rent to him. We do not work in the factory but most people living on the other side of the railway track do. I am happy here because we are all sellers and it is very easy to sell food products to factory workers at lunchtime. Now it is much better than in the past... It was full of criminals and I was assaulted once. It was mostly smugglers, but they often got violent, one guy got hit in the head when they tried to steal his phone. I don't know much about the RRP, we're worried even we are simply renters, as we wouldn't know where to move... The prices in the close surroundings have strongly increased in the last few years". 132

Getting closer to the centre, a few sparse houses are built on both sides of the railway, on stilts, connected to the road along the tracks by short bridges [Figure 5.56]:

"we settled in 1986, it was all wetlands around here. We purchased the land by a neighbour for very cheap, and were able to build a pretty big house [roughly 60 sqm with a veranda]. We like to live here, it is very close to the centre, but in the rainy season it gets quite difficult, as the road gets

¹³¹ Interviews 79 and 81.

¹³² Interview 79.





5.55. Railway settlements: housing on the Western end of the railway settlements system, Northern side (Source: Author)
5.56. Railway settlements: housing on stilts, East-West branch, Southern side (Source: Author)

often flooded. Nobody has come to inform us about possible risks coming from the RRP, as far as we know our house should be fine". 133

A much denser settlement develops beyond the fencing wall of the Royal University of Phnom Penh, with quite different housing conditions on the two sides of the track. The Southern side [Figures 5.57] reports massive problems of drainage and flooding, 134 while the Northern side was able to mobilise funds with the support of the *phum* and sub-district leaders in order to upgrade the main road, parallel to the railway tracks, now built in concrete. Housing on the Northern side looks richer and is often fenced off: these dwellers say not to be worried about the RRP – "we have recently upgraded the road, the phum leader would have told us if there was any risk." A sixty year old woman, living in a guesthouse, complains about the increase of rental prices: "after the upgrading of the road our landlord is asking us for more, and I'm worried the situation will get even worse with the RRP". On the Southern side, the dwellers are organised in two community groups. One of the community leaders tells me:

"You've arrived late, as many houses here have been demolished already. There was no way to negotiate, as they were too close to the tracks. Most families have got a monetary compensation and moved away. We still feel under threat here, as we are very close and once the train service will be restored they will want to expand more. We are in touch with CMDP's representatives [see below], that keeps us informed and helps us to communicate with other groups along the railway, but otherwise it's very hard to speak with the authorities. We are lobbying the *phum* leader to sort out the drainage issue, which is our the most urgent need. Now it's better rubbish-wise, but during the elections period rubbish was never collected – they punished the settlement because they know I am close to the opposition party." 137

Getting closer to the central station, settlements become very dense and their urban fabric resembles an intricate maze [Figure 5.58]. A fencing wall runs parallel to the railway tracks, on the Southern side, only 1 metre away. The housing units are often built with lightweight and poorer materials. Two groups of households (known as *phum 104* and *phum 105*) have recently suffered great physical damage due to a fire. In collaboration with STT, ¹³⁸

134 Interview100.

135 Interview 113.

136 Interview 90.

137 Interview 60.

138 Interview 128.

¹³³ Interview 85.





5.57. Railway settlements: housing units on the East-West branch, Southern side (Source: Author) 5.58. Railway settlements: housing in 105 community, East-West branch, Northern side (Source: Author)

these dwellers are trying to rebuild a wooden bridge that would serve as important pedestrian connection within the local fabric.

Moving further toward the station, the two landmark towers of the Vattanak Bank and Canadia Bank shines brightly in the background, while in the foreground some abandoned carriages have been turned into a playground by children and are used as public space by a few dwellers [Figure 5.59]. The housing units in some cases are right next to the tracks. In one instance, during my fieldwork, I ran into an officer from Toll Holdings. talking to a few dwellers with the help of an interpreter: as soon as he noticed me, he did invite me to go away, claiming that I had trespassed private property and could be legally prosecuted.

Further on, a dense settlement develop on the southern side of the tracks, though half of it has been demolished [Figure 5.60] to make room for a new road that will connect the Russian Boulevard to the new road surrounding the development of Boeung Kak lake (see chapter 1, page 19). The space of the station itself is not accessible to the public.

Leaving the station behind and walking North, one runs into a linear settlement of housing whose dwellers have settled in the 1980s or early 1990s, as evidence from interviews suggests [Figure 5.61].¹³⁹ A few interviewees mention how they lived in symbiosis with the settlements rising around Boeung Kak lake, that now has been filled up and fenced off: ¹⁴⁰

"They started building that wall in front of us one year ago. It seems they are hiding us. It is very frustrating. When we settled, we used to live along with the communities of Boeung Kak lake. Then they filled up Boeung Kak with sand, evicted everybody and built a wall to impede us access. Now they're building one more wall parallel to the first one, to keep us out of the new main road surrounding the former lake, too. They are putting us away; they don't even want to see us".

Walking further, fifteen households still resists [Figure 5.62; see also Figure 1.5] to the Boeung Kak redevelopment and, in the interviews, seems more worried about such redevelopment than about the RRP. One interviewee¹⁴¹ mentions he works part-time for Equitable Cambodia (EC), and that thanks to the support of EC and other organisations this group of households is hoping to reach an advantageous deal with Shukaku Inc. However, he does realise how this will entail simply, at best, a fair monetary compensation – all households will certainly have to move away.

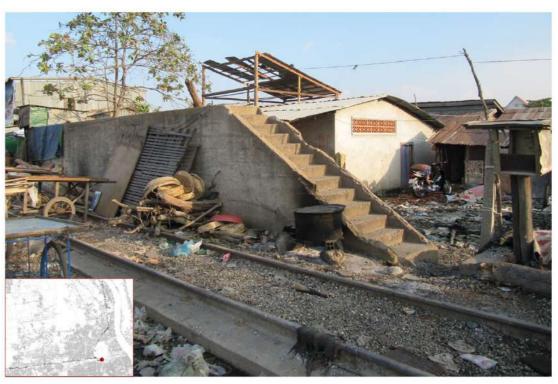
214

¹³⁹ Interviews 81, 83.

¹⁴⁰ I hereby deliberately repeat the quote with which I opened this thesis – interview 73.

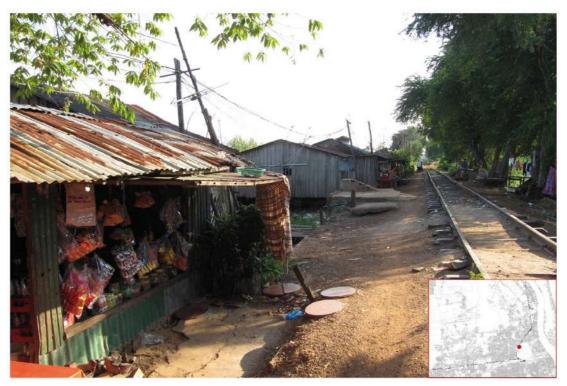
¹⁴¹ Interview 69.





5.59. Railway settlements: housing units on the East-West branch, Northern side (Source: Author)
5.60. Railway settlements: demolitions and housing in the proximities of the Railway station, East-West branch, Southern side (Source: Author)





5.61. Railway settlements: housing units on the South-Western side of Boeung Kak lake, North-South branch, Western side (Source: Author)
5.62. Railway settlements: fifteen housing units resisting evictions on the Western side of Boeung Kak lake, North-South branch, Eastern side (Source: Author)

Further North, it is possible to find a venue of Empowering Youth Cambodia [Figure 5.63], following precisely the same programme implemented in Aziza School at the White Building. The urban fabric seems under siege between new developments on both sides. Activities are frenetic: dwellers playing cards in the units' open spaces, repair shops are always open, construction sites mushroom everywhere, sellers' carts and motorbikes come and go. The situation is grimmer once reached the area of Tuol Songkae [5.64], which has suffered many demolitions and evictions:

"many of our neighbours had to leave, we had to reduce the layout of our unit but it costed us a lot and what ADB gave us as compensation was not enough at all. The units on the other side [the Eastern one] are in an even worse condition, as they should move backwards but they cannot because there is a public road open to cars... the units cannot really get any smaller than that!". 142

All along the railway, inhabitants falling within the RoW area have engaged in land disputes with ADB. As seen, some of them say they will not move until a fair compensation will be granted. Others – when having space – have reduced or moved backward their houses to fall beyond the RoW zone.

Despite the presence of fifteen community organisations, the RGC and ADB have deliberately decided to negotiate with the affected households on an individual basis. The RGC has set up an Inter-ministerial Resettlement Committee, to which claims must be submitted. Households do complain about the legal procedure being convoluted and the paperworks using a legal terminology that they do not understand.

Within this picture, several organisations have been supporting the struggle of the affected households. EC (2012) has issued a handbook which translates the main legal documents in easier language and through the use of illustrations. Most affected households have been supported by EC, though the claim process is often lengthy and leave the households in a suspended condition for a long time. STT has collaborated with EC in such a process, producing data on a few affected settlements, which have been mapped out through a detailed survey [Figure 5.65]. Community Management Development Partnership (CMDP) has organised regular meetings with all community leaders and with representatives of the non-organised groups, in so doing creating a network across the several railway settlements and fostering a sense of community across them, at scale. Meetings are held in CMDP's office

¹⁴² Interview 63.

¹⁴³ Interview 126, 127, 333.

¹⁴⁴ Interviews 59, 90, 101.





5.63. Venue of EYC along the railway tracks, North-South branch, Western side (Source: Author) 5.64. Railway settlements: locality of Tuol SongKae, North-South branch, both sides (Source: Author)



5.65. Railway settlements: surveys by STT (Source: STT 2013) 5.66. CMDP's meetings (Source: Author)



5.67. MIddle-class housing close to the railway tracks (several localities; source: Author)

OBSERVED	SPATIAL DIMENSIONS						GOVERNMENTAL DIMENSIONS	ISIONS			
PRACTICES	A. Spaces for cultures and oconomies	B. Infrastructures	C. Public and open spaces	D, Bull fabric / Land- marks	E. Housing and dwell- ing	F. Leftovers and thresholds	G. Architectural Forms	H. Discourses and sci- entific / philan thropic statements	I. Institutions and 'laws'	J. Policy and regula- tory frameworks	K. Techniques of gov- emment / administra- tive measures
1. Nouseholds have eached in the immedias proximities of the rat- way line, since the early 1980s.	the thinky askind to the thinky askind to the become a complete and community pace. The community pace is the property of the	restance a some electroned from a fine control from a fine described from a fine when the fine a fine electrone a fine a fine fine a fine a fine a fine main distribution as the prodestia in movement for the informal seldens.	remains in each as open place as to the remains a second place as to the rought as to the remains to the rought as to the remains of the rought as to the remains a second place and to the remains a second place and to the remains a second place and the	activities of the service of the ser	Housing meniters in the property of the proper	execution to the control of the cont	liketing menty artico- liketing menty artico- lines in horizon articologia articologia apresal presence of remisi biodas built by furnitoria. See	the second secon	Life brain Hite and	eede ban van consiste eede be Voy Suma's her keep van de Voy Suma's sokieting, her keep van de Voy sokieting, her keep van de Voy De sette mee rincomaly.	Adequate presence of elumeration of the contract of the attacks of the contract.
2. Fifteen groups of households are organised in community groups.	Communities are either communities of place, or are born out of the ever- to threat and threatone configures as communities of resistance.	Communities are often the intraductive to get in board with external actors such as NGOs (one above all CMDP)	See #2G.	1	See #20.	See #2G.	There are no orticial community spaces: community spaces: communities meet in-formally in open spaces: (frontysets or temporarily open symmy public roads) and in the leader's housing units.	Community groups purious their own social and spatial upgrading.	Community groups are acknowledged by the households in the save real softenments and by public authorities and other actors.	1	There is a community leader per group and assertal people close to himfler who hold a certain power.
3. In the last 15 years, a number of middle class and upper-middle class families have built a house along the rail-way.	See #3F.	The road along the rail- way is often in a better state (with concrete) when passing in proxim- ity of such houses.	Houses usually have private gardens.	Houses stands out of the railway settlements landscape.	Houses take the shape of detached and wealthy villas.	Houses usually lie be- hind a ferced permeter. There is no interaction between such house- hoids and the urban poor groups.	See #3C, #3D, #3E, #3F.	@	a)1	Wealthy households share connectors with the local authorities at the district and sub-district level.
4, ADB and AUS-AID designed the Flaimary Penabilitation Project, and established the Right of Way and Corridor of Impact otheries dor of Impact otheries	988 85 A	The Railway has re- stand the pooks ser- vice, and have ser- vice. The service will be turn by Tolls Lid., sn Australan company.	1	The RRP is supposed to who and in the bull state when the bull state way tracks. Sinches per side with the RDP is a side with the Col. The Col.	9	in .	Sec #4D.	ADB seas the RIPP as necessary to the infra- structural development of the whole country.	ADB has worked in close collaboration with the RGC, Aus-ADD the provided funding but the project.	ADB has set up several occuments outlining procuments outlining procuments may be declinated by the declinated several	The RGC has sot up the interminisherial Resettlemental Resettlement CHC, seer Committee (IHC, seer E) to facilitate the implementation of the project.

Table 5.6a. Synthesis of the Railway settlements' design practices, deconstructed in their spatial and governmental dimensions (elaboration by Author)

OBSERVED	OBSERVED SPATIAL DIMENSIONS						GOVERNMENTAL DIMENSIONS	SIONS			
PRACTICES	A. Spaces for cultures and economies	B. Infrastructures	C. Public and open spaces	D. Built fabric / Land- marks	E. Housing and dwell- ing	F. Leftovers and thresholds	G. Architectural Forms	H. Discourses and scientific / philanthropic statements	I. Institutions and 'taws'	J. Policy and regula- lory frameworks	K. Techniques of gov- ernment/administra- tive measures
S.The RGC established the heart included in the heart metaborate if the action to expect the properties of the propertie	Households have according to a compensation in money pick to moving anony who applicantly the redecision else. The established compensation not also anony and a popular to the present of the protection of the protection of the protection and taken way this into account activities with a protection of the protection.	(F)	No material or immate- rate captable beyond the housing untel show been taken into account.	· C	See #5A.	A big amount of units have been dishordened and demolished.	See #SF.	Ta.	τε	Most of the obcursers are inserceable to the malway getilements programment or programment of the malway settlement or and the manufacture and terminated by BABCEC (see 46).	The IRC does not want to football and to the boundaries with gough. But only with singular houseworker, in such a way, uten poor groups are divided and their letters.
6. Some of the house- holds agreed to move back their units or re- duce their footprints in exchange of a compen- sation in motroy	Households who were numby commercial or productive activities have been affected by such changes.	(1 0)	The intraction of the but litter in the litter in the best factor of the control of the control of the public spaces exist to the Railway track.	See 64D.	Some of the units un- derwert mitor modifica- tions, while others but considerable internal noom.	oae	See #9E.	347	003		Households are in charge of the works, and are proidcately our holed by members of the subolds that arthroit elies. They do not know for how tong they will be able to clay, it, a whichter the Cot will ever be applied.
7. CMDP organised meetings together with all the community lead-	Through such meetings, CMD has festered a sense of community scross the several rail- way settlements.	CMDP acted as infra- structure for community empowerment.	The public space used for the meetings was the CADP's office, at few kill cometines assay from the rathery segberners. In the meetings, community represents there shared also issues a treated to their common space.	r.	Community represent- affives thered issues to- land to speal to house- holds, too.	e	T)	CMDP pursues the em- powerment of communi- less kopeling mochan- riems of organisation and mobilisation.	CMDP has invited Habi- tel for humanity to several medicals to let them explain their pro- posals in ferms of hous- ing upgrading.	c	Meetings are held leiting after brownshifty representatives talk and exprisin their alturations, with memores of CALID Frame makes a comment/loop potent and fet the representation of talks.
8. STT and BA BC/BC issued several reports on the status of the Pai-way Retablishation Property. The latter offered harter offered household by a page 15 to be thermhelsterial forest the entermhelsterial feestlement Committee (see 55).	Reports feature the housing stories of many houselvoids and portray houselvoids and portray leff sites \$5; If C (see \$5).	STT and BA BC/EC were the first ones ac- points in obtails what if the FRIP entailed, along with its arrs. See also #8.J.	(i	10	See #8A.	Si .	14	STT and BABC/EC pur- sues the encoverment of communities through organisation, production of data and legal assis- tance.	The two MGCs have had repealedly issues with the MGC, without the MGC, with a fail and suspended the forms and imprisoned mambers of the latter.	BABC/EC issued a booklet and held many sessions to translate in everyday larguage and through examples what the policies by ADB and IRC entailed.	BABC/EC instructs the households prict to par- facilitation to the modified with the MC, but are not allowed to attend.

Table 5.6b. Synthesis of the Railway settlements' design practices, deconstructed in their spatial and governmental dimensions (elaboration by Author)

letting all the community representatives talk and explain their situations, with members of CMDP facilitating [Figure 5.66], and often visiting the communities on site to document their conditions.

The reality of the railway settlements is therefore under threat because of the Railway Rehabilitation Project. Through claims of infrastructural modernisation, ADB is de facto contributing to polish an interstitial space that, for about thirty years, had been left unplanned and open to squatting populations. While such populations are gradually evicted, a series of middle-class residential units are being built, with richer materials and often fenced away from the poorer urban fabric of the surroundings [Figure 5.67]. Evidence from the interviews show that such households were able to settle buying the land for very cheap through informal transactions, bribing¹⁴⁵ local authorities in order to be issued land titles: they do not seem to be worried about the RRP, though there are chances that a future improvement of the railway network might affect them too.

Table 5.5 synthesises the above information, acknowledging the complexity of spatial and governmental practices in the Railway settlements. I will analyse such synthesised information in the following section.

5.5. THE AMBIVALENCE OF URBAN OBSOLESCENCE IN DEY KRAHORM, THE WHITE BUILDING, THE RAILWAY SETTLEMENTS: ANSWERING THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following two sub-sections answer respectively research questions no. 1 and no. 2, connecting the empirical data presented in this chapter to relevant aspects of the thesis' literature review, and analysing it through the research methodological framework. The text builds upon the analysis in Figures 5.68, 5.69 and 5.70.

5.5.1. Answering RQ1: Dey Krahorm, the White Building and the Railway settlements as partaking into the production of the fenced city

In chapter 2 (page 2.4.1. The camp archetype, and camp-like spatialities57), I defined camp-like spatialities as marked by dynamics of control, exclusion – or, better, *inclusive* exclusion (Agamben, 1998) – and depoliticization. Camp-like dynamics were apparent during and after the eviction of Dey Krahorm [Figure 5.68, colour purple], in January 2009, with the forced

¹⁴⁵ See footnote 57, page 136, and footnote 70, page 148.

CULTURE-RELATED ACTIVITIES IN TEMPORARY BUILDINGS TEMPORARY USES TO KEEP THE LAND PROFITABLE THIRD PARTY
DEVELOPERS FRAGMENTING AND DENSIFYING THE PLOT A PUBLIC SPACE WHERE SPONTANEOUS GATHERINGS OCCUR ANOTHER DERELICT BUILDING AND ANOTHER DERELICT BUILDING HAVE THREATENED WITH EVICTION SINCE 2003 AND EVENTUALLY DEMOLISHED gated-community-like dynamics decommodifying dynamics repoliticisation dynamics opening-up dynamics camp-like dynamics

5.68. The ambivalence of urban obsolescence in Dey Krahorm's redevelopment (elaboration by Author; source of photographs: Author)

EXCLUSIVE CLUBS FOR THE UPPER CLASS THE AREA HAS BECOME A POLE FOR PHNOM PENH'S NIGHT LIFE

	of gov- inistra-	have ity lead- poresent- o dis- sts by archi-	tave ity lead- pypresent- pypresent- pypresent- pypresent- pypresent- pypresent- ivalian- iva		n sites private res smen cers are nare in-	ots are d off and rded.
	K. Techniques of government/administrative measures	7NG is said to have bribed community lead-ers and NGO represent alives in order to dismantle all projects by the community architects (see #TG).	TMG is said to have been been been been been been been be		The construction sites are guarded by private security. Businessmen and other workers are no entitled to share information.	Undeveloped plots are generally fenced off and sometimes guarded.
	J. Policy and regula- tory frameworks	The land-sharing pro- gramme was part of the so-called One-Hundred Slums Policy launched by PM Hun Sen in 2002.	The eviction and reloca- tion happened before the promulgation of the Ofcular 03.	The project builds upon the possibilities granted to private developers by the 2001 Land Law.	See #37	The informal trespass- ing of plots can be pros- ecuted following the Land Law (RGC 2001).
	I. Institutions and 'laws'	Following the 2001 Land Law, Dey Krahorm was turned into State Private Land, and divided be- tween a Social Land Concession and an Eco- nomic Land Conces- sion.	7NG and MPP used the eveton and release to the tobost their consensus amongst Phrom Penh's middle class.	7NG wants to use the project to present itself as powerful developer.	The POOT Land Law (22001) allowed to transform Dey Krahorm's State Public Land into State Public Land into Hence to lease it to private land.	
SIONS	H. Discourses and scientific/philanthropic statements	7NG from the initial stages claimed the land-sharing project would have been economically unviable.	After the failure of the land-staring proposal, 7MG described Cloy Korn horns as antarchic, unheating, violent, potess. The MPP pushed the residents to move out of the site.	7NG presents the Building as the most modern and as the tallest one in Cambodia.	7NG boasts the redevelopment of a dangerous and dereits slum into a modern neighbourhood of central Prinorn Penn.	
GOVERNMENTAL DIMENSIONS	G. Architectural Forms	Community architects came up with several proposals, all deemed unfit by 7NG.	See #2F.	See #3A to 3#E.	No information available on future scenarios.	See#5C.
	F. Leftovers and thresholds		Dey Kahorm is fenced of and initially left as a gatal feltover, waiting for redevelopment.		See #5.	Empty plots (and slowly proceeding construction site) configure at efficiency or spaces. Sometimes they acquire a temporary use, see #5C. See also #5F.
	E. Housing and dwell- ing	Housing for 1465 poor households should have been provided through the Use of cross-subsides from the commercial development of the site.	All housing on site is buildozed by 7NG.	Two towers are entirely occupied by luxury apartments.	No information available on future scenarios.	A ruined building, originally many part of the Tone Bassac tribune, had been informatly occur been informatly occur pied by a few households, until its demoirtion.
	D. Built fabric / Land- marks	3.7 hectares out of 4.7 should have been dedicated to re-housing the poor, while 7MG would have strongly densified the remaining hectare.	No trace of the original site sarvives the eviction, the urban fabric is completely demolished by 7NG.	The building articulates in three 45-storey towers that at the time were said to be the tallest in Cambodia.	The fine grain of the original seattlement is be- ing transformed finto a very coarse one, made of huge sub-plots.	See #5C.
	C. Public and open spaces			A small open public space is present at the ground level, facing the main road, opposite to the National Assembly.	See #5C. No information is available on future scenarios, public-space-wise.	Plots are sometimes transformed into formal tempor any bubic spaces, implementing activities that generate an income (e.g. football, pitches, bars, a circus) for the sub-lease hold-ers.
	B. Infrastructures	The land-sharing programme across Phrom gramme across Phrom Penh acted as infrastructural platform for multiple actors at the local, national and international level.		The new project does not take into account any of the transportation axes present in Dey Krahorm.	The infrastructural network follows the sub-division of the plots and do not take into account any of the original transportation axes.	
SPATIAL DIMENSIONS	A. Spaces for cultures and economies	The community groups were initially put at the centre of the process and should have had prominence in the future settings of Dey Krahorm.	All business and social networks are disrupted by the flored eviction and reflocation.	The building is said to include apartments, offices, a five-star hotel, a business centre, a fitness centre and a superstore.	A multitude of construc- tion sites populate the area. Apart from a res- taurant and a nearby ca- sino (Naga World 2), it formation on the pro- jects currently being built.	See #5.C.
OBSERVED	PRACTICES	1. 7NG and the MPP, in collaboration with ACHP, 2DI and UN-Habitat, sign the land-sharing agreement for Dey Krahorm	2. After the land-sharing process fails, N/G and the MPP evict all house. India? These are relocated either to Borei Santehapp II or to Trang Krilev (see tables 7.2 and 7.3).	3. 7NG plans to develop on site "the most modern building in Cambodia".	4. After the project for the "most modern build- ing in Cambodia' gets stuck, 7 NG sub-leases the land to several third party-investors.	5. Several plots are left undeveloped and become the locus of temporary uses.







5.69. The ambivalence of urban obsolescence in the White Building (elaboration by Author; source of photographs: Author, source of base-drawing: Pho, 2010)

PRIVATISATION OF OTHERWISE COMMON SPACES, HIGH LEVEL OF CONTROL EXERCISED BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND GROUPS OF POWER OPENNESS TO NEWCOMERS (GUESTHOUSES, MODIFICATION OF FLATS, INFORMAL TRANSACTION OF FLATS)

EXPOSURE TO A WIDER CONTEXT THROUGH THE ACTIVITIES OF SA-SA ART (2nd floor and website)

EMERGENCE OF A DECOMMODIFIED AESTHETICS, COMMON USE OF SPACES ON GROUND FLOORS AND OPEN-AIR STAIRCASE

		_			Т		
		<u>/</u> 1	gov- stra-	Public authorities had installed policemen in the Building as part of an effort to keep control of this space.		See #31. Expansions and modifi- cations did happen also trrough regoritations be- tween neighbouring households.	
		<u>/</u> 1	K. Techniques of government/administrative measures	Public authorities had been and public authorities had been in the Building as part of an effort to keep control of the space.		See #3! Expansions and mod Expansions and hopen all through resignations in tween neighbouring households.	
		/ I	hniqu int/ar reasur	authord d polk	_	i. Jons (did h holds holds	¥
			K. Techniques ernment/adm tive measures	u blic stalle n e fo if the ?	See #21.	See #31. Expansio cations of through r tween ne househo	See #3K
	43 87 A			£ = = = = = = = = = = = = = = = = = = =	o	о шо≠тЕ	σ
		<u>/</u> I	r i	ben m m m tly witt s x; re- irn and	1	ļ I	
		<u>/</u> I	J. Policy and regula- tory frameworks	has to phu o phu co phu	İ	ļ	
		<u>/</u> 1	icy an ramev	Jilding In two sets in two hum is grown verby, hern pe ern pe rn pe	1	ļ I	
			J. Poli tory fi	The Building has been divided in two phum (villages), currently with two phum leaders holding power over respectively, Nothern part of the Building.		1	1
S		/ F	7-	• h	· • • • •		1
S		<u>/</u> I	٥	e of sultury, sultury, interior on sultury, ons er the	bought or in an ap- itional vac- st, evi- en inter- now such volved brib hum lead-) and othe ities by the	hori- ed to or suc me- e of	
CA		<u>/</u> I	ns an	partur sese a y of C ry of I stitutik wer ov	s bour ts in a tutions wer, e the ir v how involv involv oritie oritie	ers ar	
COLLECTIVE MOBILISATION TO REPAINT OPEN AIR-STAIRCASES		<u> </u>	I. Institutions and 'laws'	After the departure of the Vertemese army, the Winstry of Culture and Ministry of Interior were the institutions holding power over the Building.	Newcomers bought or certif the units in an ap- parent nestlutional vac- uum. However, evi- dence from the inter- views show how such processes involved brite- ers (see #1.1) and other local authorities by the original assignees.	Phuminaciers and other public authori- ties were supposed to give permission for such modifications, some- times in exchange of briberies.	#31
ST/	STATES STATES	[]	I. Inst 'laws	After the the Vietn the Vietn the Vietn the Minis and Minis were the holding p Building.	Newc rent the paren uum. dence views proce eries erses origi	Phun o ther give p modif times bribe	89 S
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H		(ALD	G. Architectural Forms	In 1979, the Building was in part dereliet but still martiaining its original modernist image.	ا	See #3A, #3B, # <mark>\$Dard</mark> #3E.	# 1 # # # # # # # # # # # # # # # # # # #
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Ž		VERN	rchite	79, th in par nainta nonun ernist	#2Ea	#3A,	# 4C
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SA	100 100 100	<u> </u>	ı		ته ها الله الله الله الله الله الله الله		
=			ᄝ	Several sources confirm how the original back- ground of families lining ground of families lining post- 1979 was treating a rough division between Northern part of the Building, administered by the Ministry of Cut- ture, and Southern part, administered by the Ministry of Interior.	The mainstream narra- tive of the Building as a receptacle of criminals start with the arrival of newconnes. A clear social treschol between original as- signess and newcom- ers materialises too.		
OB		<u> </u>	F. Leftovers and thresholds	Several sources con how the original background of lamilies living the Building post-1979 was tracing a rough division between your Misters building, administers building, administers building, administers of ture, and Southern part of the and southen the and Southen the and Southen the administered by the Aministry of Interior.	strear Build a of cr the ar rrs. origin and n	Ī	
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C	BRIGH BROOK HUSE WERE		⋕		The everyday life activities the Building starts to change, following the newcomers' back ground son advised son exuce the private space of the unit and material is en in the distribution confron and in the monumental open-air stair-case see.	an- Ivol- uld an mall toi- ing	y is ine ine
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L,			E. Housing and dwell- ing	See #1A	The everyday life activities the Building stars to change, following the newcomers' back ground soil activities with a superior and soil activities of the unit and material is en in the distribution confron and in the mon-unified pole-air stair-case.	Flats are simple rectain- gles extending in the standing in the babonies protuding vol- umes. Babonies would mormally host an open space deading to a small futchen and more for See also 43.4.	The housing typology is very diverse, with flats of different sizes. Some households have connected to the connected that the c
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EMPOWERMENT OF YOUNG DWELLERS THROUGH AZIZA SCHOOL,	102 04 02 03	/ I	D. Built fabric / Land- marks	The Buiking's built form contain the accurate in the accurate in the accurate in the accurate cess, and seemed to have eached as calleyst for the softer as accurate to the settlers of the settlers and the settlers are accurate to the settlers and the settlers are accurate to the settlers and the settlers are accurate to the settlers	The inner structure of the Building starts to change, with informal subdivision of the flats, or two flats joined by newcomers in one single unit.	The landmark character of the Bushing character acquiring a develot time ago which has permeated the collective magning and the collective magning the urban level.	The built rath is of the ground from establishes a coarse grain on the site, as the result of the average of the site, as the result of the average between open-air standards between open-air standards between the site, and the site of the site o
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H			d obe	sed a be gro uiding space ossed move ile Bar			vace o (see # Nr, with orivatis
F	200000000	/ I	C. Public and open spaces	While being used as a parking bit, the ground filmor of the Building was a permeable space, constantly crossed by urbankes to move to-ward the Tonie Bassac's landscaped gardens.	ш		The public space on the ground floor (see #10) greatly strant, with widespread privatise titors by the households.
ER.			: Pub	Thile b arking oor of oor of perm oonstan irbani and scand the and scand the and scand sca	See #2E.		he pul round reatly idesp ons by olds.
ä	102 101 102	Λ^{\perp}	ပေဖ		o .	1	Foosar
NE	5934545 SHEWARD	I	ا س	The Vietnamese Army was using the ground floor as a car park.		Most households have modified the tollets' pipes - some of these now are visible on the façades.	The road running along the Western fased of the Building represents the main connection with the rest of the city and the mandatory—I though narrow—Lath for the movement of people and goods.
2	THE RESERVE OF THE PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN 1	<u> </u>	B. Infrastructures	r park		holds toilett ble of th	The road running along flows the Mestern façade of the Building represents represents the main comercitor with the rest of the folly with the rest of the folly with the rest of the folly characteristic and he mandatory—though here we path if the movement of peoplastic and goods.
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→	200000	<u>s</u>				a , <u>c</u>	
ō		SPATIAL DIMENSIONS	A. Spaces for cultures and economies	The Ministry of Culture assigns an inmed of their to artists and cold assigns and cold servants working for the Ministry lest. At a later stage, the Ministry of Interior assigns a mumber of apartments (concentrated in the Southern half of the Building) to policiemen and their families.	The original subdivision between artists and policemen have become blurred. The Northermost part of the Building has become Known for the come known for the presence of sex-workers.	Modifications are often a result of the house-holds economic activities, in an effort to accommodate these within the units.	Such households have expensively the probability or un an economic activity of the probability with the broader or the probability of the probabil
I.		ME	for comies	ry of cumber its and orking alf. Rage, the large of centre in half of police in malifies in millies in millie	The original subdivision between artists and policemen have become blurred. The Northermost part of the Building has become known for the pullding has become known for the presence of sex-work ers.	bs are bour hours hour homic front to f	Such households have the possibility or run after possibility or run after possibility to run after possibility or such after possibility or such after possibility or run after possibility and run adjacency with the run after possibility or run a
.ME		LIAL	aces	Ainistrans are o artis with which in the water state in the control of the contro	The original su between artist bothween artist policemen in a come blurred. The Northernr of the Building come known if presence of st.	ication of the n an e nodate nits.	house ossibility of the control of t
H		SPAT	A. Sp and e	The Nassigna	The obstwee police come come come come press press.	Modifi result holds holds com the un	Such the po econo rectly Howe nesse in adj housi bouit s built s built s
NO.							
MP			I	1. After the Khmer Rouge Fregime, Wet mannes authorities trom the Sites of Camboda, infally kept the building for their solution diers, then assigned the units to artistis (as in the original plant parties).	2. A number of families have moved out and sold off or rented out their flat to new-comers.	3. Most households households the tratsformed their flat, through enclosing the balconies volumes or through inner modifications.	4. A number of house-holds have settled on the ground hoc, initially thought as an open space.
Ш		B	Si	gime, uthor uthor sautho sally ke r their assig ists (a in fror	novec movec at to n	forme inner	e settl I floor, an op
		OBSERVED	PRACTICES	ter the see all later, and the State all later, and the State all later, initial for the state and plant and plant all plant and plant a	numb have r sold or heir fla ers.	ost ho throug palcon rough ins.	numb Is hav ground ght as
		OBS.	A.	1. Af Roug and, from bod build diers units origii	2. A nur lies hav and sold out their comers	3. Most have try flat, thro the bak or throu cations	4. A nu holds the grate though space.

	LICADHO representa- tives recal how the ind-starting proposal was systematically op- posed by community members bribed by TNG. Policemen and private guarts evited and buil- acted by Kantom and st violence. Indiray widefree. Light proposal and st violence. templed to destroy the Building through arson.	1	1	1	The survey was conducted by STT representatives in a door-to-door modality.	1
	The eviction and reloca- tion happened before the promise proof the Circular 03.	1	1	1	1	1
	7NG and MPP used the eviction and relevant and relevation and relocation. To Bore Santephraep II to book state in the corse resus amongst them corse relevant amongst throm Pent's middle class.	EVC is acknowledged as important reference in the life of many youngsters of the VM life Building.	The project was funded by Bophane Centre in Phrom Penha and by UNESCO, and got the support of the Vann Molyvaen foundation, of EVC (see #6) and Sa Art (see #7).	Se-Sa Art (along with this twin project Se-Sa Bas-sac) is an acknowledged institution in the landscape of Cambodian visual arts, and made young Cambodian artist famous internationally.	The survey could not be officially published because of tensions with the RGC .	See #10H.
	After the failure of a land-standing proposal. MG described the set them the set the sesions to move to Bore I Santepheap II.	EVC states that its community centers are run unuity centers are run using local skills and basic ideas, emphasising how the schools are housed in the heart of poor communities, and in old houses that have been converted into learning centres.	The OPC project aimed to confine the soon study of a st	1	STT wanted to chal- lenge the official vision of the Building as a ds- posable piece of urban fabric.	A Japanese team (not connected to the co
	See#50, #5E, #5F.	The School's activities take place in two rectangular norms. One is a flackble room for lectures, the other is a multimedial lab.	See #7D.	See #8C and #8E.	1	See #10D.
	The MPP built a wall running about one meter away from the Building Se Eastern imit, to impede new encoachinent on the evicited land. This narrow builter a spec has become a distribution conflor for the Southern half of the Building especially for Azza School (see #6). Which has decorated it.	1	OPC's project count be- uled to erase the thresh- old between external antistrices endrers and Building's inhabitants (see for instance #8F).	The presence of visitors have created a threshold with the hinb-trans of the Building, who did not always see the visitors with favour.	1	The Building is demol- ished to make room for an apartment building
	in moving from Dey Kra- from to the White Build- ing, households moved from one or two storey included housing units on the ground to flats, with consequences for those who were running an economic activity. More commercial activity was appared in the great spaces of the Building.	Azta School for many children and feenagers represent a medical expension of the mission of the house-hold environment.	See #7A.	The residence, per definition, is also a pleace where artists could stay overnight – all of them did.	The survey counted 292 households.	There is not yet any in- formation on the hous- ing typology.
the building. Others from internal roads.	The fine urban grain of Dey Kraborm has been replaced by the coarse grain of the new profit-diversity developments. The Northermost section of the building presents signs of aroun (see #66), as the white paint has blackened.	Aziza School repre- sents a landmark for many househods, espe- cially those with children and living in the proxim- ity of the school.	OPC uncovered archival materials confluding to bridge the past land-mark character of the Building with the present one (see #7A).	1	One (unnamed) artist invited by STT painted the back of the open-air staticases inspired by drawings made by the White Building's children.	A monumental landmark will be replaced by an incomb building, who will coughly have the same followin and bigger built wouldness it will serve as background to the transformation of Dey Krahom.
	See #5E.	Azta School is made out of a series of public space within the Buildings ground floor, plus as small froom on the second floor. The School is accessible to everybody.	The project exhibited part of its outcomes in the Sa-Sa Art spaces (see #8).	Sa-Sa Art's spaces within the Building establish a public space on the second foor. The public space is however rather geared toward visitors (see #8F).	Inhabitants of the Building and STT representatives repainted (in green) two of the openair staticases, and cleaned two of the secondary staticases.	ı
	1	Aziza School repre- sents the infrastructure for many children and teeragers to be ex- posed to wider educa- tional and business net- works. EYC also provides health services.	1	See #8A.	The survey listed the cost of water and electricky for each household.	1
space.	ing in the Building were involved in llegal transactions of housing units, retuing out or self-inglists to revocement, while moving out to better the off housing situations. Many economic and cuttural (see Ref) and whites running in Dey Krabon disposanced, and white many social and business networks out the Building's minimal supposanced, and pushings and housing situations.	Aziz a School provides education and profession and professional training to chill-fern and teenagers of the Building.	Many inhabitants shared sories about there everyday life in the Building and took part in a participatory photogeraphy process, contributing to expose it as living landmark of the city.	The Building was emphasses as set for ar- phasses as set for ar- site experimentation. In such a way, Sa-Sa Art put the Building in a re- ationship with many lo- cal and foreign artists and their followers.	The survey listed roughly 50 different forms of employment.	The company will build a new building for a part. Then the grand toward the upper-middle class.
	5. The MPP and 7NG eviced the adjacent set envised the adjacent set intense of Doy Krahom, initially stempting to include also the White Building in the operation. A number of households from Doy Krahom moved into the eviction.	6. EVC establishes Az- za School in the White Building after the evic- tion and demoliton of Dey Krahorm.	7. Open Photography Cambodia starts a pro- ject in the White Build- ing	8. Sa-Sa Art establishes a residence in the White Building's second floor.	e. STT attempts a survey of the White Building and participate to upgrading activities with its inhabitants.	10. Japanese company Arakawa buys out the Building and decide its demolition.







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K. Techniques of government / administrative measures	A widespread presence of summords regulated of new-comers.	There is a community leader per group and several people close to hin/her who hold a certain power.	Wealthy households share connections with the local authorities at the district and sub-district level.	The RGC has set up the Interniseral Resettle- ment Committee (RC, see #5) to facilitate the implementation of the project.	The (RC does not want to regeduate with groups, but only with singular households, in such a way, urban poor groups are divided and their possible agency diminishes.	Households are in charge of the works, and are periodically controlled by members of the subcettical authorities. They do not know for how long they will be able to stay, i.e. whether the Col will ever be applied.	Meetings are held letting all the community representatives talk and explain their situations, with members of CMUP Their accitishing. CMUP Their make a comment/proposal and let the representative have another round of talks.	BABC/EC instructs the households prior to par- ticipating to the meeting with the IRC, but as not allowed to attend.
Techniqu ment / ac measur	lumlords affluence lefs.	re is a co	althy hourse connections and and and and and and and and and district andevel.	RGC harministeri rministeri tt Commi #5) to far lementati ect.	IRC doe egotiate v only with seholds.	useholds are per the ed by me sub-distri now long to stay, Col will ed	Meetings are I all the communate best that is a separation their si with members facilitating. Chwake a commposal and let t sentative have round of talks.	3C/EC in seholds pating to t the IRC, wed to at
K. 7 ern tive		The leace seeven him tain	We sha sha the the trict			Hot cha and troll the the for I abk	Mee all the response of the with the the the the the the the the the t	
J. Policy and regulatory frameworks	Most land was considered to be Day Samakin in those years (land for solidarity), hence it was to located for populations to settle there informally.	1	1		Most or the documents are fractorship to the rating settlements population, and are therefore explaned and translated by BABCFC (see #8).	1	1	BABC/EC issued a bookers and held many sessions to translate in everyday language and through camples what through camples by ADB and IRC entailed.
I. Institutions and 'laws'	0.00 # 11 m m m m m m m m m m m m m m m m m	Community groups are acknowledged by the households in the several settlements and by public authorities and other actors.	1	ADB has worked in close collaboration with the RGC. AusALD has provided funding but refuses to be linked to the project.	ı	ī	CMDP has invited Habi- tation thumanity to several meetings to let them explain their pro- posals in terms of hous- ing upgrading.	The two NGOs have had opposed by its sues with the RGC, which had suspended the former and imprisoned members of the latter.
H. Discourses and scientific / philanthropic statements	Vietnamese authori- ties of intal time armina- sisot the need to toler- are urban poor setting- on urused land – see #1J.	Community groups pursue their own social and spatial upgrading.	1	ADB sees the RRP as necessary to the first structural development of the whole country.	1	1	CMDP pursues the empowement of communi- ties fostering mechanisms of organisation and mobilisation.	STT and BABC/EC pur- sues the enpowerment of community and the organisation, production of data and legal assis- tance.
G. Architectural Forms	Housing mostly articu- lates in reddyclad miss but there is a wide- spread presence of ental bocks built by slumbrds. See	There are no official community spaces: community spaces: forming in open spaces (frontyards or temporarily occupying public roads) and in the leader's housing units.	See #3C, #3D, #3E, #3F.	See #4D.		See #6E.		
F. Leftovers and thresholds	The settlements are characterised by a much pointy of letrover spaces: the one se between the housing units and the railway live itself; and the ones between unit and unit, resulting from the irregular pattern (space- and time-wise) by which land has been occupied.	See #2G.	Houses usually lie behind a fenced perimeter. There is no interaction between such households and the urban poor groups.	1	A big amount of units have been abandoned and demolshed.	ı	_	1
E. Housing and dwell- ing	Housing marifests in multiple forms. Most houses are on sittle to cope with flooding to cope with flooding some to cope with flooding some thouses are into Some houses are into Some houses are light. Most houses use light. Most houses are light. Most houses are light. Most houses are light. Most houses are light. Most house in the house some where the density is lower. The units might have a front-yard or a backyard.	See #2G.	Houses take the shape of detached and wealthy vilas.	1	See #5A.	Some of the units un- derwent minor modifica- cirors, while others lost considerable internal room.	Community represent- aftives shared issues re- lated to specific house- holds, too.	See #8.A.
D. Built fabric / Land- marks	The built tabric is characteristicated by a very free underly grain, with small housing units some times isolated and other times in the deserged housing for rent with bigger food-print, usually built by silamfords.	1	Houses stands out of the railway settlements landscape.	The RRP is supposed to weep out the bull fabric that is obsest to the rail-way tracks, 3meters per side with the RoW and 175 meters per side with the RoW and the Col.	1	See #4D.	1	1
C. Public and open spaces	The railway line acts as open public space for the households. Such open space affiler strikes or exparts according to the ground morphology and to the level of land occupation.	See #2G.	Houses usually have private gardens.	ı	No material or immate- ral captar beyond the housing units have been taken into account.	The retraction of the built faint has paradoxi-call faint as paradoxi-call faint or called a bigger public space next to the Railway track.	The 'public' space used for the meetings was the CMDP's office, at lew kill, ormetes away from the rallway settlements. In the meetings, community representa- tives shared also issues related to their common spaces.	1
B. Infrastructures	The railway is a semi- abardored invair infa- structure that has pro- vided cheap land and easy access to liveli- hoods to its populations. It has easted also an main distribution axis for pedestrian movement for the informal settlers.	Communities are often the intrastructure to get in touch with external acrors such as NGOs (one above all CMDP)	The road along the railway is often in a better state (with concrete) when passing in proximity of such houses.	The Railway has re- starde its goods ser- vice, and then will start again a passenger ser- vice. The service will be run by Tolls Lid., an Australian company.	ı	1	CMDP acted as infra- structure for community empowerment.	STT and BABC/EC were the first ones ex- points in details what the RRP entailed, along with its aims. See also #8.J.
A. Spaces for cultures and economies	The railway settlements have become a complex memoral of complex and community prac- libes (see practice 2 be- low). While the land is consid- end cheap, many inter- viewees said to have bought the land by un- mand slumdboxs; who controlled the land markets in several ar- eas.	Communities or place or are born out of the ever- tion threat and therefore configures as communities of resistance.	See #3F.	See#5A.	Household's have accepted a compensation in money plot to moving a food with a plot on the relocation site. The acceptance of the plot on the relocation site. The actualished compensation of the food on the face in the relocation site. In the account cut face his occount cut was explain to the boosehold, and take wery little into account file in commercial activities.	Households who were running commercial or productive activities productive activities have been affected by such charges.	Through such meetings, count pas is observed a sense of community across the several rail-way settlements.	Reports leature the housend stories of many households and portray their struggle with the IRC (see #5).
	1. Households have safe of the mediate perfect of the fall way line, since the early 1980s.	2. Fifteen groups of households are organised in community groups.	3. In the last 15 years, a number of middle class and upper-middle class families have built a house along the rail-way.	4, ADB and AUS-AID Designed the Ralmay Pensaliration Project, and established nor Project, and established of the Right of Way and Chri- dor of Impact criteria	5.The RGC established the their intermisional Research and order to response the recognition of the air feed of the air feed of the air feed of the air feed or from the air feed or frage and part (see D. 3), while other simply accepted a higher compensation away.	6. Some of the house- holds agreed to move back their units or re- duce their frootprints in exchange of a compen- sation in money	7. CMP organised meetings together with all the community leaders	8. STT and BABCIEC issued several reports on the status of the Rail. way Rehabilitation Project. The latter offered the affected households legal support in dealing with the interministerial Resettlement Committee (see #5).

relocation of the population and fencing off of the whole site (including the White Building, separated from the construction sites for the new developments with a high wall running parallel to its Eastern side, to avoid trespassing and encroachment). The failure of the land-sharing process showed how the systematic use of bribes, 146 violence and an exclusionary rhetoric contributed to the depoliticisation of the whole transformation process: the proposals of community architects were deemed unfit and financially unviable, by 7NG, by local authorities, but also by corrupted community leaders and NGO workers; NGOs themselves, initially attempting to facilitate the process, were soon put at the margins and asked to drop any engagement with the local populations; the built and social fabrics of the informal settlement were thoroughly dismissed as anarchic, violent, unhealthy, jobless; the bulldozing of the sites de facto provoked psychological traumas and loss of material goods for many informal households, while 7NG boasted about transforming a slum into a modern neighbourhood.

Gated-community-like dynamics, which I defined as entailing phenomena of securitisation, commodification and fetishization (see chapter 2, page 60), are equally prominent on the site [Figure 5.68, colour blue]. Dey Krahorm has been parcellised into smaller plots, sub-leased to private third-party developers, completely transforming its landscape: establishing a much coarser urban grain; erasing all existing public spaces and pathways; not providing any new public space; turning almost every single bit of land into a possibility for profit, through the establishment of either temporary or permanent uses, in an overall totalising process of commodification. While security is currently enforced on the whole site through the use of private guards and CCTVs, the exclusive clubs in Dey Krahorm and the redevelopments of its surroundings add another element to the general picture of security-obsessed urbanisms in Phnom Penh: the use of regulated access and checkpoints. Such dynamics of securitisation overlaps to ones of fetishization. The developments in Dey Krahorm - be these temporary or permanent ones - are characterised by discourses of exclusivity that are not different, in character, from the ones supporting the construction of gated communities and satellite cities. Clubs are open only to customers from Phnom Penh's upper-middle class (a strict outfit-check happens at the entrance), and sometimes just to foreigners (as in the case of the adjacent Naga World Casino and the soon to be completed Naga World 2, on Dey Krahorm's same site). Such current forms of fetishization of Dey Krahorm's uses can be considered an indirect legacy of the uncompleted project for the 'most modern building' in Cambodia (7NG Group, 2010), that sought to establish on site as the tallest one in the country, and that was marketed through the image of its shiny glazed façades and slim towers, populated by luxury apartments and offices.

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¹⁴⁶ See footnote 57, page 136.

My analysis shows how gated-community-like dynamics were affecting the everyday life of the White Building, too [Figure 5.69, blue colour]. The informal transactions of housing units in the upper floors of the White Building (initially provided for free) and the consequent turnover of inhabitants were the main agent of commodification of the Building. Other commodification dynamics affected the Building's ground floors, initially meant as open public spaces and eventually used to generate profit by local slumlords - privatising even the space over the adjacent road - and eventually turning the whole ground floor into a constellation of housing units, quest houses, shops and other private business. The increased perception of criminality, as evidence from the interviews shows, caused the emergence of forms of security obsession, too. Reinforced gates were used sporadically: however, five households living on the top floor of block A have used a series of gates to impede public access to the corridor serving their units, making impossible the free circulation from the landing of the third floor to the open terrace on top of the Building. In a similar fashion, the accesses to and from the secondary staircases have sometimes been blocked to avoid their use by drug-dealers. The White Building was not exempt from processes of fetishization either, having been the object of the work of a series of photographers, videographers and artists (see for instance: Neang and Studio CLA Film, 2011; Zarattini, 2011; Hale, 2016). In these works, while the Building is effectively turned into a distant object, through a form of ruin gazing - now possible even from remote localities through the use of the internet and the media.¹⁴⁷ Not a form of ruin porn (Apel, 2015), though, as in each of such experiences there was always a level of engagement between the artists (or photographers, or videographers) and the local dwellers, along with the aim of sensitising potential viewers toward urban realities under threat – as I explore below when questioning the same experiences as emancipatory practices. It must be noted, however, how the experience of Sa-Sa Art became to an extent problematic, as it contributed to foster phenomena of slum tourism, not entirely addressing the disconnection between tourists themselves and dwellers.

There emerged gated-community-like dynamics, too [Figure 5.69, colour purple]. The turnover of inhabitants has been overseen by the *phum* leaders, who have been involved in briberies ¹⁴⁸ to allow modifications and transactions of units, and reported such transactions and other issues to local authorities. Further, newcomers themselves were often accused of anti-social behaviours, and blamed for the rubbish on the common spaces, and the increased level of criminality was partially blamed on them. Other exclusionary dynamics occurred at the expenses of the inhabitants of the Building through verbal and sometimes even physical violence, exercised by either authorities or non-identifiable individuals: inhabitants have been

¹⁴⁷ I mentioned in chapter 5 (page 187) the creation of the website whitebuilding.org by Sa-Sa Art.

¹⁴⁸ See footnote 57, page 136.

even threatened with arson, with the aim of accelerating a relocation and a following demolition of the premises. In the latest stages, it must be noted how any possibility of struggle by the inhabitants was systematically depoliticised: Arakawa Co., with the complicity of *phum* leaders, pursued a 'divide and rule' strategy, conducting negotiations on a household to household basis, and impeding de facto the emergence of an alternative discourse or proposal. At the same time, any effort put on surveys (Sok and STT, 2012)) or community organisation was systematically denied or rejected, eventually creating the condition for the disposal the Building.

Similar camp-like-dynamics affects the Railway Settlements, too [Figure 5.70, colour purple]. As the phum leaders in the White Building, a series of slumlords along the Railway were able to control the newcomers' arrival and settling process. In the present day, the Railway Rehabilitation Project has caused a series of exclusionary dynamics to arise in the settlement's everyday life. First of all, the remnants of the demolished housing can be considered as a visual reminder of the violence of the eviction impacting the Railway territories, and of the power of ADB and public authorities in the transformation process. Other camp-like dynamics include: the fact that ADB's documents are written in a legal language that is inaccessible to the dwellers; the fact that the future of the households whose units fall within the wider Corridor of Impact buffer area is uncertain, and their current condition suspended; the fact that the IRC refuses to negotiate with groups of households, favouring a household to household approach; the way NGOs such as EC and STT, involved in the support of the dwellers, are systematically denied the possibility of taking part to the meetings between households and IRC; the fact that local authorities have been given the responsibility and power to supervise partial demolitions and eviction processes by the RGC. Local authorities are also involved in the pacification of other contested situations along the Railway (not necessarily connected to the Rehabilitation process), as seen for instance through the provision of small infrastructural upgradings.

Gated-community-like dynamics [Figure 5.70, colour blue] have emerged along with camp-like ones. The settling of newcomers, for instance, entailed the commodification of an otherwise valueless land, parcellised and then sold out – or turned into income-generating asset through the construction of guesthouses. An extreme consequence of such process of commodification are the few examples of middle-class housing. In terms of securitisation dynamics, such middle-class' detached houses make use of proper fencing walls, barbed-wire and surveillance systems. The middle-class housing is also an example of fetishization of the built form, in its programmatic socio-spatial and linguistic disconnection from the urban settlement in its adjacencies – also entailing a level of exclusion toward the poorer classes inhabiting the surroundings. ADB's policy can be read as agent in the commodification of the relocation process, too, as it calculates compensation for the evicted households (or for the ones whose

units are partially demolished) only on the basis of the material value of the units, not taking into account losses of social and cultural capitals, or the fact some households ran commercial or productive activities in their (partially or completely) demolished unit. Another potential dynamic of fetishization – the hijacking of local styles and values by a big international NGOs – is evident in the housing upgrading proposed by Habitat for Humanity – whose projects, as evidence from the interviews suggests, were rejected because of the supposedly 'westernised' style and layout.

5.5.2. Answering RQ2: Dey Krahorm, the White Building and the Railway settlements as emancipating from the production of the fenced city

In chapters 1 (page 36) and 3 (page 94), I discussed obsolescing urbanisms as potentially emancipating from the dynamics of production of the fenced city. Emancipating from the enclosure and isolation of its environments (opening up practices, highlighted in yellow in Figures 5.68, 5.69, 5.70); from the overall commodification (and, consequently, fetishization) of the urban realm (decommodifying practices, highlighted in orange); from dynamics of depoliticisation (repoliticing practices, highlighted in red). The analysis of Dey Krahorm, the White Building and the Railway Settlements certainly indicates the presence of a series of emancipatory practices that I review in detail below.

In Dey Krahorm [see Figure 5.68 above: colours yellow, orange and red], the appearance of multiple investors and businesses – big size activities such as restarurants, car-dealers, rentable sport structures – can be read as contributing to open up the site to a wider range of users and customers flowing from several areas of the city. As seen above, however, such openness has entailed the further commodification of land uses and the emergence of other gated-community-like dynamics. The presence (though a temporary one) of a cultural centre and adjacent circus, and of a volleyball pitch that was open to the White Building inhabitants, can be read as a partial decommodification of the site, as it establishes uses that do not respond to logics of profit and consumption.

The White Building, as a whole, was conceived as decommodified forms of housing provision, with flats assigned for free to either civil servants or former slum dwellers. The following turnover of inhabitants, sparked off by a series of informal transactions, can be read as both an agent of commodification (as seen above) and, conversely, as a mechanism that allowed to open the Building to a multitude of newcomers. Households were able to transform their flats, enclosing the balconies' volumes or modifying the housing units. Such modifications can be

read as a form of spatial emancipation from the otherwise rigid modernist structure of the Building: they entailed a level of repoliticisation, too, as all expansions and modifications did happen through negotiations between neighbouring households, implying a degree of organisation. Importantly, the modifications contributed to the emergence of a new, decommodified aesthetics: they changed for good the 'white' and pure modernist image of the Building, turning it into a palimpsest of materials and narratives.

Noticeably, the White Building's open-air staircases were designed to favour interaction between households, and were the space where the Building opened up to a wider public.

Important opening-up agents were also the series of non-governmental organisations and cultural associations existing once in the Building. EYC's establishment of new educational uses on the ground floors was possible through reclaiming some underused spaces or residential units, de facto decommodifying part of the ground floor. EYC offered free educational activities and courses of professional development for teenagers and grownups: in so doing, previously privatised or abandoned spaces were given back to a wider collectivity. The activities of EYC contributed to the emergence of a decommodified aesthetics, too, turning a ruined environment into a work of art, reflecting the imagination of the people (both children and grownups) attending EYC's classes and using EYC's spaces. This research has shown how the Building's dwellers actively sought an interaction with EYC's personnel, seeing the organisation as infrastructure to learn something in a safe environment, and to regain the capacity to 'speak' in the wider urban realm. In this sense, EYC's work can be read as a repoliticising practice.

The project Open Photography Cambodia (OPC) contributed to open up the space of the White Building through the initiative of a foreign scholar in conjunction with some of the local inhabitants and a local organisation (Sa-Sa Art, see below) committed to the study and dissemination of visual arts. The practice started by OPC fostered a degree of openness also within the White Building, successfully involving a wide range of residents – carrying out interviews with young inhabitants and small projects with the elderlies. OPC's dissemination activities contributed to further open up the Building, using Sa-Sa Art's space within the White Building to showcase photographic archival material about the story of the Tonle Bassac Tribune, but also getting in touch with a cultural foundation such as Bophana Centre and making the produced materials available to the wider public. OPC therefore contributed to the repoliticisation of the Building's inhabitants – although within a limited time span. Importantly, OPC contributed to reclaim the 'ruined' aesthetics (a decommodified one, in contrast with the spectacular developments of the surroundings) of the Building as a valuable one, and the

Buildings' existence as ruinous monument as relevant for the wider urban image of Phnom Penh.

In the same fashion, the work of Sa-Sa Art gave visibility to the Building tracing linkages with a wider reality made of artist, curators, film-makers. As seen, with the creation of the website whitebuilding.org, Sa-Sa Art highlighted the material reality of the Building, celebrating its character of living monument and amplifying the voice and exposure of its inhabitants and uses. Sa-Sa Art also established a decommodified use within the Building, renting a space that served to host the artists-in-residence periodically funded by Sa-Sa Art itself, and gave such artists and their works (often focusing on Phnom Penh and the Building itself) visibility at the local and international level.

As for STT's activities in the White Building, the survey about household composition (Sok and STT, 2012) challenged the official vision of the Building as a disposable element of the urban fabric, while providing households with 'numbers' to support possible compensation claims in the event of an (eventually occurred) eviction. The survey therefore configured as a repoliticising practice, although having limited agency because of the MPP not acknowledging it and the local dwellers not being involved in the survey process. Other activities of spatial upgrading organised by STT established new forms of participatory politics (hence promoting openness amongst households along with a level of repoliticisation), contributing also to the emergence of a new de-fetishised aesthetics. However, this research showed how the community mobilisation itself did not manage to outlive the duration of the spatial upgrading processes.

As for the Railway, in a similar fashion to what happened in the White Building, the birth of the settlements along the semi-abandoned railway tracks can be read as an *opening* practice, making accessible to a multitude of newcomers an otherwise unused infrastructural interstice. As shown above, fifteen groups of households did get organised as community groups, achieving a level or repoliticisation and mobilisation against the Railway Rehabilitation Project, and opening the space of the Railway reaching out to external actors such as CMDP and EC. CMDP's activity has aimed to empower community groups through increasing the level of self-awareness on the condition of their settlements and on the mechanisms of the Railway Rehabilitation Project. Further, CMDP has opened the boundaries of such community groups, enabling them to network with each other and with other organisations such as Habitat for Humanity. Despite the overwhelming control exercised over the RRP by both ADB and the IRC, also the activities of BABC/EC should be read as repoliticising and opening ones. With their reports, surveys and legal aid such organisations managed to build agency (although a limited one) against the RRP for the populations under threat of eviction. As in the White Building,

EYC's educational activities along the railway (especially in the area of Tuol Songkae) entailed the creative reappropriation of an otherwise under-used building and the exposure of the local youth to a wider network of experiences and possible contacts. EYC's actions manage therefore to open-up the Railway settlements' spatialities, to establish decommodified uses in a part of the Railway's built environment, and to repoliticise its young population, empowered through EYC's activities.

5.6. CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter I showed how Phnom Penh's transformation, since the independence of Cambodia from France in 1954, has articulated through the establishment of different forms of modernity and their consequent obsolescence. A first idea of modernity was sought in the early 1960s in order to celebrate a rediscovered Cambodian identity and project it toward the future: the monumental transformation of some areas of the city and an internationalisation of the planning and design process were instrumental in such process, with architects such as Vann Molyvann and Lu Ban Hap rising as prominent figures. Such modernity came to an abrupt end once Phnom Penh was taken over by the Khmer Rouge and reduced to a giant void, abandoned, in April 1975.

I showed how the 7 January 1979, when the Khmer Rouge regime ended, could be read as symbolic date for the birth of informality in Phnom Penh: with the victory of the Vietnamese forces and the establishment of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, land became available to newcomers, while the built stock was left available on a first-come first-served basis. I showed how informality got increasingly criminalised, with frequent evictions justified by goals of infrastructural modernisation, redevelopment of the urban fabric, public spaces beautification.

In 2001, the promulgation of the Land Law allowed Cambodian elites to accumulate capital in the form of urban land, making them able to lease out land in concession to local and foreign private investors. Such mechanism entailed the rise of a new modernity, often represented and advertised as an extraordinary one, thanks to the development of several satellite cities and their massive media exposure. However, confirming Fauveaud's argument (2016), I showed how most of the urban fabric is transforming in a very ordinary way, following traditional urban and housing typologies (shophouses and borei developments).

While new gated developments are built, the informal city is increasingly condemned, cleansed, displaced. New urban voids appear, following forced evictions and the impossibility to redevelop a plot of land immediately after eliminating the informal encroachment. Urban ruins such as the White Building are first singled out as structurally unstable and as receptacles of illegality, then slowly or abruptly vacated and demolished. Interstices are polished through projects of infrastructural upgrading, as in the case of the Railway Rehabilitation Project and the manifold settlements it has put under threat of eviction. In the section above, through my analysis, I showed the fundamental ambivalence of such obsolescing urbanisms in the process of transformation of Phnom Penh into a supposedly fenced city: in such territories, indeed, there emerge both design practices partaking into the production of such fenced city, and practices emancipating from such production.

While I will analyse more in depth the aftermath of practices of forced displacement in chapter 7, the following chapter will focus on one single area of Phnom Penh, Borei Keila, and show how cycles of modernisation and obsolescence have functioned at the scale of the neighbourhood.

6. Investigating obsolescing urbanisms in Borei Keila landsharing process

6.1. INTRODUCTION

Borei Keila is a well-known locality in the heart of Phnom Penh's very central Pram-Pi Makara¹⁴⁹ district. Its fame derived from being one of the densest and most dangerous slum settlements in the centre of Phnom Penh, up to the early 2000s.

Borei Keila was born, in the 1960s, as a 'Sport Village' (which is the literal translation for 'Borei Keila') for athletes, hosted in eight four-storey concrete slabs – exemplars of the so-called New Khmer Architecture [Figure 6.1]. After the fall of the Khmer Rouge regime in 1979, Borei Keila's buildings were assigned to police officers and soldiers by the Vietnamese authorities, as one amongst those exceptional cases¹⁵⁰ where informal reappropriations on a first-come first-served basis had not been allowed.

In the early 1990s, however, local authorities and Borei Keila's dwellers themselves began to partition the land around the original buildings, and to sell it off through informal transactions. ¹⁵¹ In this way, some inhabitants started to act de facto as *slumlords*, ¹⁵² profiting from the massive affluence of newcomers during the years of the UNTAC and the economic boom (see chapter 5, page 147). Shortly after, an informal settlement was extending homogenously over the entire site [Figure 6.2].

Today's image of the site, however, is a quite different one. The fine, almost atomised grain of the informal settlement has been replaced by coarse monolithic blocks [Figures 6.3 and 6.4], following a land-sharing operation in 2003 (see chapter 5 for details on Phnom Penh's land-sharing programme, page 156). Through such operation, a local private developer (Phan Imex Co.) provided the poor with free housing on-site (along a thin strip of land on the site's North-

¹⁴⁹ *Pram-Pi Makara* means 7 January, date that recalls the liberation from the Khmer Rouge, operated by the Vietnamese troupes in 1979.

¹⁵⁰ See footnote 69.

¹⁵¹ See footnote 70, page 148.

¹⁵² See footnote 71.





6.1. The eight buildings for athletes in Borei Keila (Source: Grant Ross and Collins, 2006)6.2. Borei Keila's informal settlement, surrounding the buildings that were once meant for athletes (Source: Leonhardt 2003, featured in CAN-Cam, 2014)





6.3. Borei Keila in 2003: the slum developed around the eight buildings for athletes (Source: Digital Globe, 2019) 6.4. Borei Keila in 2015: the redevelopment of the site, with only three out of eight building for athletes still standing (Source: Digital Globe, 2019)

Western corner). Such housing was built using cross-subsidies from the profit-driven development of the rest of the site, whereby new residential and office buildings, one university, a public building hosting a Ministry, have been built.

While the site today looks scarred by a multiplicity of fences, protecting new developments or construction sites, it is clear how the transformation has produced a series of leftover spatialities. A few plots are not yet redeveloped, and some areas are dedicated to temporary uses, while waiting for clearer investment plans. A series of interstitial and derelict spaces at the core of the site, importantly, have been inhabited illegally by poor households who were excluded from the land-sharing agreement. While nearly three hundred households were evicted between 2009 and 2012, about one hundred dwellers resisted for six more years. Under constant threat of eviction, they strove to defend their claims, with the support of several NGOs concerned with human and housing rights: they inhabited three three three would eventually get relocated between January 2016 and January 2018.

Mainstream accounts on Borei Keila have revolved around the binary opposition between such illegal housing and the new housing for the poor – and therefore between households which have been respectively excluded or included in the land-sharing agreement (Licadho, 2007; see for instance: Khuon, 2014).¹⁵⁴ A narrative of sanitisation and modernisation – of monumental provision of housing for the poor, of correction of an unruly slum settlement into a new urban centrality – has been rigidly opposed to one of obsolescence, referring to the illegal, precarious and disposable remainders of the original slum. A series of photographic works on Borei Keila's ruined landscape (Forsyth, no date; Chea, 2011; Andersen, 2016) has contributed to both give exposure to the settlement's issues and crystallise such narrative of obsolescence, crystallising Borei Keila's image as impoverished and derelict site..

This chapter shows how the current picture is far more complex, and impossible to reduce to any binary logic. The new housing for the poor itself is experiencing forms of obsolescence of its physical and social structures. On the upper floors, there has been a massive turnover of inhabitants, with a great number of newcomers who have accessed the units through informal transactions, 155 either buying or renting from the original assignees; inhabitants have gated the units' entrances because of the high risk of crime, and several groups of power are in clash with one another. On the new housing for the poor's ground floors, a high percentage of

¹⁵³ The other seven buildings have now been demolished.

¹⁵⁴ See also interviews 229, 332.

¹⁵⁵ See footnote 70, page 148.

commercial spaces have been converted into residential units – often with no natural light, poor ventilation and lack of sanitation facilities. Such forms of obsolescence exude into the illegal settlement, where this research has identified – contrarily to the homogenised portrait outlined by official discourses (HRTF *et al.*, 2012; Licadho & Licadho Canada, 2012) – at least three different groups of dwellers, which are living in different conditions, have different stakes, and pursue different objectives.

6.2. BOREI KEILA, A FIRST MONUMENTAL MODERNITY

Borei Keila's complex was built to host athletes for the 1966 Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEFO),¹⁵⁶ and then used also for a domestic version of such Games in 1968. It was financed and designed by personnel of the Chinese government¹⁵⁷ as a gift to the Cambodian ally. It eventually rose to be a celebrated example of New Khmer Architecture, and part of the effort toward a modernisation of Phnom Penh's and Cambodia's identity after the independence (Grant Ross and Collins, 2006).

The complex comprised a gymnasium with seating for a thousand spectators (that would have then become the boxing stadium (Vink, 1999),¹⁵⁸ an administration building with a lounge, offices and rooms for conferences and eight four-storey building to lodge a thousand athletes. The buildings were all raised on *pilotis* to allow circulation of air and people (today most of the ground floors have been filled up by informal housing units). In the first, second, and third floor, each building included 12 rooms per floor. Relevantly, the rooms did not have *en suite* services – each floor had common toilets and showers at the Eastern ends of the buildings. Each of the eight slabs was connected by a short pedestrian bridge to a 'service' building, probably¹⁵⁹ hosting dining spaces and kitchens (Grant Ross and Collins, 2006). I show below how such service structures have today been informally occupied, too – when not demolished.

After the 1966 GANEFO, the complex was taken under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport (MoEYS), who housed government staff in the eight slabs that had

¹⁵⁸ In the publication by Grant Ross and Collins (2006) the gymnasium was said to be used as a television studio and the administration building to be used by the Ministry of Women's Affairs.

¹⁵⁶ The GANEFO were set up by Indonesia as a counter to the Olympic Games, for athletes of the so-called 'emerging nations', mainly newly independent socialist states. The first GANEFO were hosted in Jakarta, while the second and last edition was hosted in Phnom Penh in 1966, between the 25 November and the 6 December.

¹⁵⁷ The name of the architect has remained unknown (Grant Ross and Collins, 2006).

¹⁵⁹ I could not find futher evidence to support Grant Ross and Collins' (2006) assumption.

been originally built for the athletes (Pred, 2003). During the regime of Lon NoI (1970-75), Borei Keila was used as a camp for soldiers, with chronicles of a massacre of the government staff living in the apartment blocks (Boonyabancha, 2014).

Between 1975 and 1979 Borei Keila was emptied, as the rest of the city. There are no accounts of whether it had been used for any activity under the Khmer Rouge. There are nevertheless pictures (Cambodia Tribunal, no date) reporting Khmer Rouge officers' meetings and events in the adjacent Olympic Stadium – and therefore reasons to believe Borei Keila's structures might have served also as exercise ground and as residence for Khmer Rouge comrades.

Were this assumption confirmed, there would be a substantial continuity of Borei Keila's main use as academy and residence for soldiers and policemen, at least between 1970 and the early 1990s: after the liberation in 1979, indeed, the site was taken over by the Ministry of National Defence, then by the Ministry of Interior (in 1982), which used the buildings precisely to house staff of the National Police Training Academy (Adler, Ketya and Menzies, 2008; Rabé, 2010).

The oldest map of the area I could find (DMA, 1971), produced for military purposes, shows the original layout of the site, with the eight main buildings, a few other buildings, a small running track and three water ponds [Figure 6.5]. The number '64' on the map corresponds precisely to a Police Training Academy in the legend, confirming Borei Keila's character as training camp. Another building, the biggest one toward the Southern part of the area is easily identifiable as the boxing stadium, which kept working at least till 2005 (Vink, 1999, 2004, 2005).

6.3. INFORMALISING BOREI KEILA

6.3.1. The informal occupation of Borei Keila's land

After 1991 – because of the economic boom, the repatriation of Cambodian refugees from the Thai border camps, and the establishment of the United Nation Transitional Authorities in Cambodia (UNTAC) – hundreds of families moved to the area: many of them being relatives of the police officers, many others simply attracted by its central location. Newcomers started colonising the land around the original buildings, sold through informal transactions¹⁶⁰ by policemen and authorities: "it seems that the [Ministry of Interiors'] committee was also involved in selling land informally, which contributed to the mushrooming of slum settlements outside the buildings" (Adler, Ketya and Menzies, 2008, p. 25). Additionally, many of the original flats

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¹⁶⁰ See footnote 7070, page 148.

were sold or rented out informally by their original inhabitants – and then changed through new additions built on cantilever structures on the back (for toilets or room expansions). According to Pred (2003), newcomers were paying their rent to soldiers and policemen who owned the properties – being these either flats in the original blocks or plots of land around those.

Combining interviews from households in the new housing for the poor (the 62 households who claimed to have lived in Borei Keila's informal settlement) and from households currently living in the informal settlement (17 interviewees in total), Table 6.1 below shows how more than three quarters of the interviewed households stated to have settled in Borei Keila after 1991. Noticeably, 58 interviewees said they had arrived directly from one of Cambodia's provinces, while 21 said to have settled in Borei Keila after having lived in another area in Phnom Penh.

Year of arrival	Number of interviewed households	Percentage of interviewed households
Between 1979 and 1984	12	15.2%
Between 1985 and 1990	7	8.9%
Between 1991 and 1996	22	27.8%
Between 1997 and 2003	38	48.1%
TOTAL	79	100.0%

Table 6.1. Borei Keila's informal settlements: year of arrival of interviewed households (Source: Author)

A 50-year-old woman, now living in the the new housing for the poor (New Building B, fifth floor), recalls that her family

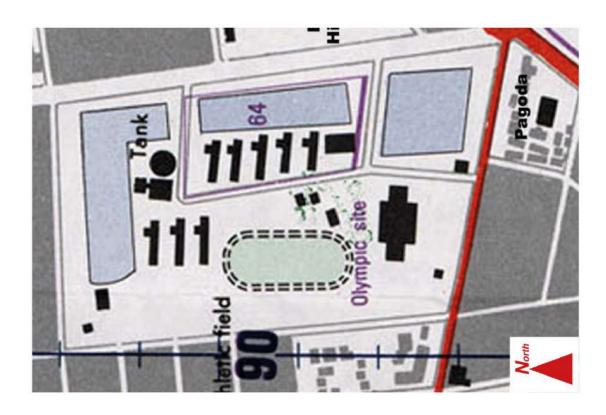
"bought a piece of land from a resident that had a lot of land for sale, in 1996. Overall, the cost amounted to 200 USD. We did not know anybody in Borei Keila – we came straight from Kandal provice – but the position of the settlement was so central that was really our first choice". 161

Immigration dynamics toward Borei Keila were also internal to the city of Phnom Penh, especially in later years, as in the words of a 40-year-old man living in the new housing for the poor (New Building D, sixth floor):

"We arrived in Borei Keila in 1998, prior to that we were living in Boeung Salang [an area lying about 5km North of Borei Keila], having initially settled from Kampong Cham province. I found this place by myself as there was a notice board mentioning the land was for sale. There was a small construction already on the land, so we had to pay for both land and a house. We then expanded the house". 162

¹⁶¹ Interview 144.

¹⁶² Interview 167.





6.5. Map of Borei Keila dating back to 1971 (Source: DMA, 1971)

^{6.6.} Morphological analysis of Borei Keila's informal settlement, drawing from a 2001 survey (elaboration by Author; source of plan: SUPF, 2001)

Other households had originally settled following the word of friends or relatives:¹⁶³ a 25-year-old man living now in the new housing for the poor (New Building B, fourth floor) mentions that

"a friend of my father told us that we could have got land for free in Borei Keila, hence we moved here. The other option would have meant asking for help to the Don Bosco community nearby the central market, where we lived till 1992, but that would have not been convenient".¹⁶⁴

Drawing from a survey dating back to 2001 (SUPF, 2001), the housing units built by (or for) newcomers in Borei Keila were spreading on a strip running from East to West along the central part of the site [Figure 6.6]. 165 The Northernmost and Southernmost areas were free from any encroachment (with the exception of eight units close to the Northern boundary), probably because of the presence of a water pond (North) and of the boxing stadium (South). One main distribution axis cut the settlement from North to South, while two perpendicular roads supplied access from East and West. It is possible to divide the area in four quadrants, proceeding counter-clockwise [see again Figure 6.6]: a South-Eastern one, whereby most informal units were following the footprints of the Old Buildings (A-B-C-D-E), literally mooring at them or around them, till defining the North-South axis border on the Western side and a uniform front along one of the water ponds (at East); a North-Eastern one were the the units tend to fill up all the interstitial spaces between the original buildings (two bigger volumes, a rounded one and a rectangular one, whose use this research has not been able to identify);166 a North-Western one, where again the units follow the alignment of the old buildings but where they are most often detached from their footprint (i.e. the ground floors of the old buildings have not been expanded); the South-Western one, where the units, following multiple alignment, define a square with an irregular open space in its core.

The units were a mixture of permanent masonry and lightweight materials (corrugated iron, wood, plastic panels, fragments of tarpaulin) [Figure 6.7]. Each of the housing units had a direct

¹⁶³ Interviews 147, 159, 175.

¹⁶⁴ Interview 147.

¹⁶⁵ From the interviews, I managed to build only limited knowledge about the social and spatial organisation of the settlement, as most interviewees referred generically to the 'old settlement' without adding details. Some of them were able to name the area where their units were, for instance "close to the Olympic Stadium" (interview 134), "close to the Ministry of Tourism" (interview 151), "close to the Northern pond" (interview 164). I therefore attempted a morphological analysis through the analysis of survey maps (SUPF, 2001), aerial views (Digital Globe, 2019) and through looking at pictures shot prior to the eviction occurred in January 2012 (Axelrod, 2012).

¹⁶⁶ They have both got demolished after August 2008 and before January 2010, according to satellite pictures (Digital Globe, 2019).





6.7. Borei Keila's informal settlements during its demolition, January 2012. On the backround, the new housing for the poor (Source: Axelrod 2012)
6.8. Borei Keila's new housing for the poor (in the background) and the remnants of the informal settlements, in the foreground) (Source: Author)

access to the road, although from the interviews it appears that at least a few households¹⁶⁷ were sub-letting rooms in the upper floor of units belonging to a different household.

Apart from the old buildings' remnants, nothing of Borei Keila's original informal settlement has survived the land-sharing operation. Housing types, urban fabric, transportation routes, public spaces, economies, forms of community organisation, were all 'corrected' and transposed into different forms. The tracing of the new roads seemed to have followed rather arbitrary paths, possibly decided after the land was sub-leased to third parties (see below, page 301). The rich housing typology has been translated into one single type, although a very a flexible and incremental one. Public and open spaces have almost disappeared. The fine grain of the original site has been turned into a very coarse one [Figure 6.8]. I explain such transformation in detail from the next section on.

6.3.2. Before the land-sharing: Borei Keila's informal settlement and its conflictive numbers

Borei Keila's land was ultimately conceded to the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport in 1996 (Adler, Ketya and Menzies, 2008). In the meantime, the area had become one of the most populous and conspicuous slum areas in central Phnom Penh, and famous for the presence of criminal gangs.¹⁶⁸

In spite of a few surveys (URC, 2002; ACHR, 2003b; Pred, 2003; Adler, Ketya and Menzies, 2008), Borei Keila's censuses have always been uncertain and contested. Such contestation became particularly fierce after the announcement of the land-sharing programme, as urban poor families had a strong interest in being included in the agreement and thus assigned a flat for free in the new housing.

Table 6.2 offers a breakdown of the several surveys run in Borei Keila between 2000 and 2003. A survey conducted in 2000 (Adler, Ketya and Menzies, 2008) initially set the number of households to the amount of 1246. Another survey made in 2001 (ACHR, 2003b) raised this number to 1482 households (indicating the presence of about 7000 people). The same survey stated that urban poor households were organised in eight communities, plus two not formally organised groups (SUPF, 2001). This survey – which produced a map too [see again Figure

¹⁶⁷ Interviews 138, 154, 164.

¹⁶⁸ Such presence was confirmed by a few interviewees (interviews 174, 180), who however felt the need to clarify how criminals did not create problems within Borei Keila itself.

6.6 above] – was conducted in April-May as a joint effort amongst three NGOs – the coordination was by Solidarity for Urban Poor Federation (SUPF), which collaborated with the Urban Poor Development Fund (UPDF), and Urban Sector Group (USG). Activities were facilitated by community leaders and local authorities. Noticeably: only 142 households indicated to be renters (versus 1340 owners); almost half (48%) of the units were measuring less than 24 sqm; only 139 households said to participate to saving groups, versus 1338 (90%) that did not; only 19% of the families (275) were from Phnom Penh, while the rest were migrants from other provinces (including 17 households that were returning to Phnom Penh from refugee camps on the border with Thailand); 7% (108 households) had established since 1979, whereas most people (82% of the total) had arrived between 1991 and 2001.

Year of survey	Author of survey	Number of households	Other info	Cited in
2000	Unknown	1246	n.a.	Adler et al 2008
2001	SUPF, UPDF, USG	1482	- 7000 inhabitants - 8 communities - 2 not formally organised groups - 139 households participating to saving groups	UPDF 2003a
2002	ACHR	1016	n.a.	URC 2002
2003	Unknown	1478	- 7125 inhabitants - 8 communities - 2 not formally organised groups	Pred 2003
2003	Harif Asan and ACHR	1700	- 200/300 households participating to saving groups - 129 households organised for garbage cleaning	Asan 2003
2003	Public committee for the land-sharing	2329	- 1766 households eligible for a unit in the new housing for the poor - 563 non eligible households	Adler et al 2008

Table 6.2. Summary of Borei Keila's surveys between 2000 and 2003 (elaboration by Author. Sources of data: ACHR, 2003b; Asan, 2003; Pred, 2003; UPDF, 2003a; Adler, Porter and Woolcock, 2008)

ACHR's (2002, cited in CAN-Cam, 2014) field notes from December 2002, while confirming the presence of eight distinct communities, lower the number of households to 1016. ACHR's account tells of a "very dense on-the-ground squatter settlement of wooden and brick houses,

¹⁶⁹ Interviews 226, 227.

¹⁷⁰ Five households are apparently left out of this calculation.

and a row of very old, dilapidated 4-storey housing blocks filled with people" (ACHR 2002, cited in CAN-Cam, 2014, p. 1).

One year later, at the inception of the land-sharing process, Pred (2003) speaks of a total of 1478 households (for a total of 7125 people), confirming the number of eight communities, adding that three of such communities were affiliated with SUPF, and five with USG. This survey also confirms the presence of two non-organised groups. While the total from this survey amounts to 1478 households, Pred points out how this was a 'minimum' number, while there was "a government figure floating around" (2003, p. 1) which referred to a 'maximum' of 2000 households.

In the same year, Asan (2003) raises the number to 1700 households, pointing out how 200-300 were active in saving groups (an increased number if compared to the 2001 survey), and that 129 had got organised to attempt a project of garbage cleaning. Differently from Pred (2003), Asan notes that six communities were affiliated with SUPF and only two with USG.

Adler, Keyta and Menzies (2008) quote a 'calculation' done in 2003 by a public committee, established by local authorities and community leaders to move towards the land-sharing process. The outcome of such calculation is much higher of any number provided by ACHR (2002, cited in CAN-Cam, 2014), Pred (2003) or Asan (2003), eventually summing a total of 2329 households.

On one hand, the majority of residents could legitimately claim possession rights on their properties (Rabé, 2005, 2010; Adler, Ketya and Menzies, 2008).¹⁷¹ These were 1766 permanent households, of which: 563 were owners with complete documents; 119 owners but without complete documents; 465 were renters for more than three years; and 619 households, about whom sources () simply state that were not organised in communities, but eligible to enter the land-sharing agreement.

On the other hand, the public committee calculation (Adler, Ketya and Menzies, 2008) claims there were 563 non-permanent households, of which: 321 short-term renters; 49 absentee landlords; 25 households who separated from others (after a wedding for instance); 168 households who were in the authorities' registries but without possessing an actual unit or supporting documents.

¹⁷¹ As they met the criteria of lawful possession listed in Cambodia's Land Law (RGC, 2001).

Evidence from the interviews¹⁷² testifies widespread corruption in the land titling process and in the following assignation of the flats in the new buildings. Such corruption involved both local authorities and community leaders: some of the households who bribed them had reportedly never lived on the site and were only interested in being assigned one of the new flats (Adler, Ketya and Menzies, 2008). A 40-year-old woman, today living on the third floor of Old Building F, tells me that

"ten years on, we are still waiting for a housing unit in one of the new buildings. We had all documents but other families were assigned a flat before us, although wer had never seen them before in Borei Keila. They were just relatives of the district and community leaders, or other families which got a land title through bribes." 173

There are also reports of intimidation toward the tenants, who had to bribe¹⁷⁴ authorities and intermediaries from the private developer Phan Imex to be actually featured in the list of long-term renters (three years of more), and thus included in the land sharing agreement.¹⁷⁵ An interviewee, a 45 year old man now living on the fourth floor of New Building C, tells me that he

"was on the list of assignees but at some point the situation changed abruptly, and I was asked to pay a sum of money to both authorities and Phan Imex not to be scrapped off. I am now happy in the new flat but I had to make too many sacrifices to get it." 176

What remained unclear, is the origin of the final number of 1776, that is the one most widely circulating in papers and reports (Licadho, 2007) – although corresponding neither to the above 1766, nor to the 1740 apartments that should have been actually built (29 per floor, in ten six-storey buildings). Evidence from interviews has not clarified this aspect. The first statement released by Licadho (2007:1) on its website speaks of "at least 1776 families, including 515 families who are house renters and 86 families who reportedly have HIV/AIDS". Licadho seems to refer to an undocumented survey that was apparently conducted by municipal and district authorities, ending up in a list of, precisely, 1776 families who should have received apartments – including, as said, the renters who had lived in Borei Keila for at least three years.

174 See footnote 57, page 136.

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¹⁷² Interviews 133, 175, 184, 191.

¹⁷³ Interview 248.

¹⁷⁵ Interviews 133, 151, 175, 256, 260.

¹⁷⁶ Interview 159.

6.4. MODERNISING BOREI KEILA: THE LAND SHARING PROJECT

At the time of the land-sharing agreement (2003), Borei Keila appeared therefore as a huge and dense slum settlement spreading over 14 hectares of land. Efforts to intimidate and evict the slum-dwellers failed more than once. 177 Borei Keila became therefore a prime candidate for the first land-sharing compromise in Phnom Penh and, in the words of Jockin Arputham (2003) the landmark to give energy to speed up the wider slum upgrading programme launched by the government.

The only successful land-sharing project out of four (see chapter 5, page 156), Borei Keila's land-sharing was eventually approved in 2003, as an agreement between the municipality and the Cambodian private company Phan Imex. Representatives of ACHR and SDI played an important role in the process (Arputham, 2003; UPDF, 2003b, 2008) and, in collaboration with UN-Habitat, managed to successfully lobby the authorities toward considering on-site solutions for the poor.

Borei Keila's land was divided in two parts [Figure 6.9]. Twelve hectares were used for commercial development, and now host a private university, a government building, a market, office buildings, middle class residential developments and a multitude of temporary uses – gas-stations, a market, parking lots, and other plots that have not yet been developed. On the remaining two hectares, in the North West corner of the original plot, Phan Imex planned to build 10 six-storey buildings for re-housing the poor, with 29 flats per floor – for a total of 1,740 households (I was not able to explain the deficit of 26 units between 1740 unit to be built and 1766 units actually needed). The construction cost of these buildings would have been subsidised entirely by the commercial development of the rest of the site, with no resulting cost for the urban poor families.

Considering the count of 2329 households resulted from the public committee survey conducted in 2003 (Adler, Ketya and Menzies, 2008), therefore, 563 households had been excluded from the process upon pressures from the developer. A fierce land dispute followed. It worsened in 2012 when Phan Imex claimed bankruptcy (Khouth, 2012) and refused to build the ninth and tenth building. The total number of units built decreased from a total of 1,740 to 1,392, leaving at least 348 more households without a flat.

¹⁷⁷ Interviews 226, 227.

¹⁷⁸ As an important matter of clarification, no households were relocated together in the same unit.



6.9. Borei Keila land-sharing operation (elaboration by Author; source of base map: Digital Globe 2019)

I write 'at least 348' because, during my fieldwork, respectively 10 and 115 units had not yet been assigned in New Buildings G and H. These numbers brings the total of households having a claim in the dispute to 1062: 563 deemed non eligible at the beginning of the process; 26 units accounting for the original deficit between 1766 units actually needed and 1740 eventually designed; 348 not receiving a unit because of the failed construction of the ninth and tenth building; 125 who were eventually denied a unit in New Buildings G and H. Table 6.3 summarises these numbers, highlighting in red the households involved in the dispute, while anticipating the number of people evicted from the remnants of Borei Keila's informal settlement (see following sections) and relocated toward several destinations.

#	Households	Total	Notes
1	Households living in Borei Keila in 2003	2329	Survey by public committee
2	Households deemed eligible to be assigned a unit in the	1766	As per survey by public committee
	new housing for the poor		
3	Non-eligible households	563	As per survey by public committee
4	Units in the new housing for the poor (original project)	1740	29 units per floor, in ten 6-storey buildings
5	Deficit between units to be built and units actually designed	26	None of my sources was able to explain this deficit
6	Units actually built	1392	29 units per floor, in eight 6-storey buildings (following Phan Imex's bankruptcy claim)
7	Deficit between units designed and units actually built	348	Following Phan Imex's bankruptcy claim
8	Total units not yet assigned in 2015 (New Buildings G and H)	125	Empty and fenced-off units (10 in New Building G, 115 in New Building H)
9	Total households having a claim in the dispute (sum of #3, #5, #7, #8)	1062	
10	Households displaced to Tuol Sambo Tmey in 2009	31	See chapter 7, page 355
11	Households displaced to Tuol Sambo Tmey in 2012	88	See chapter 7, page 355
12	Households displaced to Phnom Bat in 2012	141	See chapter 7, page 363
13	Households in the illegal settlement in 2015	103	See below, page 257
14	Other households displaced between 2003 and 2015 (difference between #9 and the sum of #10, #11, #12 and #13)	699	Undocumented, either forcibly evicted or having moved out upon receiving a monetary compensation

Table 6.3. Summary of Borei Keila's households according to their eligibility or lack of eligibility in the land-sharing scheme (elaboration by Author. Sources of data: Adler et al. 2008, Author, Licadho 2009, STT 2012b, Rabé 2010)

Most of the excluded households underwent violent repression and evictions (Licadho, 2007, 2008, 2009; HRTF *et al.*, 2012; Licadho & Licadho Canada, 2012). Some of them got relocated in 2009 and 2012 (see Table 6.3 above): the two relocation sites of Tuol Sambo Tmey (see chapter 7, page 355) and Phnom Bat (page 363) lie respectively 21km and 55km away from

the city centre. A total of 103 households¹⁷⁹ managed to stay on site for a few more years (they will eventually get relocated to Andong Tmey, 16km from the centre, between 2016 and 2018, see page 373): some kept occupying the old derelict residential slabs, other re-built small shacks in the leftovers of the new developments, and frequently demonstrated against the MPP and Phan Imex [Figure 6.10]. Below, I refer to such spatialities simply as 'illegal settlement'. ¹⁸⁰ Figure 6.11 shows the illegal settlement and the other spatialities I investigate in the next sections.

Noticeably, Table 6.3 above shows how the destiny of 699 households has remained undocumented. Several sources¹⁸¹ explained that such households: either left immediately in 2003, after not having been included in the list of assignees; or had actually never lived on site; or were forcibly evicted in 2009 and 2012, without being offered a plot or a unit in a relocation site; or were at some point offered a small monetary compensation by Phan Imex in order to leave the site.

According to Rabé (2010), at the core of the conflict ensued in Borei Keila, there lay the lack of an institution playing a mediating role between the parties. Phan Imex reportedly asked NGO representatives to leave the site and the entire process because their work had allegedly slowed down the construction of the new units and risked legitimising those households excluded from the original agreement. A representative from UPDF, who was strongly involved in activities of community organisation and supplied technical aid for the design of the new units, told me that:

"it started well, with Somsook [Boonyabancha, director of ACHR] dialoguing fruitfully with the Municipality and Phan Imex, but then the company told us they did not want us to keep organising the communities in saving groups, nor to involve them in the design process. They went for a denser scheme and assigned the flats through a lottery, which caused issues to many families receiving flats on the fifth and sixth floors... Sometimes though there are elderlies in a household, other times the household leader is a seller, and how can you run a commercial activity on the top floors? Bribes affected the entire process, with people getting a flat in spite of never having lived on-site, and powerful subjects like policemen and community leaders receiving all the flats on the first two floors".182

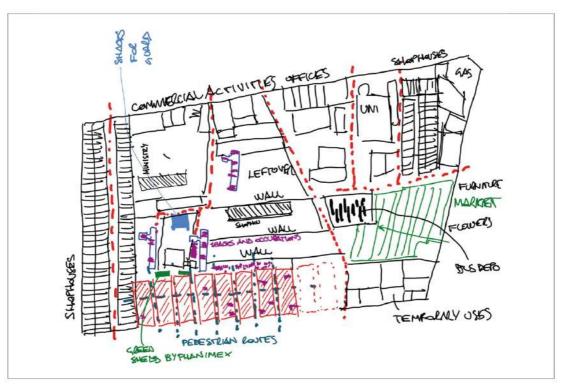
¹⁷⁹ According to a survey I ran in May 2015.

¹⁸⁰ I acknowledge this definition is problematic from a political standpoint and even from a legal one, but I decided to stick to it because it is the most often used in reports and newspaper articles.

¹⁸¹ Interviews 227, 228, 229, 332, 333, 334.

¹⁸² Interview 227.





6.10. A group of dwellers excluded from the land-sharing agreement and now living in the illegal settlement in Borei Keila, demonstrating in front of the MPP while holding a render of the 2003 official proposal for the site (source: Author) 6.11. Map of Borei Keila, sketched after first reconnaissances (elaboration by Author)

Other reasons behind Borei Keila's conflict have been found in the lack of transparency of the development plans and of the relationship between public authorities and the private company Phan Imex. On one hand, the project for the transformation of Borei Keila's entire plot was never released publicly, apart from an artistic impression portraying the 10 new buildings facing a sort of park [see again Figure 6.10]. On the other hand, authorities have been often accused to have constantly favoured Phan Imex, whose owner Suy Sophan has been said to be part of Prime Minister Hun Sen's clan (Vida, 2014).¹⁸³

6.5. The leftovers of Borei Keila's land-sharing process: the illegal settlement

6.5.1. The illegal settlement: composition and numbers

At the core of Borei Keila's land dispute, stuck between the new profit-driven developments (see page 301) and the new housing for the poor (see page 273), there lay a ruined landscape [Figure 6.12] inhabited by those households who had resisted the evictions of 2009 and 2012 (Licadho & Licadho Canada, 2012). Such landscape was landmarked by three derelict fourstorey buildings (dating back to Borei Keila's origins as village for athletes, see above), surrounded by shacks made of tarpaulin and scrap materials, quickly rebuilt after the 2012 demolitions. 184 Two sheds of green-painted corrugated iron completed the picture: these had been provided by Phan Imex, as temporary housing for households who had been promised a unit in the unbuilt ninth and tenth buildings of the new housing for the poor. In May 2015, 185 I counted 39 households living in the old buildings, 56 households living in shacks, 8 households in the green sheds, for a total of 103 households. Table 6.4 below breaks down these numbers, adding information on the number of abandoned or forcibly vacated units.

Table 6.5 below highlights the size of the households across the illegal settlement, combining numbers from May 2014 and May 2015. More than 40% of the households was composed by more than 5 members, suggesting a high level of overcrowding of the units (which measure 32sqm in the Old Buildings but an average of only 10sqm in the shacks and green sheds).

¹⁸³ A common condition for Cambodian entrepreneurs – the same allegations were raised against Shukaku Inc. (developers of Boeung Kak) and 7NG Group (developers of Dey Krahorm).

¹⁸⁴ Interviews 258, 263, 227, 228.

¹⁸⁵ See footnote 179.



6.12. Photographic notes on spatial dimensions of Borei Keila's illegal settlement, after first reconnaissances (Source: Author)

Building		Number of households	Empty units
Green sheds	Shed #1	2	4
	Shed #2	6	6
	Total sheds	8	10
Shacks	'strip'	38	-
	'rectangle'	18	-
	Total shacks	56	-
Old Building F	Ground floor	5	11 ¹⁸⁶
	First floor	5	7
	Second floor	3	9
	Third floor	2	10
	Total 'F'	15	37
Old Building H	Ground floor	-	12
	First floor	6	6
	Second floor	4	8
	Third floor	3	9
	Total 'H'	13	35
Old Building D	Ground floor	6	6
	First floor	3	9
	Second floor	2	10
	Third floor	-	12
	Total 'D'	11	35
Total		103	117

Table 6.4. Distribution of households in Borei Keila's illegal settlement, May 2015 (Source: Author)

People in the	May 2014 (I	BUDD, 2014)	May 201	5 (Author)
households	Number of interviewed households	Percentage over interviewed househods	Number of interviewed households	Percentage over interviewed househods
10 or more	1	1.6%	-	0.0%
9	4	6.6%	-	0.0%
8	3	4.9%	1	5.9%
7	2	3.3%	1	5.9%
6	9	14.8%	2	11.8%
5	10	16.4%	3	17.6%
4	13	21.3%	4	23.5%
3	7	11.5%	3	17.6%
2	9	14.8%	2	11.8%
1	3	4.9%	1	5.9%
Total	61	100.0%	17	100.0%

Table 6.5. Size of the households in the illegal settlement (elaboration by Author. Source of data: Author; BUDD, 2014)

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¹⁸⁶ The total number of units on the ground floor of building F is higher than the one on the ground floors of buildings H and D, as some units have resulted from informal expansions.

An average of 1.3 people per households (see below table 6.6) said to be employed, quite a lower average if compared to the 2.1 per household in the new housing for the poor (see below, page 275). About a quarter of employed people were ragpickers, and roughly 30% (the number varies according to each survey) said to be a construction worker. The distribution of such activities was quite even across the several buildings of the illegal settlement, except for police officers that were all concentrated in Old Building D. Evidence from the interviews shows, however, that the police officers' group in Old Building D was just one of a few groups of households with different aims, aspirations and political affiliations. The following sub-sections investigate the narratives of such groups.

Employed as	May 2014 (BUDD, 2014)		May 2015	
	Number	percentage	Number	percentage
Cleaners	1	1.4%	-	0.0%
Construction workers	25	34.2%	6	26.1%
Garment factory workers	2	2.7%	-	0.0%
Hairdressers	2	2.7%	-	0.0%
Policemen	7	9.6%	3	13.0%
Ragpickers	18	24.7%	6	26.1%
Seamstresses	2	2.7%	1	4.3%
Security guards	6	8.2%	2	8.7%
Tuk tuk drivers	2	2.7%	1	4.3%
Vendors	6	8.2%	3	13.0%
Total	73 (1.20 per surveryed household)	100.0%	23 (1.35 per interviewed household)	100.0%

Table 6.6. Employment in the illegal settlement (elaboration by Author. Source: Author; BUDD, 2014)

6.5.2. The shacks and Old Building F

The illegal settlement's shacks occupied a thin strip of land between the new housing for the poor and the new developments [Figure 6.13], and an open rectangular space [Figure 6.14] between two derelict buildings (Old Building F, Old Building H).

On the thin strip of land, shacks were aligned on two rows. Here, in the free space between the units, people relaxed and chatted in the shadow, while life around them was frenetic: a small informal market sold vegetables, motorbikes went back and forth from an adjacent parking lot, children played climbing up fencing walls and apparently not minding the piles of rubbish [Figure





6.13. Strip of shacks extending between Borei Keila's new housing for the poor and a fenced plot (Source: Author) 6.14. Shacks occupying a quasi-rectangular space opposite to Borei Keila's Old Building F (Source: Author)

6.15]. The amount of garbage had grown over time, because of the lack of collection on this side of the plot. Inhabitants of the new housing for the poor often threw rubbish down from the upper floors, too, to the extent that the several piles of rubbish follow closely the footprint of the new buildings. Interviewees from the new housing for the poor said that some of them did it because of laziness, simply to avoid carrying the rubbish downstairs, and do not seem to mind the annoyance caused to the inhabitants of the shacks.¹⁸⁷ Beyond a narrow passage covered with rubble and rubbish, more shacks gathered in a sort of dense rectangular block in front of Old Building F [see again Figure 6.14 above]. None of the shacks had a toilet: households used the collective toilets and showers provided by Phan Imex in the ground floor of New Buildings A and F, although there is a fee to pay [Figure 6.16]. Toilets are present in most of the units in Old Building F, self-built by the households in the back of the units – sometimes even on a cantilever to gain more footprint space [Figure 6.17]. The toilet pipes are visibly marking the rear façade of the building. The building had 12 units per floors, all composed by a single room, creatively divided by the households according to their needs. Some of the households actively used the open-air distribution corridor in front of their entrance door [Figure 6.18].

In May 2015, twenty-one units had already been vacated, and their households evicted. MPP representatives had sprayed giant 'OK' signs on the walls of the evacuated units, walling their entrances or shutting them through metal panels [Figure 6.19].

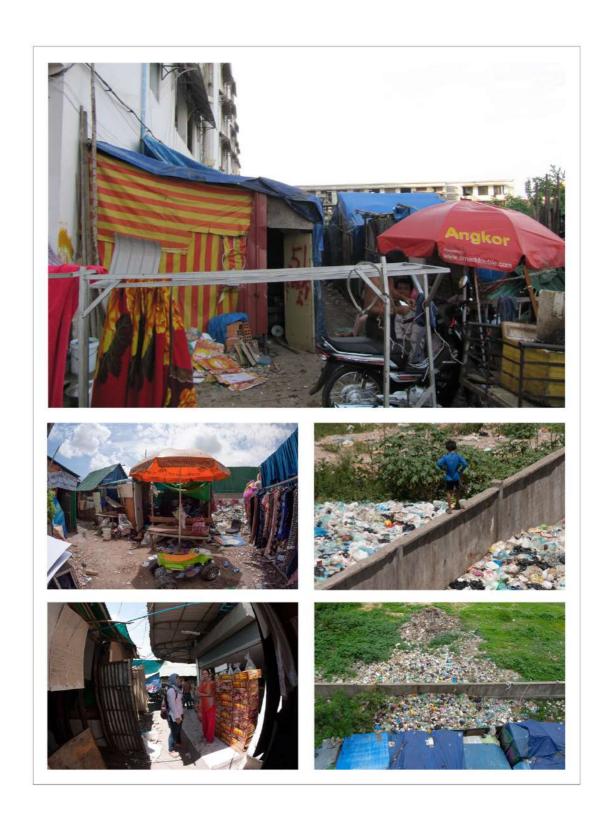
The total of 56 households living in shacks and of 15 still living in old building F had collectively demanded, through the legal and organisational support of the NGO Licadho, a fair solution to the land dispute (Licadho, 2008). Some of them had hung banners with words of protest on their doors, and often wore t-shirts printed especially for them by Licadho [Figure 6.20]. "We want the company to build the ninth and tenth buildings, so we could have the units to which we are entitled. Our life is very difficult now", said a 45-year-old woman¹⁸⁸ who lived on the ground floor of Old Building F, the façade of her unit covered by Buddhist flags.

Many households within this group, however, held different claims. One man living on the third floor of old building F said that he certainly "would accept compensation in money, but the government and the company are no longer available to negotiate". ¹⁸⁹ In the same building, on the second floor, a woman living with her mother, her husband and two kids, said that they knew "that the authorities and Phan Imex have recently agreed to a relocation to Andong Tmey,

¹⁸⁷ Interviews 156, 181.

¹⁸⁸ Interview 247.

¹⁸⁹ Interview 246.



6.15. Images of everyday life in the strip occupied by shacks, and rubbish thrown from the upper flloors (Source: Author)





6.16. Collective toilets on the ground floor of New Building F (Source: Author)
6.17. Toilets built on the cantilevered structure on the back of Borei Keila's Old Building F (Source: Author)





6.18. Use of the distribution corridors on the upper floors of Old Building F (Source: Author) 6.19. Forcibly vacated units in Old Building F (Source: Author)





6.20. Protest banners in front of a unit of Old Building F, ground floor (Source: Author)
6.21. A woman and her grandchildren in front of her housing unit, opposite to Old Building F (Source: Author)

and that Licadho might endorse this decision, but we really would not want to go there, even if Licadho will suggest so". 190 An old woman living in one of the shacks mentioned that her son had "got one of the new flats, but we also need to keep staying here because we should be entitled to two units." 191 She looked exhausted and tells me how difficult her situation was, with two grandchildren living with her. Her house is made of tarpaulin sheets and built against a fencing wall, partially in ruin; pieces of broken bricks unevenly cover the ground [Figure 6.21].

6.5.3. Old Buildings H and D

Old Building H, the northernmost one, looked equally derelict but, compared to Old Building F, felt tidier and better conserved (most of the original floor tiles are still there, for instance) [Figure 6.22]. Here, the families (thirteen in total) seemed to enjoy a certain degree of separation from the rest of the area, probably because of the difficultly in accessing this building from the central part of the settlement. The lower number of families seemed to allow a higher level of spatial control, too. A woman, 35-year-old, resting with her kids and one neighbour on the staircase landing on the first floor [Figure 6.23], told me that:

"no, we do not participate to the demonstrations along with the other group, and nobody asked us whether we want to be relocated to Andong. We just want fair compensation, if we cannot get a flat in the new buildings. Otherwise we can keep being here too, our units are fine". 192

Toward the eastern side of the plot, lay Old Building D, away from the chaos of the most congested areas of the plot. It looked as derelict as the other blocks, but a few fragments of it were repainted with colourful paint [Figure 6.24]. All households on the ground floor had expanded their units in the adjacent open space —used as garden and where a toilet and some storage blocks had been built [Figures 6.25]. Phan Imex had painted part of the first floor walls in white, and renovated two adjacent units to set up an office in there, that eventually never opened. 193 The eleven households living in this block, asserted to have lawful possession 194 of their flats and conducted their own separate struggle with the MPP and Phan Imex. All household leaders were police officers. A 40-year-old woman living in a big unit on the ground

191 Interview 256.

193 Interview 267, 268.

¹⁹⁰ Interview 248.

¹⁹² Interview 250.

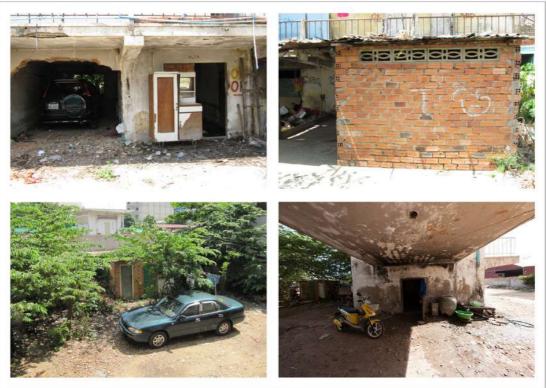
¹⁹⁴ Interviews 267, 268, 269, 270.





6.22. Old Building H (Source: Author) 6.23. A group of people spending time in the commong spaces of Old Building H (Source: Author)





6.24. Old Building D (Source: Author) 6.25. Ground floors of Old Building D (Source: Author)

floor (her husband built an extension occupying part of the front yard) told me very passionately that they

"do not believe the company will build the ninth and tenth buildings, and do not want any of the units still available in the eighth building, since they have already got in bad conditions. We want to move out but we will not accept any compensation below thirty-five thousand dollars per unit: we live happily and in safety here, we have our own open space with garden and parking lot, so we do not see why we should move away, at least without getting a compensation that would allow us to buy a flat somewhere else. We do not speak to NGOs and do not have any relationship with the people demonstrating against the authorities – and we could not join them, in any case, because of our job". 195

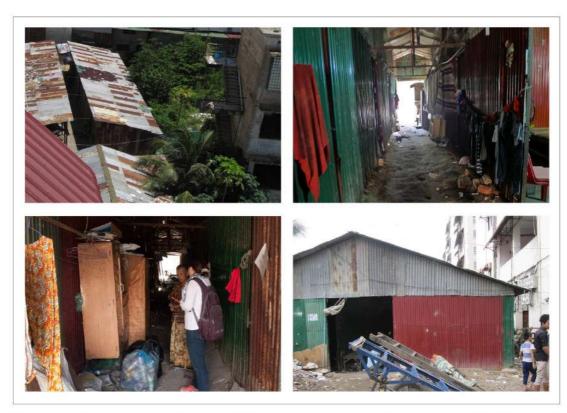
6.5.4. The green sheds

Phan Imex built two green sheds of corrugated iron, as 'temporary' solution for households legitimately entitled to a flat in the unbuilt ninth and tenth building. While some of these households eventually accepted a low monetary compensation and moved away, at the time of my survey, eight of them had lived there for about six years (since 2009). Their units measured 16 square meters, with no services and reaching extremely elevated temperatures due to the lack of insulation [Figure 6.26]. The units had no views toward the outside, nor possibility of expansion – although one of the sheds was organised along a central distribution corridor, which some households had occupied with furniture. The households mentioned that – because of fear toward Phan Imex – they did not want to engage with the struggle of the main group, although they sympathised with it.¹⁹⁶ A woman of about 65 year old, mentions that she would like to move away but this would entail losing the right to claim a unit in the new buildings in the future.¹⁹⁷ The company keeps these households in a suspended condition: they cannot leave, nor protest.

¹⁹⁵ Interview 267.

¹⁹⁶ Interviews 259, 260, 261, 262.

¹⁹⁷ Interview 259.





6.26. 'Temporary' green sheds in Borei Keila's illegal settlement (Source: Author) 6.27. Old Building E, demolished in early 2013 (Source: Author)

OBSERVED	SPATIAL DIMENSIONS						GOVERNMENTAL DIMENSIONS	SIONS			
PRACTICES	A. Spaces for cultures and economies	B. Infrastructures	C. Public and open spaces	D. Built fabric / Land- marks	E. Housing and dwell- ing	F. Leftovers and thresholds	G. Architectural Forms	H. Discourses and sci- entific (philanthropic statements	I. Institutions and 'lows'	J. Policy and regula- tory frameworks	K. Techniques of government / administra- tive measures
Maype eviced and the Maype eviced and demot- lated the original saum settlement in two differ- ent waves in 2008 and in 2012. Some of the evictoses strove to re- main on site.	See #2E	The upgrading process completely disregarded the original axes. The unite had to lets self-built on the ground or, in the case of the original buildings, on cantlevers.	The units were gather- ing around a few main public spaces, whose features and position were brigily disregarded in the upgrading pro-	The fine grain of the original site was replaced by a subdivision in coase grain plots. Landmarks on site were either disregarched (e.g. the points) or purposely left in a dereitict state.	Households had either occupied the unds in the oxign at buildings or self-built one or two slovery units on the ground.	The land bears the traces of the evictions perpetrated by Phan Imex and the MPP.	See #1D.	The land-shuring opera- tion was salided by SDI, ACHR and the RGC as a great altheror to put the poor at the centre of the process and ac- knowledging their right to the cRy.	MPP and Phan Innex acted as dominant insti- tutions in the wrote pro- cess, eventually pushing any modisting organisa- tion out of it.	The operation followed the so-called "100 stums policy statement by Prime Minister Hun Sen.	The urban poor groups were surveyed and organised by a seried of NOOs (mainly UPDF and SUPP) that were eventually pushed out of the process by Phan Imax and the MPP.
2. Phan imex has given harrporary housing in the form of green- painted corrugated-iron sheds to a number of households.	Households do not run economic activities.	The green sheds do not have tolkets: house-holds use (for a fee) the ones provided by Phan Innex on the ground floor of building D.	The green sheds were airply designed by Phan Inek as blocks in a tree intestitial space, without any relationship with the context.	Phan linex distributed the blocks fransversally be the main distribution roats of Borei Kella's new housing for the poor. See also #2C.	The units are simple nectangular rooms measuring four meters by four, designed as such by Phan Imex. See also #24.	Most units by now have been vacated, reinforc- ing the lettover charac- ter of the green sheds.	The green sheds were provided as temporary, and then became permanent. The rooms have no views towerd the outside.	Households are official assigness but are kept in a suspended condition, with the promise of a unit in the never-to-built blocks I and J.	See #11,		Households were promised a unit in the new buildings. Phen linex then offered financial compensation only.
3. Fifty-six evictees have decided to make decided to mabulat an although an although and the Landhold and Housing Rights Teek Force.	informal commercial ac- votres are in the year- eat households. The exterior is pool- lated by berners pro- duced by LetchHo duced by LetchHo duced by LetchHo duced by LetchHo duced by LetchHo duced by LetchHo duced protecting the protection protection of the households are state into the analysis that heavel of analysis that	Households use the collective to this wood by Plan Innex. They have to pay a fee.	The space between the units spece between the units spece \$50,0 only configure as to re open sit conflox; sometimes shaded intrught tarpaulin sheets.	The units roughly fol- lows from partial sligh- ments in the intestitial space between the new housing for the poor and the result of the poly, and gather in a sort of define rockinguist block in front of old building F.	The new housing units have been but through the through through through the through through the sist by the households.	Households have occupated in the mercential agraces between the mer housing and the mest of the pior. Then is understanded in the mest of the pior. Then is understanded presence of unlocked and rebbs. The administration of the mest	Households have liter all young and you liter and according all the grace but available by lite new developments.	The new settlements is breated and recoursed as temporary and itself by the MRP and the MALNUC. The new settlement has been executed engine settlement has been recounted engine, settlement has been recounted engine.	LICADHO has ached as man instruction to have a cupported the actuage of these households, leaved several report and othered eagle assistance to the households are volved in the land dispense of the part of the households in the land dispense of the land dispense of the land dispense.	Public authorities in general have deemed the estherment as liegal but folerated it.	See 17.
4. Fifteen evictoes haver resisted in their units in Old Buikling F.	The settlement is populated by banners produced by LCADHO supporting the protect. Households parties into the strugger their level of involvement is not homogeneous.	Toles are self-buil by the households through the use of carel-brets and plots on the back of the building.	See #SC. The space be- tween building F and the lifegal shacks (see #3) acts of hada as public square and place of en- counter for the house- holds.	The old buildings plays at a rice as rulined land- mark of the area. Their importance, however, is acknowledged only by the households in-volved in the land dispute.	Some of the housing units have been pro- bundy modified by the coorpiest. House- hedes use part of the space of the distribution corridors as an exten- sion of their units.	The building is seen as a ruin by MPP and Phan Imper and Phan Imper and its real-files are considered disposable and to be evicted as soon as possible.	Unis are distributed eventy along the detri- bution controles. Empty units, by now valied (see §7) afternates to units that are still occupied.	See #3H.	See #3!. Some households nego- itate dready with the MPP and Phan Imex.	Public authorities in general have deemed the permanence of such households as lingal but toler ased it.	Sue IT.
5. The thirtoen house- holds living in Old Building H are rather indifferent to protests.	Households are open to several solutions to the land dispute and do not necessarily share the views of #3 and #4.	Tolets are self-built by the households through the use of canti- levers and pipes on the back of the building.	The distribution conf- dors and starcase land- ings act as public spaces, with the house- holds' leteure adsivities	See #4D.	See #5E.	See #4F.	See #4G	See #3H.	Households acknowledge the work of LICADHO but deal di- rectly with MPP and Phan linex.	Public authorities in general have deemed the permanence of such households as ilegal but toleraled it.	See 17.
6. The eleven house- holds thring in Old Building D refuse to take part to probests.	All households have at least one member who works for the police.	Tolets are self-built by the households through the use of canti- levers and pipes on the back of the building.	See #5C. The space op- poste the units on the ground floor is used as garden by the house- holds, with two bilets and storage space.	See #4D. Some portions of the faç ade have been painted in green and blue by the flouse-holds.	See #5E. Households on the ground floor have expanded their units. They use desekt parts of the buildings as parking lots.	See F4F.	See #4G.		Households do not acknowledge LICADHO's as relevant party in the negotistion and deal directly with MPP and Phan Imex.	Public authorities in general have deemed the permanence of such households as liegal but starfed a negotiation with them.	See F7.
7. The MPP and Phan Innex have ordered the demotions of Cid Buildings A. B. C. E. C. and Toroadly vacated a number of units in old buildings D, F. H.	See AFF	1.	.1	The walled units are adding up to the character of adding up to the character and are of absentioned land-marks of the old build-ings. The demallion of such buildings contribules to the creation of a coarser grain on alle.	The MPP and Phan times have regotlated with the households on a one-to-one basis, a one-to-one basis, and households and fooring flows to accept small compensation.	A number of units have been for by evacuated, and their entrance have been valled.	Household entrances have been walled or broked through a sol- dered meta parel, by MPP representatives.	See #3H.	MPP and Phan Innex are seen by the house-hold of the illogal act-fernent as the institution tions that have been pushing for the evictions agenda in the axea.	MPP representatives schol in disagreement with the Circular 03	See #7E. MPP repre- sertatives have sprayed glant OK' signs on the walls of the even- uated units. The units' entrances were either walled or shut through metalt parrels.
8. In December 2015, 37 households were of- fored a flat in new build- ing H by the MPP and Phan linex.	į.			Further demolliques are conductive for an even coarser grain on site.	Households access in- cremental housing in the form of 5 by 8 meters (by 4.5 in height) units.	The ilegal settement under goes further demoittons.	See #8E.	The MPP presents itself again in benevolent actor in the provision of housing to the poor.		The households' on-ste relocation referred even- tually to the land-sharing its arrework set up in 2003.	×
Between 2016 and 2018, 84 eligible house- holds were offered com- pensation or relocation to Andong Tiney.	The 29 households ac- cepting to relocate to Andong Trrey have had their social and bust- nass natworks dis- rupted.	0.	,	See #8F	See table 7.7.	After further demotitions (see #8F), only Old Building F is left stand- ing	See table 7.7.	See #8H.	3 0	The relocation to knwed the tramework of the 2014 National Housing Policy.	Households have re- ported threats and com- plained about the very low monetary compen- sation they were of- tered.

Table 6.7. Synthesis of Borei Keila's illegal settlements design practices, deconstructed in their spatial and governmental dimensions (elaboration by Author)

6.5.5. Final demolitions

Borei Keila's illegal settlement was torn down during the course of my research. During my first visit in December 2012, Old Building C and E were still standing [Figure 6.27] but were demolished only three months later to make room for new developments. There was one more temporary green shed, that was disassembled over the same period. The number of households living in each of the Old Buildings decreased considerably up to the day when I was finally able to run a survey (May 2015), while the number of spray-painted 'OKs' on evacuated units increased. Although the Old Buildings played a landmark role in the words of their inhabitants, they were seen as disposable ruins by authorities and Phan Imex. 198

Noticeably, at the time of writing, only Old Building F still stands, with a few households still negotiating with public authorities (STT, 2016; Phak and Kijewski, 2017; Soth and Kijewski, 2018). Between January 2016 and January 2018, 37 households from the illegal settlement were finally granted a unit in New Building H, while a total of 84 households have been offered either a very small compensation (5000 USD only), or a housing unit in the relocation site of Andong Tmey, 15km away from Borei Keila (see chapter 7, page 373). The settlement has been gradually demolished: a new road has been traced over the thin strip of land once occupied by two parallel roads of shacks, while the plots where Old Buildings D and H lay are being redeveloped (STT, 2016; Phak and Kijewski, 2017; Soth and Kijewski, 2018).

Table 6.7 synthesises the above information, acknowledging the complexity of spatial and governmental practices in Borei Keila's illegal settlements. I analyse such synthesised information in section 6.8 below.

6.6. THE NEW HOUSING FOR THE POOR

6.6.1. The new housing

The North-Eastern strip of the site is occupied by eight white six-storey rectangular blocks, hosting 174 units each, i.e. 29 units per floor [Figures 6.28 and, above, 6.7 and 6.8]. Noticeably, during my fieldwork, the units in New Buildings A to F were all occupied, while New Buildings G and H had respectively 10 and 115 empty units [Figure 6.29] – see also above, page 257, for an overall count of Borei Keila's housing units demand. The blocks measure 22 by 66 metres

¹⁹⁸ Interview 230.





6.28. Borei Keila's new housing for the poor (Source: Author) 6.29. An empty housing units in New Building H (Source: Author)

and lie only six meters away from each other: each building is separated by narrow and tall alleys, whose frontages are activated by a multiplicity of commercial activities [Figure 6.30]. Looking up, hemi-circular balconies populate the internal façades of the blocks, and add vibrancy to otherwise pretty rigid elevations: all balconies have been indeed personalised by the households, that have painted their railings, used the outer space as natural extension of the housing units, added 'tiger-cages' for security reasons [see again Figure 6.30]. The façades on the short side of the buildings are cut by just six aligned rectangular openings, marking the two ends of the distribution corridor on each floor.

The mainstream focus on Borei Keila's land dispute has completely overshadowed the new housing for the poor, that has been completely disregarded in any analysis of the current situation (Licadho, 2007; Khuon, 2014).¹⁹⁹ My investigation, while acknowledging the potential of the new housing units and common spaces, question the new housing as an obsolescing urbanism, revealing the presence of elements of ruination and of marginal spaces and populations. Below, I concentrate first on the upper floors of the new housing, and then on its ground floors (see page 289).

6.6.2. The new housing for the poor's upper floors

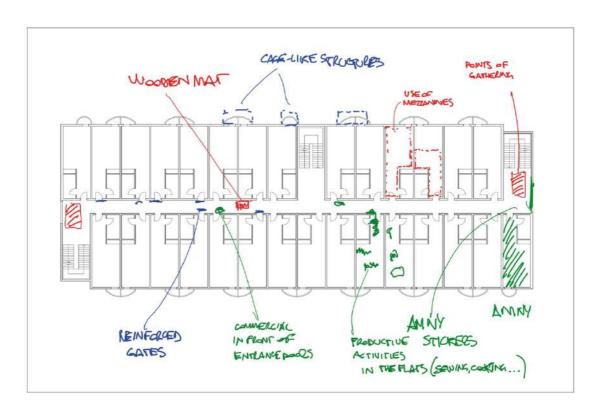
Although the new buildings [Figures 6.31, 6.32a, 6.32b] to house the poor were eventually designed by Phan Imex's professionals, representatives from ACHR and SDI played an important role in suggesting solutions that were mindful of the complex needs and aspiration of Borei Keila's poor families.²⁰⁰ All units measure the same size (about five by eight metres), and are all provided with toilets and with a balcony [Figure 6.33] – split in half with the next housing unit. Their ceilings are 4.2 metres high, to allow the construction of a mezzanine to expand the available floor area. Nearly ten years after the construction of the first buildings, several families were able to take advantage of this possibility [Figure 6.34] – some of them even doubling the original surface area of their unit. The expansions followed either the growth of the household or the inclusion of productive activities within it, or the will to sublet part of the original flat to a newcomer, to generate an additional household income. Table 6.8 below shows that 56% of the interviewed households have six or more members – with peaks of even 14 and 15 people

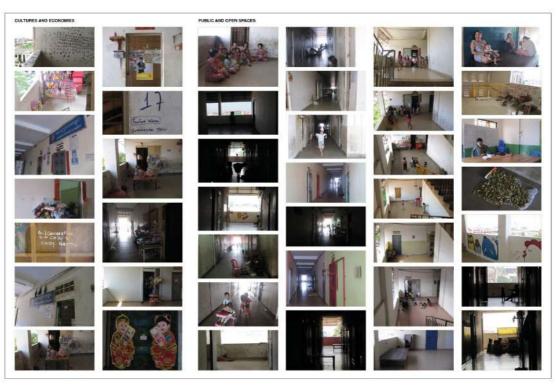
¹⁹⁹ See also interviews 229, 332, 333.

²⁰⁰ Interview 226.

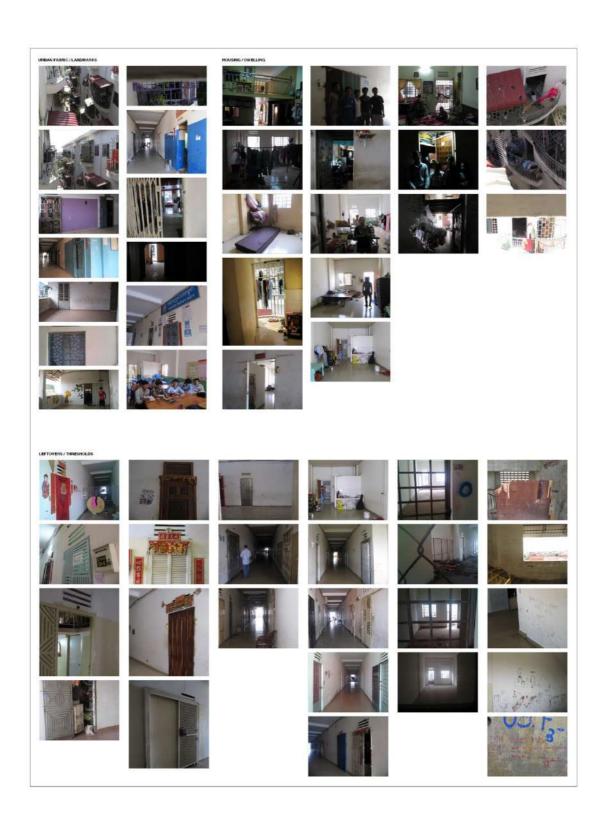


6.30. A public alley in between Borei Keila's new housing for the poor, and balconies facing it (Source: Author)





6.31. Plan of Borei Keila's new housing for the poor upper floors, sketched after first reconnaissances (Source: Author) 6.32a. Photographic notes on spatial dimensions of Borei Keila's new housing for the poor (upper floors), after first reconnaissances (elaboration by Author; source of photographs: Author)



6.32b and 6.32c. Photographic notes on spatial dimensions of Borei Keila's new housing for the poor (upper floors), after first reconnaissances (elaboration by Author; source of photographs: Author)





6.33. A non-modified housing unit (Source: Author) 6.34. Use of mezzanines in modified housing units (Source: Author)

in one single unit²⁰¹ — while small, two-three members, households accounted for only the 12.2% of the interviewees.

People in the household	Number of interviewed households	Percentage of interviewed households
11 or more	8	8.9%
10	4	4.4%
9	5	5.6%
8	6	6.7%
7	9	10.0%
6	18	20.0%
5	15	16.7%
4	14	15.6%
3	3	3.3%
2	8	8.9%
TOTAL	90	100.0%

Table 6.8. Size of the households in the new housing for the poor's upper floors (Source: Author).

Noticeably, all over the new housing for the poor, the concept of 'household' does not overlap the one of family. Many of the interviewees were sharing the unit with friends:

"We are four people in the flat and we pay 50 USD per month to the landlord, which no longer lives in Borei Keila. In the flat next to ours there are three people sharing the flat like we do",²⁰²

said a worker in the food-sector in Phnom Penh, who came to Borei Keila in 2008 from Kandal Province to be closer to the university and be able to graduate. Another interviewee²⁰³ mentioned he came to Phnom Penh to study and shares the flat with 5 more students, all come directly from provinces to attend a private university, and all arrived within the last two years.

Amongst the interviewed households, an average of 2.1 people per household said to be employed – quite a higher number compared to the average of 1.3 people per household highlighted in the illegal settlement. Table 6.9 below shows that the overall employment picture is quite diverse (and much more diverse in comparison to the one resulting in the informal settlement, see Table 6.6 above).

²⁰¹ Interviews 170, 206.

²⁰² Interview 172.

²⁰³ Interview 157.

Employed as	Number	Percentage
Casino employees (at Naga World)	2	0.5%
Construction worker	11	5.8%
Garment industry worker	8	4.2%
Hairdressers	18	9.5 %
Market workers	7	3.7%
Masseuses	3	1.6%
Moto-dup drivers	6	3.2%
Mechanics	2	1.1%
Pharmaceutical company employee	1	0.5%
Policemen	13	6.9%
School teachers	3	1.6%
Seamstresses or tailors	21	11.1%
Security guards	7	3.7%
Shop owners (on the ground floor)	14	7.4%
Shop owners (somewhere else)	2	1.1.%
Street vendors	15	7.9%
Tuk-tuk or moto-dup drivers	27	14.3%
Waiters or waitresses	23	12.2%
Waste collection workers	3	1.6%
Total	189 (average of 2.1 employed people per household)	100.0%

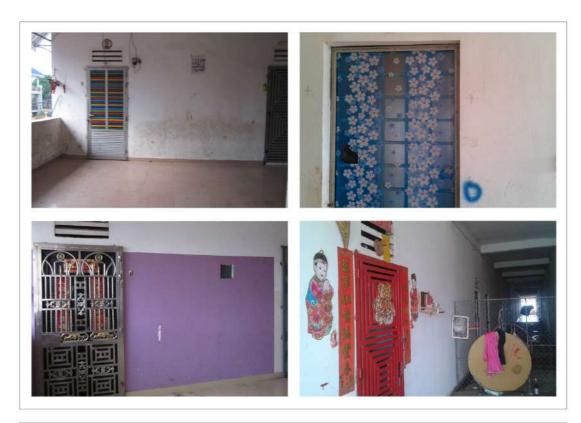
Table 6.9. Employment in the new housing for the poor's upper floors (Source: Author)

The units lie on two sides of long distribution corridors, designed with enough width (1.8 metres) to allow good ventilation and small gatherings: this layout repeats on all floors, in all buildings [Figure 6.35]. There is often a pleasant breeze, especially on the last two floors, and most corridors are intensely used by both children and adults. Many households have temporarily appropriated part of the corridors with wooden mats or set up small commercial stalls. Other households use the corridor for cooking. Sometimes, entrance doors and the surrounding walls have turned into the opportunity to display a household's cultural identity, featuring decorations carrying religious symbols, badges or flags of political parties, wall-paint of different colours [Figure 6.36].

Evidence from the interviews shows how the lottery process used to assign the units to the eligible households has disrupted the original community groups living in Borei Keila's informal settlement, to the point that today no trace is left of the original eight communities. Households have been scattered across the new housing, regardless of any former social network. The totality of the interviewees confirmed the absence of community structures:



6.35. Everyday life in Borei Keila's new housing for the poor, upper floors (Source: Author)







6.36. Borei Keila's new housing for the poor: decorated entrances to the housing units (Source: Author) 6.37. Borei Keila's new housing for the poor: reinforced gates (Source: Author)

"We have nothing at the community level: there are no community savings, there are no organisations working here... I would be happy to take part in saving groups if there were someone organising them. We just have a head of the building that is the same guy that is running the parking on the ground floor".²⁰⁴

The lottery process was corrupted through bribes,²⁰⁵ too: flats of a higher value (namely the ones on the first two floors) were distributed to powerful households²⁰⁶ – community leaders, policemen, and their closest social or business networks.

A 45-year-old woman, a housewife on the fourth floor of New Building C,²⁰⁷ recalled how she was assigned the new flat: "had I had the choice I would have chosen a flat on the first floor... it is too dark but I could have then sold it for a better price: here I could for about 10'000 USD, there I would do 20-30'000 USD". She said that, because of these profitable market prices, many people moved out from the first floor, selling or renting out to newcomers. "Also on the fourth floor there is at least one family renting. Again, here it would be 70USD to rent, while on the first floor more than 100 per month".²⁰⁸

A high number of interviewees remembered with nostalgia their social networks in the informal settlement. A 50-year-old woman living in New Building A, fourth floor, said that:

"I was living on the ground and liked everybody. I had to come here and all the relationships were broken. Now I just know the people living in the flat in front of my door, not the others as I am never home. From the balcony I can see the family on the other side [New Building B] but I have never had any communication with them".²⁰⁹

Another woman, about 35-years-old, again from New Building A (third floor), offers a distinct perspective:

"The previous house was much better; it was on the ground floor and it was easier... But I had a rent to pay to the slumlord every month. Now there is no rent and we have a school downstairs for my son",²¹⁰ [referring to PIO's school on the ground floor of Building A, see page 289].

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<sup>204</sup> Interview 168.
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²⁰⁵ See footnote 57, page 136.

²⁰⁶ Interview 145, 161, 164, 183.

²⁰⁷ Interview 158.

²⁰⁸ Interview 158.

²⁰⁹ Interview 135.

²¹⁰ Interview 137.

Some interviewees focused more on the distress of moving to the new buildings, caused by the inadequacy of temporary shelters and the lack of infrastructures allowing a smooth transition from the informal settlement to the new housing. A 35-year-old man, a tuk-tuk driver living on the fifth floor of Building D, told me that:

"I temporarily lived in a small house with no windows before moving into the new flat. It was provided by Phan Imex he is referring to one of the green sheds, that initially were in a high numbers more than the two left on site at It took two years in total and it was hard, especially with the rainy season".211

Some interviewees,²¹² however, say they managed to get the flat in the new housing for the poor before their original house was demolished in the old settlement. This, however, is a situation that is much more common in New Buildings A-B-C, which were the first ones to be delivered in year 2008 and did not undergo any delay.

Original assignees however are today just one part of Borei Keila's new housing for the poor. As mentioned above, many housing units have been sold or rented out through informal transactions²¹³ to newcomers. Table 6.10 below shows the percentage of newcomers amongst my interviewees – exactly one third of the total. Noticeably, 60% of the interviewed newcomers were renting from an original assignee, that had moved elsewhere,²¹⁴ while 40% had bought the housing unit.²¹⁵ Amongst the renters, two interviewees in New Building G declared they were not actually newcomers: they had lived in Borei Keila's informal settlement and, after not being selected as eligible assignees, they simply decided to rent a flat in the new housing for the poor.

²¹¹ Interview 169.

²¹² Interviews 133, 146, 160, 171.

²¹³ Interviews 164, 177, 186.

²¹⁴ In one particular case (interview 153), the original assignee had moved to another new building.

²¹⁵ Only two interviewees (interviews 156, 176) were happy to mention how much they had paid for their units – 10000 and 16000 USD respectively for a flat on the fifth floor of New Building A and for a flat on the third floor of New Building C.

Building	Original assignees amongst interviewed household (percentage)	Newcomers amongst interviewed household (percentage)	Newcomers renters (percentage of newcomers)	Newcomers owners (percentage of newcomers)
Α	8 (66.7%)	4 (33.3%)	2 (50.0%)	2 (50.0%)
В	8 (66.7%)	4 (33.3%)	2 (50.0%)	2 (50.0%)
C	6 (50.0%)	6 (50.0%)	5 (83.3%)	1 (16.7%)
D	7 (58.3%)	5 (41.7%)	3 (60.0%)	2 (40.0%)
E	9 (75.0%)	3 (25.0%)	2 (66.7%)	1 (33.3%)
F	9 (75.0%)	3 (25.0%)	3 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)
G	8 (66.7%)	4 (33.3%)	1 (25.0%)	3 (75.0%)
Н	5 (83.3%)	1 (16.7%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (100%)
Total	60 (66.7%)	30 (33.3%)	18 (60%)	12 (40%)

Table 6.10. Distribution of original assignees and newcomers across interviewed households (Source: Author)

Evidence from the interviews²¹⁶ shows that newcomers are systematically excluded by any form of decision making, and often blamed for the mismanagement of the common spaces and for minor crimes. A 40-year-old woman living on the fifth floor of New Building A mentioned that:

"We arrived in 2012. The owner was actually a relative and sold us his flat for 10'000 USD. My husband is now working in Thailand and four of us in the flat, out of six, work: two work in security, two are hairdressers, I am a cook in a restaurant. I like this place because it is much less noisy and dangerous than were I used to live, nearby the Samaki Market,²¹⁷ but I find very difficult to interact with my new neighbours. There is stigma toward the newcomers, even if we are many by now. Many of the original inhabitants blame us for everything, as if we were the ones bringing crime and producing rubbish, I don't know why they say that, it's very frustrating."²¹⁸

Some newcomers consider themselves as temporary occupiers (this is the case for instance amongst university students), and very often do not know much about Borei Keila's past events. A young male student²¹⁹ living on the sixth floor of New Building B mentioned that he had arrived very recently, only two weeks before I interviewed him:

"I got here upon suggestion from a friend, who told me there was great availability of flats to share, for cheap. I eventually found this flat, but the owner has just it and let me know I will have to move.

²¹⁶ Interviews 149, 185, 204.

 $^{^{217}}$ About 5km from Borei Keila, toward the periphery.

²¹⁸ Interview 133.

²¹⁹ Interview 143.

I found another bed-seat on the fifth floor of New Building B... I'm worried about the removals, as I'll have to take all my stuff again down for six floors and up for five".

A few interviewees amongst the original assignees²²⁰ claimed that the high number of newcomers, and their turnover, make exceedingly difficult to establish stable relationship with their neighbours. Despite being a place of encounter, the common corridors are not necessarily conducive to the formation of strong networks between the several households. Many interviewees complained they do not know anybody apart from the people living right in front of them.²²¹ Others mentioned to have relationships only with people living on their same floor.²²²

Importantly, several interviewees²²³ blamed the lack of stronger and more established forms of social organisation on Phan Imex and the quasi-total control the private company holds on the new housing for the poor. Evidence from the interviews shows that a few inhabitants have been given the role of paid 'watchdogs' (one per floor, plus eight 'heads of building', one per building)²²⁴ by Phan Imex. Such watchdogs report any sort of activity to Phan Imex and ask the inhabitants for bribes²²⁵ to loosen their surveillance. All interviewees confirmed they had to negotiate with the company through such 'representatives' to build a mezzanine, to make a modification to the layout, or to open up a small productive or commercial activity within the housing unit. "I'd leave if I could, because we are not free here",²²⁶ said one 45 year old man living on the third floor of New Building D, adding that one of the watchdogs had reported him to Phan Imex when he attempted to modify his flat without permission.

The desire to leave Borei Keila's new housing for the poor was also expressed by interviewees whose households were undergoing financial hardships.²²⁷ They mostly blamed the impossibility on running a business in the upper floors. A 50-year-old woman living on the sixth floor of New Building G said that she:

"would move somewhere else, if I could. It is very difficult here to run a household when you live on the sixth floor and you need to go shopping downstairs. It is also complicated to find a job, in spite of the central location. I lived in the upper floor of a small two-storey building in the old

²²⁰ Interviews 153, 163, 186.

²²¹ Interviews 158, 169.

²²² Interviews 133, 159.

²²³ Interviews 140, 155, 169, 179.

²²⁴ Interviews 140, 155, 169, 179.

²²⁵ See footnote 57, page 136.

²²⁶ Interview 173.

²²⁷ Interview 199, 211.

settlement, and it was easy for me to buy food, cook it and sell it on the street. Here I simply sell coffee, but I only have a few customers. Also, I barely get out of my flat, it is too tiring to go up and down six floors all the time".²²⁸

Another widespread reason of discontent is caused by a general preoccupation about a lack of safety – emerging through evidence from the interviews²²⁹ and the installation of a reinforced gate for almost every unit [Figure 6.37 above]. The landscape of Borei Keila's upper floors corridors is marked by long series of such gates: during the morning, when most inhabitant work, most gates are shut, and the corridors become dull and empty spaces [Figure 6.38] – very different from the lively spaces of encounter they seem to be in the afternoons and evenings.

The only 'civic' facility in the New Buildings' upper floors is School established in a unit of the third floor of Building C,²³⁰ run by a Korean NGO called Amny²³¹ [Figure 6.39]. The School provides free education to classes of up 20 children and teenagers in Borei Keila,²³² Although the school is barely known to the households that do not live in its close proximity, it serves as 'public' facility for children and teenagers of New Building C. The idea behind the school is to empower Borei Keila's youth giving free access to education, teaching English and Korean languages and putting teenagers in touch with a wide network of education and job opportunities in both Cambodia and Korea. The class layout follows a rigid frontal lecturing scheme. The space of the staircase's landing right in front of the school entrance is full of drawings made by children, which have also stuck plenty of stickers to the walls.

Table 6.11 synthesises the above information, acknowledging the complexity of spatial and governmental practices in the new housing for the poor's upper floors. I analyse such synthesised information in section 6.8 below.

IIIICIVICW ZOZ.

²²⁸ Interview 202.

²²⁹ Interviews 134, 149, 159, 181, 195, 215.

²³⁰ During my last visit to Borei Keila this had moved to building H.

²³¹ The leader of the NGO lives in another flat in building C (see interview 160).

²³² The idea behind the school is to empower Borei Keila's youth giving access to education. The NGO refers to a wider network of Korean NGOs operating in Cambodia but it is independent (see interview 160).





6.38. Borei Keila's new housing for the poor: empty corridors and shut reinforced gates (Source: Author) 6.39. School (run by Amny NGO) on the third floor of Borei Keila's New Building C (Source: Author)

OBSERVED	SPATIAL DIMENSIONS						GOVERNMENTAL DIMENSIONS	SIONS			
PRACTICES	A. Spaces for cultures and oconomies	B. Infrastructures and spaces for mobility	C. Public and open spaces	D. Built fabric / Land- marks	E. Housing and dwell- ing	F. Leftovers and thresholds	G. Architectural Forms	H. Discourses and sci- entific /philanthropic statements	I. Institutions and 'lows'	J. Policy and regula- tory frameworks	K. Techniques of gov- emment / administra- tive measures
the hear is cellab- cellabor in A.C. (1987 St.) and the hear properties of the conceived the Youshop units as incremental.	and rest to the describing and restricting and restricting of the most of the control of the con	The housing unit lead in the housing leading leadings, or for subdering the unit in unadhousing leadings, or for subdering the unit. In the housing leadings, or for subdering the lead in the housing leadings, or for subdering the unit.	Household in this business and additional assignment of the second property of the second p	to housing units are all the housing units are all the housing units and the housing are all the housing and all the housing are all the housing the housing housing housing housing the housing housing the housi	The main energies 40 mile energies 40 mile energies 40 mile energies 41 mile energies 42 mile energies 5 mile energies 5 mile energies 40 mile	when the servery in the breath of the servery in the servery in the servery in the servery in the servery servery server in the servery servery in the server in the servery servery in the servery servery servery server in the servery servery server in the servery servery servery server in the servery	the entities of the curies are all specified to the curies are all specified to the curies of the cu	MARINE STATE OF THE STATE OF TH	in the section as sold in the section as sold in the section and in the section and in the section and in the section and of the buildings as a whole, the buildings as a whole, the buildings as a whole, the buildings as a section and of the buildings as a section and of the buildings as a section and of the buildings as a section and the buildings and the section	included the state of the state	Plan Innex pays inter- make the proper inter- make the proper inter- top Early Land The proper inter- top Early Land The properties of the properties of the properties of the propert
2. Phan inner in cottab- common vin AC/Fit 501 and other build group and proper and and and proper application as wide open species.	Some households the consistent of the main political parties and statutes are for motions and propagated in consistent of the consistent o	in absence of community spaces on the approach of the approach	Households claify oc- cus, as matter control out- tions, as matter cour- stro of the units and as gulf lering spaces.	See #1D.	See #23.	the identified individual according to workflow a be common space or with gather in the door ast as fleetile interaction ast as fleetile interaction between the public makin of the contributes and pit according and pit and according and pit according and pit according and power in the pit according and power in the pit according and on the last fleetile power in the pit according and on the last fleetile power in the pit according and on the last fleetile power in the pit according to fleetile pit according to the pit according to the pit according units which are still entity.	Each confider is control. The state of the	ACHT has emphasised the decident in the decident in the decident in the self-goodcave to the self-goodcave to the ACHT STORM CONTRACT IN THE PRESENTS.	See #1.	See #11.	See FTK.
3. Households increasing we seinforced agate to protect the housing units.	Reinforced gates are a growing business in growing business in Bores Kelts and Princen Petra as a whole, inter-wideween markroned fall each reinforced gate cost 200-300 USD.	2	The profileration of rein- forced glass markets of other a tendscape of emity corridors and locked-up doors.	hotes gates are recog- nisable because of di- fermer style, colour, de- sign. Mary households have personal sed it is wall surrounding the gates accordingly, painting it will different colours. Adding shrines and dec- orations.	Housing unts appear in- creasingly fenced. How- wer, many households keep the gale open while they are at home- allowing yesual permea- allowing yesual permea- ditive between the corri- dor and the unit.	Gates increase the feeting of the esparation has distanced and the mass and results of the public one of the contrions (see PZF for the opposite case).	Most reinforced gates are degreed by the training are pass between corticor and the property of the property o	Households think or Borel kindle as an unsafe place at night, especially or the guorus, first and aecond foors. Public authorities build on auch perception to or auch perception to or auch perception to erea.	Households complain against Plast Irvex (and against Plast Irvex (and authorities in general) for not being able to enforce the link against criminals.	ű.	A few interviewees mon- fior file the house- houlds of some floors. have head private guards to address the back of policing in the sees.
4. Some households. Irrory garbage down- stais (bread the cur- tent itegal settlement) from the open windows over the main stain- casee' landings.	Some interviewees say that newcomers are the sponsible for such malpractice, write others declare that it is ontmon attacked for many inhabitants, regardless of their origin.	The open windows acts as material intrastructure for garbage disposal.	The open space of the liegal settlements (see table 0.x) is filled by gar-bage piles.	The garbage piles form recognisable shapes aligned to each of the new buildings for housing the poor.	The dwelters in the II- legal settlement (see lable Sx) are affected by such affluce as very offset the the garbage bogs fall on the noof of liner units.	The piles described in #4D acquire a character of both wildness spaces and freeholds, as they impede uses and movements.	According to the former community leaders, the problem can be solved strough the installation of meshed structures.	See #4G.	For mer community leaders found the support of district authorities the should write the sale of the state of the state of the state of the sale of th	7	See M.G.
5. AMNY NGO has operad on the fourth floor of building C (then moved to building H in 2015).	AMINY NGO provides free education to classes of up 20 children and tee ragers in Borel Kolla.	AMNY NGO acis as in- frastructure to put leen- agers in bouch with a wide network of lob op- portunities.	The space of the stair- case's landing in front of the echool entire of is tut of crewings made by children winch have also stuck plenty of stickers to the waits.	The school is barely known to the house hokis that do not live in its chose proximity.	The school represents a creative reappropriation of the space of a residential unit. The leader of the NGO pays the leader of the NGO pays the residential unit and rents and rents out another unit for himself in Building H.	. (The class layout follows a raid frontal lecturing acheme.	The idea behind the school is to empower school is to empower Borei Kelia's youth give ing access to education. The NGO orders be a wider network of Korean NGOs operating in Cambodia but it is independent.	Ε	0	Classee follow a rotation softense, as there is a maximum of 20 people attending per hour.

Table 6.11. Synthesis of Borei Keila new housing for the poor (upper floors)' design practices, deconstructed in their spatial and governmental dimensions (elaboration by Author)

6.6.3. The new housing for the poor's ground floors

The ground floor spaces [Figures 6.40, 6.41] of the new housing for the poor were initially meant to host community-based activities, spaces for education, structures for health and commercial spaces that – in the initial idea of ACHR and SDI – should have been managed by the community itself (Boonyabancha, 2014). The commercial spaces should have provided compensation to the households who had lost their businesses with the destruction of the original settlement.

The original community leaders, however, decided to retain only a relative small collective space (a community room in building A), while Phan Imex has acquired possession of the rest.²³³ This has sparked off a process of strong commodification of the whole ground floor, turning almost all its space in an opportunity for profit for Phan Imex. The company rents out commercial units at market rates (to people living outside Borei Keila, too), and turned units whose businesses were not profitable into residential ones. Table 6.12 below breaks down the total number of units per each building's ground floors: in each building the picture changes quite considerably [see also Figure 6.40]. Overall, commercial units account for only the 42.2% of the total, with a 6.9% of units that are also used as residential, often using mezzanines – a bedroom is created in the upper floors. An impressive 30.4% of the units has been converted to a solely residential use, while a 24.4% is either empty or abandoned.

Building	Units(percent	age over total un	its in the buildir	ng)		
	Commercial	Commercial and residential	Residential	Empty	Other uses	Total units
A	5 (14.7%)	2 (5.9%)	9 (26.5%)	14 (41.2%)	1 collective toilet 1 School (run by PIO) 1 community room 1 motorbike parking	34
В	28 (43.1 %)	2 (3.1%)	21 (32.3%)	13 (20.0%)	1 motorbike parking	65
С	39 (56.5%)	2 (2.9%)	9 (13.0%)	18 (26.1%)	1 motorbike parking	69
D	25 (43.9%)	3 (5.3%)	24 (42.1%)	4 (7.0%)	1 motorbike parking	57
Е	19 (32.2%)	6 (10.2%)	18 (30.5%)	15 (25.4%)	1 motorbike parking	59
F	16 (23.9%)	6 (9.0%)	26 (38.8%)	17 (25.4%)	1 collective toilet 1 motorbike parking	67
G	18 (27.3%)	9 (13.6%)	21 (31.8%)	17 (25.8%)	1 motorbike parking	66
Н	8 (26.7%)	1 (3.3%)	8 (26.7%)	11 (36.7%)	1 motorbike parking 1 car parking	30
Total	158 (35.3%)	31 (6.9%)	136 (30.4%)	109 (24.4%)	13 (3.0%)	447

Table 6.12. Borei Keila's new housing for the poor: distribution of uses across the ground floors of the several buildings (Source: Author)

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²³³ Drawing from interview 140, Phan Imex pays actually a symbolic annual rent to the community leaders.





6.40. Plan of Borei Keila's new housing for the poor, ground floors (elaboration by Author; source of data: Author's

survey)
6.41. Photographic notes on spatial dimensions of Borei Keila's new housing for the poor (ground floors), after first reconnaissances (Source: Author)

The commercial facilities on the ground floor are very diverse and make Borei Keila an important destination for the inhabitants of the surrounding urban environment in search for food, clothes, hairdressers, motor repairs and so on [Figure 6.42]. Table 6.13 below summarises these activities per each building.

Kind of business	Total	Percentage
Artisan's workshops	1	0.6%
Beauty salon	2	1.3%
Clinic	3	1.9%
Clothes shop	5	3.2%
Cosmetics or perfume shop	5	3.2%
Dentist	3	1.9%
DVD shop	1	0.6%
Electrical components and lamps	3	1.9%
Electronics	1	0.6%
Edible items	3	1.9%
General household items	43	27.2%
Hairdresser	38	24.1%
Hardware shop	1	0.6%
Ice shop	1	0.6%
Launderette	1	0.6%
Motor repairs	3	1.9%
Motor spares and consumables	2	1.3%
Pharmacy	2	1.3%
Phone shop	1	0.6%
Restaurant or cafes	22	13.9%
Seamstress or tailor shop	16	10.1%
Shoe shop	1	0.6%
Total	153	100.0%

Table 6.13. Borei Keila's new housing for the poor: businesses on the ground floors (Source: Author)

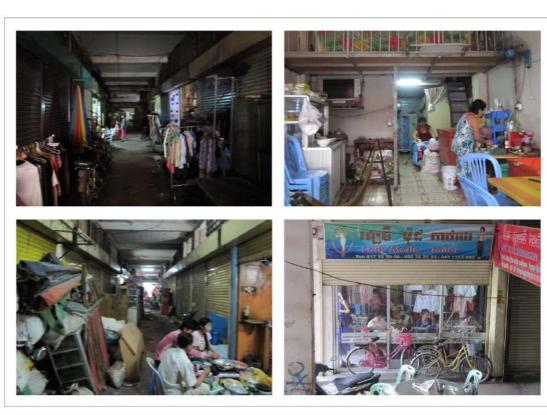
While some of the business activities are run by inhabitants of the upper floors, today about three quarters of them are led by people living outside Borei Keila.²³⁴ Most of them, though, employ Borei Keila's inhabitants.²³⁵ A 40 year old seller tells me that:

"the plan was initially to make all commercial spaces available only to Borei Keila's inhabitants. However, Phan Imex charges us quite a lot, we have to pay a monthly rent.²³⁶ Many households had small businesses and no means to improve them or scale them up, hence it has been

²³⁴ Interviews 231, 232, 233.

²³⁵ Interviews 231, 232, 233.

²³⁶ The amount of the monhtly rent seems to vary according to the size of the shop but also to the deal that the business owner negotiated with with Phan Imex. Evidence from the interviews (231, 232, 233) shows values varying from 60 to 100pounds for shops of roughly 16sqm.





6.42. Commercial spaces on the ground floor of Borei Keila's new housing for the poor (Source: Author) 6.43. Parking lots on the ground floor of Borei Keila's new housing for the poor (Source: Author)

impossible for them to build their livelihoods here. Phan Imex, thus, started to offer such spaces to external businessmen and businesswomen"237

The image of the ground floor is for sure strongly characterised by the frenetic commercial activities, which appropriate all open spaces during day-time, using sidewalks and roads to display goods, or for arranging tables and chairs. Completing the picture, there are tens of mobile carts of sellers with lottery tickets and food, and one big parking lot per building [Figure 6.43]. All parking lots cater to bikes and motorbikes' users, except for one parking space in building H, which is for cars. Parking lots are run by inhabitants of Borei Keila, but owned by Phan Imex, which gets all revenues. A few interviewees²³⁸ from the upper floors have complained about the cost of the parking, describing it as a tax to all residents – as all flats needs parking at least for a bike or a motorbike.

Noticeably, Phan Imex office is on the ground floor of New Building D [Figure 6.44], and the company runs also two collective toilets (New Buildings A and F) that are used also by inhabitants of the illegal settlement [Figure 6.16 above].

In the ground floor of New Building A, there are a school run by the NGO People Improvement Organisation (PIO), and a room for community activities. As for the latter, a former community leader confirms that the room is most often shut: "the other community leaders and I have the keys, we hold our meetings here but nothing else".239 PIO's school [Figure 6.45], is instead an important public facility for the whole new housing for the poor, as it offers free education to children of Borei Keila in the afternoon: on one side, this allows pupils that cannot afford to go to school in the morning to access educational activities (mostly taught in English), and the household leaders to be relieved from childcare responsibilities during part of the afternoon. Inhabitants from the new housing for the poor (especially from buildings A, B, C) have their children attending the school in the afternoon. PIO's website states that "Through education it is our belief that we can improve the lives of the Cambodian people which will lead to taking greater control of one's life and as a result, a life out of poverty" (PIO, 2014, p. 1). PIO has divided the space horizontally into a series of study rooms, and vertically using mezzanines, to increase much footprint as possible and, therefore, capacity. Children's attendance follow a precise schedule to accommodate the high demand, but the school's teachers complain²⁴⁰ their spaces are not really enough and too many children remain eventually excluded. Importantly,

²³⁷ Interview 231.

²³⁸ Interviews 143, 155, 215.

²³⁹ Interview 140.

²⁴⁰ Interview 234.





6.44. Phan Imex's office on the ground floor of Borei Keila's new housing for the poor (Source: Author) 6.45. School run by PIO, ground floor of Borei Keila's new housing for the poor (Source: Author)

one more reason of regret lies in the fact that, in spite of working in several contexts (see also Borei Santepheap II, chapter 7, page 328), PIO does not manage to foster connections and networks amongst those.²⁴¹

Phan Imex found economically convenient to rent out, for residential purposes, those units whose commercial activities had shut because of lack of business. I counted 136 units whose use was solely residential [Figure 6.46 and 6.40 above]. Such units are of diverse sizes, following different layouts in the uniform 4 by 4 metres grid of Borei Keila's ground floor. Table 6.14 below offers a breakdown of such numbers. The largest units occupy a space of 8 by 4 metres, but these are exceptional. Most often (52.7% of the total units number), units measure just two meters by four and, in the most extreme cases (9.6% of the total), just two by two—an area that is barely enough to lie a bed or mat. As it has happened in the upper floors, many households (41.3%) have built a mezzanine to expand the limited floor space of their units.

Building		f residential ui ge per building		j to size	Total	Number of re units with (per building)	(percentage
	4 sqm	8 sqm	12 sqm	16 sqm or more	-	co- presence of a business	a mezzanine
Α	-	7 (63.6%)	-	4 (36.4%)	11	2 (18.2%)	3 (27.3%)
В	12 (52.2%)	8 (34.8%)	-	3 (13.0%)	23	2 (8.7%)	6 (26.1%)
С	-	8 (72.7%)	1 (9.1%)	2 (18.2%)	11	2 (18.2%)	4 (36.4%)
D	4 (14.8%)	10 (37.0%)	2 (7.4%)	11 (40.7%)	27	3 (11.1%)	16 (59.3%)
Е	-	13 (54.2%)	-	11 (45.8%)	24	6 (25%)	10 (41.7%)
F	-	23 (71.9%)	-	9 (28.1%)	32	6 (18.8%)	11 (34.4 %)
G	-	14 (46.7%)	1 (3.3%)	15 (50%)	30	9 (30.0%)	14 (46.7%)
Н	-	5 (55.6%)	1 (11.1%)	3 (33.3%)	9	1 (11.1%)	5 (55.6%)
Total	16 (9.6%)	88 (52.7%)	5 (3.0%)	58 (34.7%)	167	31 (18.6%)	69 (41.3%)

Table 6.14. Borei Keila's new housing for the poor: distribution and size of residential units on the ground floor (Source: Author)

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²⁴¹ Interview 234.



6.46. Residential units on the ground floor of the new housing for the poor (Source: Author)

Only the units facing the main open spaces have direct light and decent ventilation, and close to none of them include sanitation facilities.²⁴² Moving through the inner corridors, the environment has poor air and lighting.

Some of the households are newcomers that have settled in Borei Keila in search for livelihoods in the city centre, and that have found such units acceptable given the cheap rent:

"I moved here only 3 months ago. After my husband died I struggled to pay the rent, and here it is cheaper. It is very noisy, it's like living constantly in a market, so I'm not that happy but at least it's central, my children have their school very close, although they need to go by bike."²⁴³

"I have been here for one month and a half. I have relatives here, they live on a flat on the fourth floor, so I decided to look for a house in Borei Keila. It's cheap, I split the rent with my younger brother."²⁴⁴

Other households have either sold or rented out their flat upstairs because they were in financial hardships:

"I had a flat upstairs but I'm now renting it out to students from the province, I charge them 70 USD per month. The flat is on the 5th floor of this same building [New Building B]. I had to pay 2500 USD for the licence to sell things on the ground floor, in this same unit, so now I need to pay back some money I borrowed: I moved downstairs and we built a mezzanine, as we are six in total and we needed space. It is actually difficult here and if I had the money I'd move out: it's too dangerous, there are too many burglaries at night"²⁴⁵

"I had a flat on the 6th floor of the first building [New Building A], but I had to sell it: I'm HIV positive and I need money for my treatment. The company had tried to relocate me to Tuol Sambo in 2009, but I had enough documents to stay and be eligible for a flat. I got it in 2010 and sold it for 6500USD in 2014, to some people that were living close to the Royal Palace before moving here. I had to give 500USD to the authorities for the transaction."²⁴⁶

Lastly, some of the households are involved in the land dispute, and have been offered a unit in the ground floors while waiting to be ultimately assigned a unit in the upper floors:

²⁴⁴ Interview 242.

²⁴⁵ Interview 241.

²⁴⁶ Interview 243.

²⁴² Through my survey I found only two units having a toilet.

²⁴³ Interview 239.

OBSERVED	SPATIAL DIMENSIONS						GOVERNMENTAL DIMENSIONS	NSIONS			
PRACTICES	A. Spaces for cultures and economies	B. Infrastructures	C. Public and open spaces	D. Built fabric / Land- marks	E. Housing and dwelling	F. Leftovers and thresholds	G. Architectural Forms	H. Discourses and scientific /philanthropic statements	I. Institutions and 'laws'	J. Policy and regula- tory frameworks	K. Techniques of gov- enment / administra- tive measures
Control control of the Control control of the Control control of the Control of t	many of com- many special of com- many special of spoces for general of spoces for general of spoces for galenting con-related Existing commandation of com- mandation of com- tain special com- tain of	marky other com- marky otheriog as ab- terior of the company of the Inheldents investors are shormally the com- mos shormally the com- per faces.	ground field by the property of the property o	munity account of the set and any com- munity account of the set and s	Tr.	de community trom it is no community trom it is no contain moderni in accommunity contained in the contained	a satella community to the community to a satella community to the communi	the community beater a community beater a controlled by the contro	the communities are no tong procedule as no tong procedule as no tong procedule as not tong procedule as the community of the	hence community hence community hence or community hence and the community has been also considered in the composition, and setting a constitution, and setting an and setting of and also balloting 0 and it,	headen are bride headen are bride headen are bride headen are bride but hees on with nor but hees on with nor headen bride or bride most of, representatives of TNG droup bride to the bride of the bride headen bride or headen bride or head
2. Phan innex pays a common property of the community leaders for month ground floor, and then subtert ? to businesses.	The whole ground floor has become a generation of revenues for Phan inser, which sake for a monthly entit to business—owners. Many inhabitants of the upper floors and their health of their properties of the propring on the ground interface though a popering or whitely in a business on the ground floor.	The stops are distributed by the stops are distributed by the stop of Beats Kells a new housing. A transpersal road crossouting the gound frow the stop will be gound frow the stop will be gound the stop will be gound to the stop will be gound to the kind of the bright go. The knowled of the kindji-the should be stop will be gound the kindji-the stop will be gound to the kindji-the stop will be gound to the kindji-the stop will be gound to stop will be g	Business-owners have expanded and courciped main todas and diner passages with tables and goods.	The choice of painty up proud look to Phan Inexchase the se- plant inexchase the se- grad and an even finer grad — adortised com- mercial unit va. poden: Safth begger community spaces.	Some of the business— owners have build most— sarriess where they have est up a bodroom. The size of the mexamine varies, and yeth his per- critical for housing-related caled for bound-related is just a best, conceilines is just a best, conceilines or employ, with the role of guardians.	Many business units were not autocoeful and were vacated, some others have never toen mented out. In May 2015, there were a total of 108 empty units.	Commercial units activitation of de- located forms and de- parativitation an eminimum planta from a minimum of 20 yearned of 40 g more. Teaming of total racing, and the presence of a mea- traning of total racing, and the level of total racing and the level of total program to me to total and a series of the total of the space agia- cent to total age.	1	Orginally, the only ones needed for roral a commercial unit were intablated of Boros (Asia Evydene for Boros (Asia Evydene). Townson: above how there is row an in- cressing presence of business owners from the outside.	Plean lines; sals it or a cowner. Real is colo land to the business cowner. Real is colo land constitution by Plean lines; service provide proportion to the constitution of the color of the	Phan Imac employs a amount of weathedge and heads to building and redet to control the ground floors, as it chen for the upper crea. For the upper crea. For the upper crea. When Imac has kept a versue on the ground floor of building 0.
3. Phan Intex decideded approximately one titud of the footprint of each budding to parking spaces.	The parking spaces general butther revenues for Phan inner, and provides a number of guards with a salary.	Parking spaces are necessary to the huge assay for the huge number of inhabitants motorcycles and blees, and always full. One of the parking spaces on the ground floor of building H is for care.	The parking spaces are public insolar as parking is allowed also for our stoers.	Parking spaces do not have a recognisability per se and seem quite sonties from building. They represent a course selement in the ground floor.	Some newcomers have carved out space for housing units out of the parking bits.	¥	Parking spaces hole- invaded out of the build- ing's ground floors, in the Eastern side of the plan. Access is either from the main roads or storn the main roads or sal road.	ï	The managers of the parking stoles correspond to the heads of the buildings, giving to than power and direct control over access to the buildings thems selves.	ā	A guard collects the fee after the motoroycle's or the motoroycle's or the beycle's owners had a feet of the collection and a feet collection and a feet of the collection and a feet of the collection and a feet of the prove their payment.
4. Phan Imex has sub- ity under-used or less auccessful commercial units to newcomers, for residential uses.	The presence of house ing at a relatively lower oos has stracted a higher number of new-conners. Fran have sets butter profit in the ground floor, it is not the ground floor.	Phan inner his pro- viotes a number of riousis and shrewers on the ground riots of building. E. given the last of their Bills for most housing units on the ground floor (reducing also the ore one ment). There is a fee in ment). There is a fee in fee paid for using these facilities.	While benefiting in the- ory from diod access to the inner or operating toda on the ground thou; the residential units offen face defit or mosty spaces, and cor- trolly spaces.	The readertial units of short of the standard of the standard fine plan of the ground floor, with the enabled units measuring 2 metres by 2.	The conversion from commercial to residential appearability to grade that brought further than the commercial and the state. Residential units are of then overcowded and with poor access to return light and ventulation. Reversion ere than very limited to est the inhabitants.	The addition of residen- ins proper has created multiple spalar and so- did thresholds, insofar as newcorners appear to be merginalised, and the conversion of com- mercial staclises to resi- dential ruts have tur- the discussed the pres- ence of spaces serving the observable.	Units vary in size from 2 by 2 medes to 4 by 6 medes by 6 med	Inhabitante mertien tots was beer only op- tion to others a housing unit in a cerriral area.	Phan lanex bribes the lost attached to the starbories in order to rest our rescionist units under total freedom.	Phan inex (alee ad- vantage) of the ligation of policy vacuum in terms of housing, in so doing consting potentially un- healthy and over- crowded units.	See 17.
5. People Improve the Control of the Con	hehabilants from the new trushing for the proof (especially from backleys, A. B. C.) trave the follows the follows the control to the follows the control in the affection to pro-control with person in the first the follows the property three controls to pay an ilegal five it help each to the feachers as it happens intended in public schods.	Prot works in several contracts but for bot ments but for bot manage in Diseason. The protection and removals amonical frose — one amongst frose — one several sets in force several sever	PriO exhod serves as the bully through appeal of encounties for either for either through and the property of	The school, apart from the partity against an unit of the partity against and the partity against the partity against the partity against the partity against the partity and the commercialities, the commercialities in the commercialities in the partity and the partity a	ñ		PIO has divided the apace to british yinto a space for taken yinto a series of station from a not vertically through the use of mezcanines, to infrocease as motificate to possible body int and threships capacity. Chill didn't stated after a standarce follow a precise adherite to the process and series of the process of	PRO's website states that the most activation of the control of th	There is no burnal con- nection with the Miniary of Education, PIO claims to such rich claims to such rich stry. 1970 is unwritten to Miniary sucroplinaries network. 1970 is unwritten to sucroplinaries network. 1970 is unwritten to sucroplinaries and other sucroplinaries and other sucroplinaries and other sucroplinaries and other sucroplinaries and other sucroplinaries.	The recently approved formed as to cause WOD Law (FROZ Day) (FROZ	1

Table 6.15. Synthesis of Borei Keila new housing for the poor (ground floors)' design practices, deconstructed in their spatial and governmental dimensions (elaboration by Author)

"I moved here before the eviction of January 2012, in agreement with a few more families that I had known for a long time – it was the only solution for us. It was Phan Imex proposing this, in exchange of a rent. I know most of the families in the back [in the illegal settlement], and my heart is broken about their situation. I blame it all on Phan Imex, the government and the former community leaders have no faults. Luckily there are a few NGOs helping out".²⁴⁷

These households' voices have never been taken into consideration by public authorities or human or housing rights organisations: their narratives have remained invisible, as there is literally no mention of them in any article, report or public statement issued about the area. A representative of Licadho, a long-time activist in Cambodia in support of urban poor groups at risk of eviction, says that the rationale behind this decision is both an ethical and a practical one:

"our organisation does not want to push into a struggle people that are not already 'active' toward achieving a specific political goal. It would mean to force people into something, whereas we just want to support and facilitate activities of resistance that are already in place. We would not even have the resources to mobilise such a big number of households".²⁴⁸

Table 6.15 synthesises the above information, acknowledging the complexity of spatial and governmental practices in the new housing for the poor's ground floors. I analyse such synthesised information in section 6.8 below.

6.7. THE REDEVELOPMENT OF THE REST OF THE SITE, AND ITS VOIDS

Following the land-sharing agreement, 12 hectares out of 14 were allocated to Phan Imex for profit-driven developments [Figures 6.47 and, above, 6.4 and 6.9]. Evidence from the interviews²⁴⁹ shows how Phan Imex has actually sub-leased the plot to several third-party developers. Such action has resulted in an extreme parcellisation of the entire site, which today looks fragmented and scarred by a multiplicity of fences between different properties.

The Northernmost part of the site has been occupied by an endless series of four-storey shophouses. Such series starts actually with a hotel [Figure 6.48], which has been built right next to Borei Keila's New Building A, and then runs along three long rows (the first two rows

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²⁴⁷ Interview 244

²⁴⁸ Interview 229.

²⁴⁹ Interviews 124, 129, 227, 229.

were built between 2002 and 2007, the third one was completed in 2012 – Digital Globe, 2019). The resulting urban grain is coarse and crossed only by one street [Figure 6.49]. On the Northernmost street, on the ground floors of the shophouses, there open a few business activities in a continuum with the ones activating the frontages of the adjacent Czechoslovakia Boulevard.

Evidence from the interviews²⁵⁰ shows how the inhabitants of such shophouses are mostly middle-class households who have moved to Borei Keila from other areas of Phnom Penh, in search for an upgrading of their housing conditions and a more central location. Most of them know the history of Borei Keila, though they have had no engagement with any of its populations. A few interviewees have mentioned that they do sometimes have lunch or shop groceries in one of the shops in Borei Keila's ground floors.²⁵¹ A woman of about 30 year old mentions she likes to go to the hairdresser there as it is very cheap.²⁵² One household, relevantly, mentions that a woman from Borei Keila's new housing for the poor work in their home as housecleaner.²⁵³

The Eastern side of the plot, on Czechoslovakia Boulevard, has been the most intensely developed. In rapid succession, going from North to South [figure 6.50], it is possible to see:

- an eight-storey office building which marks the North-East corner of the site with a rounded corner recalling the typical urban blocks of the central areas of Phnom Penh.
 At the ground floor this hosts a café boasting a 'business lounge' with free wi-fi and a bank;
- attached to it, a glass architecture with very eclectic forms, hosting again offices;
- a parcel that is yet to be developed, and hosts a car wash and repair right next to the entrance of the road distributing to the second and third row of shophouses;
- a shiny building with the main façade in glass, a car-salon on three levels;
- in the middle of other two temporary structures, again a car wash and a car park, it is under construction what looks to be a narrow nine-storey residential building with two flats per floor;
- beyond that, the entrance of the Ministry of Tourism, built in 2010;

²⁵⁰ Interviews 275, 276, 277.

²⁵¹ Interviews 275, 276

²⁵² Interview 277.

²⁵³ Interview 275.



6.50. Developments on the Eastern side of Borei Keila's plot (Source: Author)

- another roofed structure hosting a car salon before the entrance of the main road that is now crossing the site, about 5 metres wide;
- a seven-storey building for offices, with the main façade all in glass, with an electronics and appliances shop on the ground floor, ending in a taller volume on the South-side;
- next to it another very narrow residential building under construction;
- a one-storey temporary structure for bike repairs;
- the other new road cutting the site right where a temporary station for a bus company is (we will see how in the inner part of the site).

The urban fabric jumps then to a different scale: the grain of the several blocks becomes coarser and their heights increase quite considerably [Figure 6.51]. A series of building for offices – with the almost ironic exception of two traditional (six-storey) shophouses in the middle of plenty of contemporary façades in glass – characterise this part of the plot. The construction of these buildings started in 2008. Significantly, one of them hosts the Phnom Penh International University. A little mall with three food-chain companies (including Costa Coffee) closes the university complex in the North-Eastern corner.

After that, a finer grain of residential buildings starts [Figure 6.52]. On its back, another system of shophouses is distributed along two rows. A gas station occupies the corner of the site, followed by a few small residential buildings, and by temporary structures accommodating car show-rooms. After another road entrance, we find the big 'Borei Keila New Store' market, made of temporary structures, that will be replaced by a new denser development in the next future.²⁵⁴ Prior to reaching the corner of the site, again a sequence of temporary structures: car repairs, furniture, car showrooms, car-wash, the last of them occupying the footprint where Borei Keila's new housing building J was supposed to be. On the footprint of what was supposed to be building I, lies a private residential building.

The inner part of the site is today the one that is most frenetically under development, with several plots quickly fenced off while the construction proceeds – the *shophouse* typology is still dominant [Figure 6.53]. Significantly, this area also hosts the main venue of the Pram-Pi Makara District Authority.

While the development of the full site proceeds frenetically, plenty of spaces are left over, in a suspended condition while waiting for investment funds [Figure 6.54]. Such undeveloped plots are sometimes transformed into formal temporary public spaces, with income-generating activities, like in the case of a volleyball pitch rented hourly. Plots are otherwise used informally,

²⁵⁴ Interview 281.





6.51. Office buildings and Phnom Penh International University in Borei Keila (Source: Author) 6.52. Residential buildings in the South-Eastern side of Borei Keila's plot (Source: Author)













6.53. Predominance of the shophouse type in Borei Keila (Source: Author) 6.54. Fenced leftover spaces in Borei Keila (Source: Author)





6.55. Leftover spaces used for recreational purposes in Borei Keila (Source: Author) 6.56. Informal private guards occupying a shack in an empty plot (Source: Author)

OBSERVED	SPATIAL DIMENSIONS						GOVERNMENTAL DIMENSIONS	KSIONS			
PRACTICES	A. Spaces for cultures and economies	B. Infrastructures	C. Public and open spaces	D. Built fabric / Land- marks	E. Housing and dwell- ing	F. Leftovers and thresholds	G. Architectural Forms	H. Discourses and sci- entific /philanthropic statements	Linstitutions and 'laws'	J. Policy and regula- tory frameworks	K, Techniques of gov- ernment / administra- tive measures
1. Phan innex has sub- lessed the land to sev- ent bird pamy-inner- tors.	A multipact of busi- hosses has fourbised in the area, from snoal businesses businesses such as der reseate to a big size market. New spaces for cuture wor a outbildishot, a uni- versity, one school.	The infrastructural nei- work follows the sub-Gov- sion of the pots and do not take an excount any of the original algument with the coad algument with the coad network at the wider scoale.	The possible presence of public and open papeces has been completed in the development of	The fire grain of the onlying a self-arent has onlying a self-arent has been transformed into a very course one, made of huge and impormed. Die building blocks.	Most housing take place in life to be lost story in life be lost story in many many that the exception of a few buildings for flats.	See F2.	Auchibentural forms are manifold and valves in mon Manuer siye a shophoreses to comb doweptments issturing high-lech lepades.	Phan innex boassed the indevelopment of a poe- vously dangerous and develor as mod- develor sam into a mod- en neglitiound of the central Phinom Penth.	The Land Law (2001) al- lowed for frasform Borel (cells *) State Public Land *) Thin 5 State Private Land, hence to leaste it to private tivestors.	As per original land, sharing agreement, 15 months agreement, 15 months occur have been developed for profit. Phan Ilmax kebbed public au- limax kebbed public au- and to sub-tesse the area to hird party developers.	Some of the new devel- copenits, is a The case of office buildings and unvestigates are guarded by parage curity quanties.
2. Several plots are left country between powers, or lemporary uses.	See 850.	ir	transferred his decisions the properties of the breat transferred his and properties his his his his his his his his his hi	See P20.		as indicate and activate as indicate and activate as indicate strong and activate activate as indicate and activate as indicate and activate as indicate and activate	See PDC	7	9	the learned legisless: ing of legisless and by pro- ceded following the Land Law (FIGC 2001).	the control of the co

Table 6.16. Synthesis of Borei Keila profit driven developments' design practices, deconstructed in their spatial and governmental dimensions (elaboration by Author)

by inhabitants of the illegal settlement (see above, page 257) that trespass their fences. Most often such inhabitants are children that use such plots as open-air gardens, or to swim in the ponds left by the heavy rains [Figure 6.55]. Unused plots are otherwise *tabulae rasae*, simply marked by spontaneous vegetations and piles of rubble and rubbish – the latter often scrutinised by ragpickers – and surrounded by newly built fences and the ruined landscape of the Old Buildings.

While such leftover plots are most often left unguarded, a significant exception is represented by one central plot [Figure 6.56], which is constantly surveilled by a series of people who spend several hours per day or per night in an improvised shack:

"no, I don't live here, I come here during the day and then another person comes to stay here at night. Sometimes I take my children with me, if they are not at school. The landlord pays me to guard this piece of land, as he is afraid that someone might trespass the fence and start to build something. My job is to call the police and the landlord, should this happen".²⁵⁵

Table 6.16 synthesises the above information, acknowledging the complexity of spatial and governmental practices in Borei Keila's for-profit developments. I analyse such synthesised information in section 6.8 below.

6.8. THE AMBIVALENCE OF URBAN OBSOLESCENCE IN BOREI KEILA: ANSWERING THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

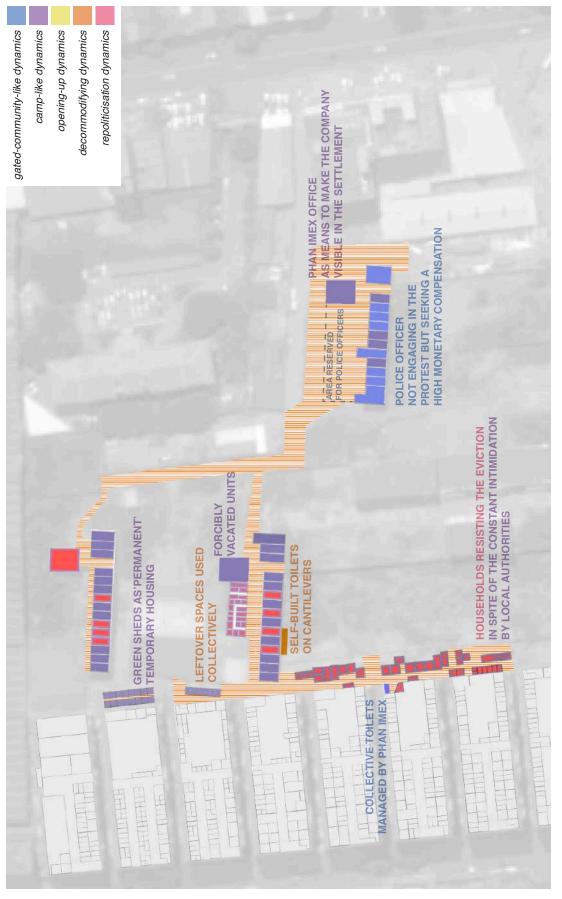
The following two sub-sections answer respectively research questions no. 1 and no. 2, connecting the empirical data presented in this chapter to relevant aspects of the thesis' literature review and analysing it through the research methodological framework. The text builds upon the analysis presented in Figures 6.57, 6.58, 6.59, and 6.60.

6.8.1. Answering RQ1: Borei Keila's urbanisms as partaking into the production of the fenced city

Recalling the definition of camp-like-spatialities I gave in chapter 2 (page 57), such spaces are marked by dynamics of control, exclusion and depoliticisation.

²⁵⁵ Interview 284.

6.57. The ambivalence of urban obsolescence in Borei Keila's illegal settlement (elaboration by Author; source of photographs: Author)



OBSERVED	SPATIAL DIMENSIONS						GOVERNMENTAL DIMENSIONS	SNOIS				
PRACTICES	A. Spaces for cultures B. Infrastructures and economies	B. Infrastructures	C. Public and open spaces	D. Built fabric / Land- E. Housing and dwell- F. Leftovers and marks ing thresholds	E. Housing and dwell- ing		G. Architectural Forms	G. Architectural Forms H. Discourses and sci- L Institutions and entific philanthropic 'laws' statements		J. Policy and regulatory frameworks	K. Techniques of government / administrative measures	
1. Phan linex and the MPP evicted and demoished the original slum settlement in two different waves, in 2009 and	See #2E	The upgrading process completely disregarded the original axes. The units had toilets self-built on the cround	The units were gather- ing around a few main public spaces, whose features and position were totally disregarded	The fine grain of the original site was re- original site was re- original site was re- original site was re- processe grain plots. Landmarks on site were units on the ground.	Households had either The land bears the occupied the units in the traces of the evictions organish buildings or self- perpetrated by Phan built one or two storey Imex and the MPP.	The land bears the traces of the evictions perpetrated by Phan Imex and the MPP.	See #1D.	The land-sharing operation was saluted by SDI, acted as dominant institution was saluted by SDI, acted as dominant institution and the added as tutons in the whole process, eventually pushing the poor at the centre of any mediathig organisa-	MPP and Phan Imex acted as dominant institutions in the whole process, eventually pushing any mediating organisa-	ns a	The urban poor groups were survey ed and organised by a series of NGOs (mainly UPDF and SUPF) that were	

Imex and the MPP.	Households were promised a unit in the new buildings. Phan Imex then offered financial compensation only.					See #7E. MPP repre- sentatives have sprayed giant 'OK' signs on the walls of the evac- uated units. The units' entrances were either walled or shutthrough metal panels.		Households have reported threats and complained about the very low monetary compensation they were of-
ex and t	wusehole omised a w buildir ex then	θ#7.	See #7.	See #7.	See #7.	See #7E. MPP re sentatives have sprayed glant 'Oh on the walls of th uated units. The entrances were e walled or shut thr metal panels.		Hou sehole ported thre plained ab- low monett sation they fered.
.	¥ & 8 E 35	Public authorities in See gardal flave deemed gardal flave deemed the settlement as Illegal but Norrated ft.	Public authorities in Sergenetal Tayle deemed the permanence of such households as liegal but tolerated it.	Public authorities in Segeneral have deemed the permanence of such households as ilegal but tolerated it.	horities in ve deemed nence of such s as illegal a negotiation	MPP representatives Se acied in disagreement se with the Circular 03. on us us a constitution of the const	The households' on-site relocation referred even- tually to the land-sharing framework set up in 2003.	ocation followed mework of the lational Housing
	ı	Public general the se the se but tol	Public general the pe house but tol	Public general the pe house but tol	Public aut general ha the perman household but started with them.	MPP acted with the	The hr reloca tually framer 2003.	The rel the frai 2014 N Policy.
	See #11.	LICADHO has acted as main institution to have supported the struggle of these households, is-sued several leport and offered legal assistance to the households have viewed in the land dispute.	See #31. Some households nego- tate directly with the MPP and Phan Imex.	Households acknowledge the work of LICADHO but deal di- rectly with MPP and Phan Imex.	Households do not acknowledge LICADHO's as relevant party in the regotiation and deal directly with MPP and Phan Imex.	APP and Phan Imex are seen by the house holds of the illegal settement as the institutions that have been pushing for the evictions agenda in the area.		
5	official rkept ondi- nise of -to-be- J.	The new settlements is treated and recommed as remporary and legal by the MRP and the MR MUDC. The new settlement has been recomined ompleasing the resistant narrates been set to ADHO.					s itself nt ac- n of or.	
y.	Households are official assignees but are kept in a suspended condition, with the promise of a unit in the never-to-bebuilt blocks I and J.	The new sertlements is included and recounted as temporary and lifegal by the MPP and the Multiple. The new settlement has been recounted empty been recounted empty sising its sessiant narranves by LCADHO.					The MPP presents itself again in benevolent actor in the provision of housing to the poor.	
to the city.	Househoussignee a susp fon, with unit in the boot	The new vy the M VI The new vy the M VI MUPC The new been receiving its ing its wes by I	See #3H	See #3H.		See #3H	The MPP gain in to or in the lousing t	See #8H.
	The green sheds were provided as temporary, a and then became permand the rooms to have no views toward the outside.	Households have ther ally occupied all the transported all the transported in the transported the condopments. It is new developments.	Units are distributed eventy abong the distribution corridors. Empty units, by now walled (see #7) alternates to units that are still occupied.	See #4G.	See #4G.	Household entrances have been wated or blocked through a sol-dered metal panel, by MPP representatives.	See #8E.	See table 7.7.
				Ø	Ŏ.			g .
	Most units by now have been vacated, reinforcing the leftover character of the green sheds.	Households have occur- goal of the first situal spaces between the new housing and the new housing and the new housing and the presence of rubbish and presence of rubbish and presence of rubbish and so and as decelled and is seen as decelled and and Plant Innex, and its and Plant Innex, and its realties as evict-able	The building is seen as a ruin by M PP and PP and PP and PP and Is real lites are considered disposable and to be evicted as soon as possible.			A number of units have been forcibly evacuated, and their enfrance have been walled.	The ilegal settlement undergoes further de- molitions.	After further demolitions (see #BF), only Old Building F is left standing.
	units by vacated te leftov the gre	Households have a considered in the interstital spaces between the new housing and the new housing and the residue plot in the state of the plot in the state is well as seen as deceiled and share inters, the MI and Phan Imex, and realities as evict-able	The building is seen a ruin by MPP and Phan imex, and its ities are considered possible and to be evicted as soon as gible.	#4F.	#4F.	A number of been forcibly and their entrement been walled.	llegal se rgoes fu ions.	After further demolit (see #8F), only Old Building F is left sta ing.
	Most been ing th	House pled space new restore There press rabbi is see disposant realitre.	The taruir a ruir Phan ities a posal evicte sible.	See #4F.	See #4F.	A nur been and t been		After (see Build ing.
	The units are simple rectangular rooms measuring four meters by four, designed as such by Phan Imex. See also #2A.	The new housing units have been built through through through the tripaulin sheets and other lightweight materials by the households.	Some of the housing units when been pro- tourdy modified by the occupiers. House holds use part of the space of the distribution corridors as an extension of their units.	See #5E.	See #5E. Households on the ground floor have expanded their units. They use derelict parts of the buildings as parking lots.	The MPP and Phan Imax have hegotiated with the households on a one-to-one basis, gradually buying out households and forcing them to accept small compensation.	Households access incremental housing in the form of 5 by 8 meters (by 4.5 in height) units.	See table 7.7.
ate.	uted rrsally ution la's le	fol- align- titial e new or and or and dense in	olays nd- Their ver, is y by n- d dis-		ortions been nd	re harac- land- build- on of nrib- n of a	s are ven ite.	
left in a derelict state.	Phan imex distributed the blocks transversally to the main distribution roads of Borei Keila's new housing for the poor, See also #2C.	The units roughly fol- ments in the intestitial ments in the intestitial rousing for the poor and the rest of the poor, and the rest of the poor, and the rest of the book in rectangular book in rectangular book in front of old building F.	The old buildings plays a role as ruined landmark of the area. Their importance, however is acknowledged only by the households in-volved in the land dispute.		See #4D. Some portions of the façade have been painted in green and blue by the households.	The wated units are adding up to the character of barandoned landmarks of the old buildings contibuted by the soft buildings contibuted to the soft buildings contibuted to the creation of a coarser grain on site.	Further demolitions are conducive for an even coarser grain on site.	
offinade	han Ime ne blocks of the mai bads of E ew hous	he units was two pace bet pace bet ousing for ousing for erest of ather in a ather in ectangulk out of ok	The old by a role as role acknowled the house volved in pute.	See #4D.	See #4D. of the faça painted in blue by th	he walledding up at of aba narks, of aba narks, of abs. The uch build tes to the barser gr	urther de onducive oarser gr	See #9F.
, coop	The green sheds were simply designed by the Phan Innex as blocks in to a free interstitial space, to without any relationship p with the context.	The space between the The space between the The The Space P(2C) confider, sometimes in sheets.	See #5C. The space be Tree when building F and the a litegal shacks (see #3) arts of latch as gublic sequence and place of en-counter for the house- v	The distribution corri- S dors and staircase land- ings act as public spaces, with the house- holds' leisure activities.	See #5C. The space op- posite the units on the ground floor is used as p garden by the house- holds, with two tollers and storage space.			
5	o not e) the	9 ' ' × ' • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	canti-	t by canti- the	t by canti- the			
original buildings, on cantilevers.	The green sheds do not have tollets: house-holds use (for a fee) the ones provided by Phan Imex on the ground floor of building D.	Households use the collective oliets pro-vided by than lines. They have to pay a fee.	Tollets are self-built by the housebooks through the use of cantievers and pipes on the back of the building.	Toilets are self-built by the households through the use of cantilevers and pipes on the back of the building.	Toilets are self-built by the households through the use of cantilevers and pipes on the back of the building.	ı		
	not run es.	cial ac-	s popu- pro- HO otest. take their ent is	open ins to and do hare ind #4.	have at er who ice.			ate to ave had ousi- is-
	Households do economic activitit	informal commercial thrites are run by eral households eral households eral households barber by LICAD supporting the property the households part into the struggle-level of involvement.	The settlement is lated by banners duced by LICAD supporting the pr Households par into the struggle: level of involvement homogeneou	Households are to several solution to several solution the land dispute a not necessarily so the views of #3 a	All households the least one member works for the political to the politic	See #4F.		The 29 household cepting to relocat Andong Timey have their social and burness networks distribled.
main on site.	2. Phan Imex has given temporary' housing in the form of green-painted corrugated-iron sheds to a number of households.	3. Fifty-six evictees have decided to rebuild shared so rebuild shareds on sile, with the support of NIGOs such as LCADHO and HUSING RIGHTS Task Force.	4. Fifteen evictees have resisted in their units in Old Building F.	5. The thirteen house- holds living in Old Building H are rather indifferent to protests.	6. The eleven house- holds living in Old Building D refuse to take part to protests.	7. The MPP and Phan Imax have ordered the demotitors of Old Buildings A, B, C, E, C, and forcedly vacated a number of units in old buildings D, F, H.	8. In December 2015, 37 households were of- fered a flat in new build- ing H by the MPP and Phan Imex.	9. Between 2016 and 2018, 84 eligible households were offered compensation or relocation to Andong Tmey.
	Phan linex has given Households do not run lemporary housing in economic activities: the form of green. The form of green painted corrugated-tron sheets to a number of households.		4. Fifteen evictees The settlement is populated by demost pro- intis in Oid Building F. aload by LLCA.DHO proporting the protest Households partied into the struggle: their level of the struggle: the struggle of the struggle	5. The thirteen house-households are open holds living in Old to several solutions to Building H are rather the late and dispute and do indifferent to protests.	6. The eleven house All households have at holds lung in Old least one member who Building D reluse to works for the police. Take part to protests.		8. In December 2015, 37 households were of- fered affair new build- ing H by the MPP and Phan timex.	







6.58. The ambivalence of urban obsolescence in Borei Keila's new housing for the poor, upper floors (elaboration by Author; source of photographs: Author)

MESHES TO IMPEDE THROWING RUBBISH BAGS *TOWARD THE GROUND FLOOR* NOTE: the plan puts together a series of condition that are typical throughout all buildings at all floors. Unless specified, therefore, it does not represent a specific building/floor. **USE OF METALLIC EMPOWERMENT OF YOUTH** THROUGH THE ACTIVITIES OF AMNY SCHOOL **USE OF CAGE-LIKE** STRUCTURES ON THE BALCONIES FOR SECURITY REASONS COMMODIFICATION OF SOCIAL HOUSING UNITS THROUGH INFORMAL TRANSACTIONS OF THE INCREMENTAL HOUSING TYPE INTRINSIC OPENNESS POSSIBILITY OF ESTABLISHING WATCHDOGS ASKS FOR BRIBERIES TO ALLOW MODIFICATIONS POSSIBILITY OF IMPLEMENTING THE HOUSEHOLD'S OWN DESIGN PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITIES IN THE UNIT CONTROL OF PHAN IMEX OVER **KEEPING SOME UNITS EMPTY** BUILDINGS G AND H, AND SOME SPACES NOT ACCESSIBLE REINFORCED GATES PROLIFERATION OF FOR GATHERINGS CORRIDORS USED AS COLLECTIVE SPACES gated-community-like dynamics decommodifying dynamics repoliticisation dynamics **USE OF WATCHDOGS** opening-up dynamics camp-like dynamics **BY PHAN IMEX**

K. Techniques of government / administrative measures

J. Policy and regulatory frameworks

Institutions and 'laws'

H. Discourses and scientific /philanthropic statements The MPP. Phan Im

GOVERNMENTAL DIMENSIONS G. Architectural Forms

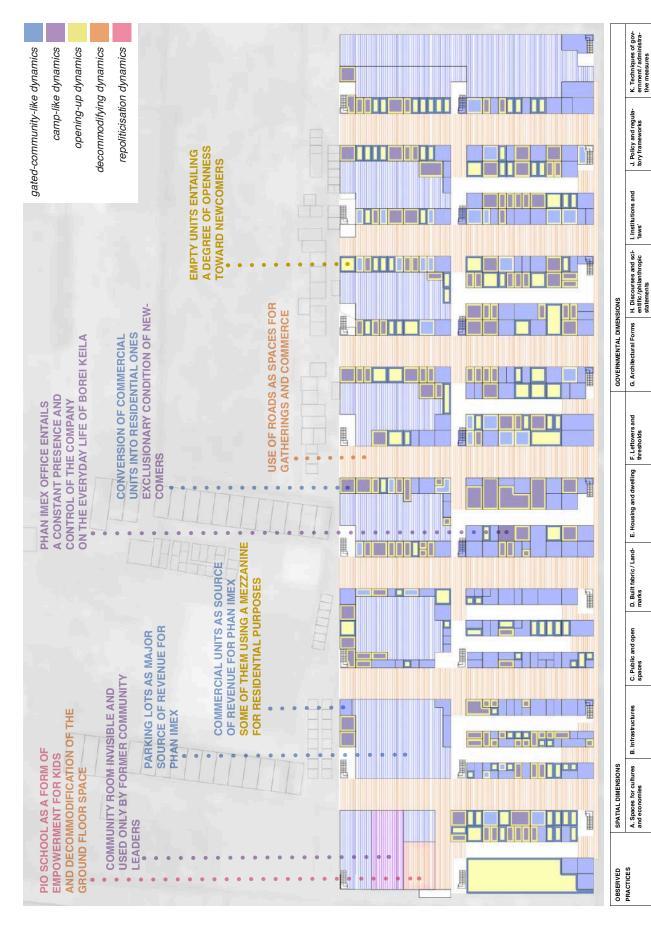
male waterhood for aceth floor, in each build, floor and aceth build also has an information in charge to the building in charge to terroes to Pisa Imas. The waterbogs ask to Phoesi to bous esholds wantig to make imper cough modifications to then put into or entired.	See #1K	A few interviewees men- tion that the flouse- houlds of some floors have thered private guards to address the lack of policing in the area.	See #4G.	Classes follow a rotation scheme, as there is a maximum of 20 people attending per hour.
mattor happened within an accordance of the so-caled One hun- circle satisfaction but a control and	See #1.1.	4 7 4 2 2 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5	<u> </u>	O % E #8
when the present and the present and the business of the present and the prese	00 mil 1 mil	Households complain against Phan Imex (and and authorities in general) for not being able to enforce the law against criminals.	Former community leaders found the sup- port of district authori- ties about what stated in #4H.	
A ACHR SDI and UNH Habitet have remarked land-sharing as a pow- entitle of for on-sign up- grading of train poor grading of train poor would have been abb to upgrade its living condi- ton. ACHR and UPDF/CDF have offen remarked the have offen remarked the have offen remarked the trecemental character of the housing units.	A CHR has emphassed the ride of condons in the ride of condons in being conductive to the activities emelioned in from Thal precedents.	Households think of Bord Khales as an unsafe place at might especially on the ground, first and second flows. Public authorities build on such perception to on such perception to arranialise the whole area.	See #4G.	The idea behind the school is to empower Borei Kela's youth give ing access to education. The NGO refers to a wider network of Korean NGOs operating in Cambodia but it is independent.
unter star all illipract and illipract advangable same corri- dons giving the possibili. If yo portrol easily and at a glance who enters or or exits the units. A number of housing units were kept empty by Phan Innex and MPP (see 4F) to be then sold at market prices, in spite of the still strong them.	lable at a glance from the landing spaces. Landing spaces are exposed to the continuous proced to the continuous movement of people, controllable too. In spile of this controllable too. In spile of this landing take place too.	Most reinforced gates are designed to let the art pass between corridor and housing units. Veritishon is ensured dressed. While safety is addressed.	According to the former community leaders, the problem can be solved through the installation of meshed structures.	The class layout follows a rigid frontal lecturing scheme.
tween May and December 2013, a number of 25 files in building G and of 5 files in building H were lettle ming/b by Phan Imax and MPP.	Unidentified individuant on several sist he common spaces with graffit. The units' doors act as therether between the source and provide between the public reading of the corridors and private reading the public as storing between the two cases as storing between the two cases as the corridor as blocked by mattle fences in reading to the central part of the corridor as blocked by mattle fences in statled by Plan in max. In impose access to the report and missing the public public and the public publ	Gates increase the feel- ing of steer separation between the private ream or the units and the public one of the corridors (see #2F for the opposite case).	The piles described in #4D acquire a character of both lathover spaces and frivestroids, as they impede uses and movements.	ı
segm, each covering a rectangle of 5 yy 8 me test, and rectangle of 5 yy 8 me test, a remember all Such Height allows building a mezzamine (see Art A. B. C'D or deals on the way households have dwelled within the flass).	See #2.A.	Housing units appear in- creasingly fenced. How- ever, many households. Keep the gate open while they are at home, allowing visual permea- allowing visual permea- bility between the corri- dor and the unit.	The dwellers in the illegal settlement (see legal settlement (see table 6.x) are affected by such attitude as very often the the garbage bags fall on the roof of their units.	The school represents a creative reappropriations of the space of a residential unit. The leader of the NGO pays the rent, and rents out another unit for himself in Bulding H.
layouted homogenee acentral conridor for a to- allot 25 units per floor. All of 25 units per floor. Al	See #1 D.	Most gates are neogonable because of di- lement style, colour, de- sign. Mouseholds have personaleed the wall surrounding the gates accordingly, painting it with different colours, adding dish mines and dec- orations.	The garbage piles form recognisable shapes aligned to each of the aligned to buildings for housing the poor.	The school is barely known to the house-holds that do not live in its close proximity.
ress and productive ac- hivities need the hous- ing units, bringing be- ing units, bringing be- well of publichess to the housing units them- selves. The housing units them- selves. The works open is senteral extensions of the units. Belaconies are most often visaged; due nost often visaged; due to safety reasons.	Households daily oc- cupt his common facility offs, as natural exten- sion of the units and as gathering spaces.	The proliferation of reinflored gates martiests often a landscape of empty corridors and borked-up doors.	The open space of the llegal settlements (see table 6.x) is filled by garbage piles.	The space of the stair- case's kending in front of the school entrance is full of drawings made by children, which have also stuck plenty of stickers to the walls.
the kecome the first structure to foster livelih proof possibilities and to add a layer of complex. In proceeding the first second memory. The floating well proceed the floating unit households have of the floating unit households here consider own to welling petalishes on for subfetting their units.	In absence of community agreement of ground floors, distribution of control and state floor agreement and agreement and agreement and agreement agreement and the more households to move meet, gather, sell.	ı	The open windows acts as material infrastructure for garbage disposal.	AMNY NGO acts as in- frastructure to put leen- agers in touch with a wide network of job op- portunities
nousing units "upon the households were able in nousing units "upon," households were able in nonportal recome generating activities in the bousing units. Thanks to the possibility of building mezamines, households have been able to create new able to create new able for create new able of create new flashed in the household lisself—for either rest	Some households have coupled in the space of confronts and landings with homome-panels with fine and an arrange and an arrange and arrange in the walls and end and arrange done in the walls and end arrange done in the walls and end political parties out as the confront and arrange done in the walls and end political parties are arrange done in the walls are confront and arrange arrange arrange and arrange and arrange arrange arrange arrangement and arrange arrangement a	Rainforced gates are a grown for business in Borel Kella and Phrom Pent as a whole, inter-viewes mentioned that each reinforced gate cost 200-300 USD.	Some interviewees say that newcomers are responsible for such malpractice, while others declare that it is common attude for many inhabitants, regardless of their origin.	AMNY NGO provides free education to classes of up 20 children and teenagers in Borei Keila.
orden with Active SDI and other local groups conceived the housing units as incremental.	2. Phan Innex in collaboration with Add Hr, SDI and other local groups designed corridors and flanding spaces as wide open spaces.	3. Households increasing ages to protect the housing units.	4. Some households throw garbage downstairs (brownd the current lilegal settlement) from the open windows over the main staircases' landings.	5. AMNY NGO has opered on the fourth floor of building C (then moved to building H in 2015).







6.59. The ambivalence of urban obsolescence in Borei Keila's new housing for the poor, ground floor (elaboration by Author; source of photographs: Author)



Former community leaders speak of clear regulations for the new

The community room is a simple rectangle measuring 8 by 20 me-

After giving up the ground floor to Phan Imex, the only proper

Infrastructures for community-gathering are absent on the ground floor.

1. Former community
leaders symbolically retainments by of the

Image of their image of their image of TMG Group trying to push forward micro- finance schemes). Links with study bears allow former community eachers to main-finance schemes of their address o	Phan Innex employs a number of watchdogs and head of building in order to control the ground floors, as at closs for the upper ones. Phan Innex has kept a Verna or it building D. In order of building D. In order of building D.	A guard collects the fee after the motorycle's or discovers and buckets owners have left their workicle inside. The fee covers the entire day. Vehicle's owners are given a ticket to prove their payment.	See #2.	ı
mental in the near the luc it beas will tackle garbage issues, vehicle circulator, and setting of new people in the units currently empty in buildings G and H.	Phan Imex asks for a rent for the Dusiness owners. Hent is soll-bested monthly by Phan Imex's employees working the ground floor of building D. Business-owners pay also 100 KHP per day for garbage objection (about 0.25 USD).	1	Phan Imex takes advantage of the legal and policy vacuum in terms of bosings, in so doing creating potentially uncessing potentially uncessing and overconded units.	The recently approved Cambodis so-called NGO Law (RGC 2014) greatly finitis the operational features as been read defectors as threatto NGO workers. In this conditional read a threatto NGO workers. In this conditional read to the conditional read
the state of the s	Orighally, the only ones entitled for tenta commercial unit were inhabilities of Borol Kella. Evidence from the interviews, however, shows how the how there is now an interviews own and the outside.	The managers of the parking spaces correspond to the heads of the buildings, giving to the power and direct control over access to the buildings them.	Phan Imax bribes the botal authorities in order to real authorities in order to restole trial units under total freedom.	There is no formal connection with the Ministry of Education. No deficient is total independent yet from the Ministry of the M
mand of measures and restricted in mand for insecuring and risks on the current community from all wellers. For me community leeders goint out how a road in the back of the buildings and regulations for granteed city.	1	1	Inhabitants mention this was the rolly op- tion to allor a housing unit in a certifal area.	PIO's website states that Through aductation it is our balled that we can improve the lives of the Cambodian people which will lead to taking greater control or baking greater control or one? If any and as a result, a life and as a complains they do not manage to address the high demand for chilliden.
ment, through a door ment, through a door whose key is in posses- sion of former commu- nity leaders.	Commercial units' archi- lectural forms are of els- parate. Ther size varies greatly from a minimum of 20-yahretres to a max- mum of Aby8 metres. Other variables involve the presence of a max- zanine, of total facilities. The level of teapt ragade, the invege of the ragade, the level of responsorate ton of the space adja- cent to frontage.	Parking space appear as giant spaces hol- lowed out of the build- ing's ground floors, in the Eastern side of the plan. Access is either from the main roads or from the inner transver- sal road.	Units vary in size from 2 by 2 merels to 4 by 6 merels to 4 by 6 merels 50me in habit anst 5 merels 50me in habit and 2 merels 50me in habit and 2 merels 50me in habit and 50me between 6 merels from 5 merels 1	PAO has divided the space horizontally rint a series of study froms, and vertically frough the use of mezzanines, to increase as much as to recesse as much as possible horizont and therefore capacity. Childen's a stream of a procise schedule to accommodate the high demand.
observation and river- view, with new of the community leaders shows from test arely used and most times stays simply shut.	Mary business units were not successful and were votated, some others have never been rented out. In May 2015 there were a total of 108 empty units.	1	The addition or residentially becase it across the created multiple spatial and so-cell thresholds, insofar as newcomers aspea in the conversion of commercial facilities to residential units have fur. The received more than exerce of spaces serving the collectivity:	1
	some of the business- owness have built mez- satups at hose built mez- satups a bedroom. The size of the mez-zanine varies, shortly with the per- centage of it actually ded- clared to busing-related activities (in some case it is just a bed sometimes for employees why stay overnight, with the role of guardains).	Some newcomers have carved out space for housing units out of the parking lots.	The conversion from commercial to residential spaces has brought further than commercial to residential spaces has brought to feel as site. Residential units are often over-crowded and with poor access to natural light and ventilation. Newcorners were your ladiorships with the rest of the inhabitants.	
trance and façade of the community room remain anonymous.	The choice of giving up the ground floor to Phan Imax has resulted in an even finer grain – atomised commercial unit vs. potentially bigger community spaces.	Parking spaces do not have a recognisability per se and seem quite identical from building to building. They represent a coarse element in the ground floor.	The residential units deficie further alon- be the already line gran of the ground in the ground infor, with the smallest units measuring 2 metres by 2.	The school apart from the parking spaces and the community from, is the only but of scale space of the ground floor, sanding out of the fine ground floor, sanding out of the structural grid and of the commerciaties of the forman standards is solar as an ost inhabitants frow where it is on the ground floor and acknowledge its one.
on the new buildings of ground floors are the buildings and the Transversal roads consent through the buildings ground the buildings ground floors. Marny Inhabitants, especially single men use floor of the floors are an affurd extension of their units, layer ing there all their medis.	Business-owners have expanded and octopied main roads and unear passages with tables and goods.	The parking spaces are public insofar as parking is allowed also for outsiders.	While benefiting, in the- ony, from diect access to the inner or open-ar roads on the ground floor, the residential units often face dark or noisy spaces, and con- tribute to their encreach- ment.	PIO school serves as the only Yornal space of encounter for chil- dren king in the new housing. The space in front of the entre code, adjacent to commercial activities such as food stalls and a market, is very lively.
use informally the common spaces on the upper floors.	The shops are distributed to the shops are distributed and of Boral feals onew housing. A transversal road crosscruting the ground for more Building A to floor from Building A to also the stress main asks of distribution between the buildings. The layout of the longitudings. The layout of the longitudings.	Parking spaces are necessary for the huge number of inhabitants' modocycles and bles, and always full. One of the parking spaces on the ground floor of building H is for cars.	Phan innex has provided a number of totales and showers on the ground floor of building. If, given the lack of facilities our solution also the order of totales of innex housing aurits on the ground floor (including also the ores in the interior also the order or the phant. There is a fee to be put of the county of the phant. There is a fee to be per off or using these facilities.	PIO works in several contexts but do not manage to fusite con-nections and networks amongst those—one school they run is present also in fusion fusio
priorit. Evidence from the Interviews above you most in the Batter as one was of the fact the community from exists.	The whole ground floor has become a generation of revenues for Phan monthly rent to businessowners. Many inhabitants of the upper floors from their vivelinoos from popering or working in a business on the ground floor.	The parking spaces generate further revenues for Phan linex, and provides a number of guards with a salary.	The presence of housing a realized lower cost has attracted a higher number of new-comers. Phan imos gots further profit from the ground floor.	Inhabitants from the new housing for the poor (especially from buildings A, B. C) have their children attending the school in the affection moded, while parents freed to pay an illegal feet to pay an illegal feet to their leachies as it happens instead in public schools.
ally possess only a com- mulary com, which they keep empty for most of the time.	2. Phan Innex pays a symmetric profile of the symmetry leaders for the whole ground floor, the whole ground floor, businesses.	3. Phan Inrex dedicated approximately one third of the footprint of each building to parking spaces.	4. Phan Impex has sub- norder-used of or less successful commercial units to newcomers, for residential uses.	6. People Improvement Organisation has ment Organisation has established a venue in the ground floor of building A.





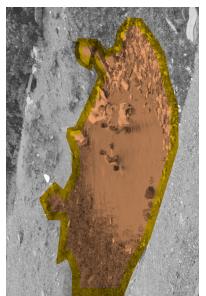


THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE DEMOLISHED INFORMAL NEW AXES COMPLETELY DISREGARD DEVELOPERS FRAGMENTING AND DENSIFYING THE PLOT SETTLEMENT THIRD PARTY 1 1 1 SURVEILLING THE PLOT 24/7 PRIVATE GUARDS TEMPORARY USES BEYOND FENCES
POSSIBILITY FOR FUTURE
TRANSFORMATION LEFTOVERS FROM THE NEW **DEVELOPMENTS ARE STILL USED** INFORMALLY FOR RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES gated-community-like dynamics decommodifying dynamics renoliticisation dynamics opening-up dynamics camp-like dynamics

6.60. The ambivalence of urban obsolescence in Borei Keila's profit-driven developments (elaboration by Author; source of photographs: Author)

OBSERVED	SPATIAL DIMENSIONS						GOVERNMENTAL DIMENSIONS	SNOIS			
PRACTICES	A. Spaces for cultures and economies	B. Infrastructures	C. Public and open spaces	D. Built fabric / Land- marks	E. Housing and dwell- ing	F. Leftovers and thresholds	G. Architectural Forms	H. Discourses and scientific /philanthropic statements	I. Institutions and 'laws'	J. Policy and regulatory frameworks	K. Techniques of government / administrative measures
Phan Imex has sub- leased the land to sev- erate that party-inves- tors.	A multitude of busi- nesses has foursined in the area, from straight than the area of the area businesses such as der reasile, to a big size market. New spaces for culture were established; a uni- were established; a uni- versity, one school.	The infrastructural net- work follows the sub-div- son of the plots and do not take in the account any of the original transport axes, nor any alignment with the road network at the wider scale.	The possible presence of public and open spaces has been completely disregarded in the development of the state. Each plot has been (orris being) densely built, Atthe moment the only public and open spaces are represented by the road network. Further roper spaces are only public and open spaces are entre-sented by the road network. Further roper spaces are only public and open spaces are only public and open spaces.	The the grain of the organ is settlement has been transformed into a very coarse one, made of huge and imperment of huge and imperment ble building blocks.	Most housing take place in these to four storely shophouses, with the exception of a few build- ings for flats.	See #2.	Architectural forms are manifold and values from Kinner slyle shophouses to bronic developments featuring high-tech façades.	Phan Innex boasted the redevelopment of a pre- vously dangerus and defeticit sum into a mod- em neighbourhood of central Phrom Penh.	The Land Law (2001) ai- lowed to transform Bore Keals s' State Public Land Into State Private Land, hence to lease it to private investors.	As per original land- sharing agreement, 12 hard the whole site could have been devel- oped for profit. Phan Imax lobbled public au- linex lobbled public au- buronies in order to be able to sub-base the able to sub-base the appers.	Some of the new developments is in the case of office buildings and universities) are quarded by private security guards.
2. Several piots are left undergood and be undergood and be come in terms portary uses.	See #2C.		Plots are sometimes transformed into formal transformed into formal transformed into formal spaces, implementing activities that generals an income (e.g. as volley—ball part for housing results and income of the sub-fease hold-fease hold formally by unbots are otherwise used incomally by unbots are otherwise individuals once that fonces are therefores the fonces are therefore the fonces are the feases (e.g. difficults and feases (e.g. difficults and feases (e.g. difficults are supported to the fease of the	See #2C.		Empty plots configure as elivorer spaces. Sometimes they acquire a temporary use, see #2C.	See #2C.			The informal trespass- ing of plots can be pros- ecuted following the Land Law (RGC 2001).	Undeveloped plots are generally fronted off and sometimes controlled by private security guards.









The land-sharing process in Borei Keila was definitely affected by the emergence of exclusionary and depoliticising dynamics [Figure 6.57, colour purple]: the several surveys made by NGOs were eventually disregarded in the process of provision of flats; proposals by community architects were deemed unfit and financially unviable; all NGOs were eventually pushed away from the overall process; every community group was bypassed by Phan Imex and local authorities, who rather favoured negotiations with single households and bribed256 community leaders.

Once the eviction occurred (January 2012), the area I defined above as 'illegal settlement' (page 257) was turned de facto into a camp-like spatiality. A basic form of control was implemented fencing the area off the plots that would have then hosted new profit-driven developments, to avoid trespassing and encroachment. Some of the Old Building's units were forcibly vacated by local authorities, with giant 'OK' signs sprayed on the walls by local authorities and entrance doors walled, contributing to an overall image of exclusion through abandonment and ruination. Households in the green sheds in Borei Keila were kept for long in a suspended condition, not receiving any information about their future. Further, green sheds were provided with no toilets nor windows, and designed as simple boxes, reinforcing a feeling of spatial exclusion. The same could be said for the fifty-six households living in shacks, which had not been given any possibility of infrastructural upgrading for a total of six years, prior to their ultimate eviction. Such households were recurrently exploited by Phan Imex, being charged a fee for using collective toilets built on the ground floors of the new housing. The deliberate lack of formal rubbish collection in the whole illegal settlement completed such picture, strengthening the image of the illegal settlement as leftover and disposable space.

Other camp-like dynamics in Borei Keila's illegal settlement can be identified in the rivalries amongst different factions of dwellers, and the consequent impossibility of proposing a true alternative for the upgrading of the illegal settlement. Such conflicts have de facto supported the 'divide and rule' strategy used by authorities and developers in Borei Keila. The sheer divide between new housing and slum settlement, and the rhetoric creation of the latter as a 'problem' for the former, is another element contributing to the creation of a camp-like condition – supported not only by Phan Imex and local authorities but, paradoxically, also by the strong divides amongst dwellers across the site, and by the impossibility of organisations such as Licadho to involve them all in a collective struggle. Adding to this gloomy picture [Figure 6.57, colour blue], it is important to notice how processes of fetishisization of urban ruins (Forsyth, no date; Chea, 2011; Andersen, 2016), as happened in the White Building (see chapter 5, page

²⁵⁶ See footnote **57**, page 136.

223), have affected Borei Keila's Old Buildings too, to an extent contributing to distance them even more from the rest of the site.

Moving to the new housing for the poor, camp-like dynamics [Figure 6.58, colour purple] have emerged as forms of exclusion against newcomers – as in the White Building, accused of antisocial behaviours and criminal activities.²⁵⁷ Camp-like dynamics are caused also by the overwhelming control exercised by Phan Imex's watchdogs and heads-of-buildings (as seen with the *phum* leaders in the White Building), and by architectural forms conducive to enhance such dimension of control – for instance through the use of long corridors in the upper floors or by keeping empty a number of housing units as in new buildings G and H.

As for gated-community-like dynamics [Figure 6.58, colour blue], as seen in the White Building, the informal transactions of housing units (initially provided for free) became an agent of commodification in Borei Keila's new housing for the poor. The same can be said for the addition of mezzanines in the housing units: these, although creating emancipatory conditions (see following sub-section), have been often used to sublet to newcomers and generate an income. In the same fashion, Borei Keila's ground floors [Figure 6.59, colours blue and purple], initially meant as shared collective spaces), are now rented out by Phan Imex to a multitude of private businesses or converted into parking lots whereby Phan Imex charges a fee. The two toilets for the slum dwellers of the illegal settlement, run and supported by Phan Imex in exchange of a fee, add up to such strongly commodified picture. An apparent exception, in Borei Keila's ground floor, is represented by the community room: this however, is kept permanently locked, and turned into a tangible manifestation of the Borei Keila's depoliticised condition, as former community leaders do not have an interest in engaging with the current politics of the overall site.

The increased perception of criminality has caused the emergence of forms of security obsession, too: on the upper floors, the widespread use of reinforced gates, of cages to fence off balconies and – in some instances – the hiring of security guards, equally reflects the fear of robbers and criminals that most interviewees have mentioned to be amongst their main concerns. Crime and thefts are a concern also on the ground floors, where the access to the parking spaces is constantly guarded, and where some business owners have built mezzanines

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²⁵⁷ It is relevant to notice that the solutions proposed by the former community leaders to such issue was merely a technical and administrative one, i.e. using safety nets to avoid the rubbish to be thrown downstairs. In a similar fashion, former community leaders proposed to get rid of part of the illegal settlement to implement the construction of a road in the backside of the new housing for the poor.

with the only purpose to have a guard or an employee staying overnight to avoid possible burglaries.

As in the case of Dey Krahorm (see chapter 5, page 223), the rest of the site has been parcellised into smaller plots, sub-leased to private third-party developers [Figure 6.60, colours blue and purple], with the urban fabric of the site and its original thoroughfares completely disregarded in the transformation process [Figure 6.60, colour purple]. On such plots, security is ensured and enforced through fencing walls, the use of private guards and CCTVs. In one case, a group of people was even paid to live on a small shack on site, to allow them to warn both the landlord and police in case of illegal trespassing. There emerge forms of fetishization and iconisation, too [Figure 6.60, colour blue]: in the midst of townhouses whose typology and style strongly refers to a 'local' culture and image, universities and buildings for business attempt to establish a new aesthetics made of translucent glass panels, of irregular shapes and curved forms. As in the case of the neighbouring Olympic City, such buildings rise as new iconic landmarks of central Phnom Penh thanks to their size, materiality and recognisability – their ground floors dedicated to consumption, with world-renown pizza and coffee chains.

6.8.2. Answering RQ2: Borei Keila's urbanisms as emancipating from the production of the fenced city

I recall here that, in chapters 1 (page 36) and 3 (page 94), I discussed obsolescing urbanisms as potentially emancipating from the dynamics of production of the fenced city, through a series of opening up practices (in the Figures below highlighted in yellow), decommodifying practices (in orange), repoliticising practices (in red). Below I discuss in detail the presence of emancipatory practices in Borei Keila.

In the illegal settlement, the presence a of fifty-six households living in shacks denoted a dimension of decommodification of an otherwise leftover piece of land in the city centre. As seen, households were repoliticised through the work of Licadho. Licadho managed to open the settlement, too, thanks to networking activities and through publications exposing the reality of Borei Keila to a wider public. The agency of such repoliticisation, however, was limited due to the emergence of interest groups in conflict with each other, as concluded above.

As for the new housing for the poor, above I mentioned how the turnover of inhabitants and the use of mezzanines were agents of its commodification. It is important, however, to notice how the turnover mechanism has allowed to open the housing to a multitude of newcomers; and how the incremental design of the unit was strongly conducive to a level of repoliticisation of

the inhabitants, putting the poor househods at the centre of the transformation of their everyday spaces, and enhancing their possibility of opening up their units to newcomers or to establish business or productive activities. The common spaces were designed to favour interaction, on both upper and ground floors: households daily occupy such spaces, gathering and dedicating themselves to ludic activities, which can be read as decommodifying one. Importantly, the two schools, respectively on the third floor of building C (Amny School) and ground floor of building A (PIO school) have created the conditions for openness, decommodification and repoliticisation. With their afternoon activities, not only do they work to favour and improve children's education: rather, they also emancipate the households (and, most often, household's women) from the obligation of staying at home to take care of their children. In so doing, they unlock possibilities of building livelihoods, but also to engage with the social and political life of the settlement. Both schools have started new uses that emancipate from capitalist logics: they have subtracted their spaces to the profit-driven inner transformation of Borei Keila's upper floors and ground floor; they are run by not-for-profit organisations, and do not ask for a monetary contribution to their students.²⁵⁸ Amny School also works in the morning, offering Korean classes to teenagers and adults, contributing to open up Borei Keila's reality through connections toward new cultures, through possibilities of travelling for cultural exchanges, and overall through enriching the CVs of its inhabitants. Both PIO and Amny schools are also setting up a new aesthetics within Borei Keila, using bright colours and childish drawings to decorate their outer and inner façades.

In the rest of the plot, some sub-leased plots have been left empty, undeveloped. Such plots benefit from a looser degree of control and are therefore used informally by individuals trespassing their fences – for instance as improvised playgrounds by children, or as swimming ponds in the monsoon season. Such practices can be read as entailing a level of both openness and decommodification but occur sporadically and could be legally prosecuted. As in the case of Dey Krahorm, it is important to notice how the appearance of multiple investors and businesses has contributed to open up the sites to a wider range of users and customers flowing from several areas of the city, as evidence from the interviews shows. Such openness, however, has entailed the further commodification of land uses and the emergence of other gated-community-like dynamics, as seen above.

²⁵⁸ As it happens for instance in Cambodian public schools, where underpaid teachers ask 1000 KHR per day to their pupils in order to let them attend.

6.9. CHAPTER SUMMARY

As in chapter 5, I hereby presented the process of urban transformation as a cyclical succession of instances of modernisation and obsolescence. I showed how Borei Keila's first monumental ensemble was abandoned during the Khmer Rouge era and then assigned to police officers after 1979. I showed how the increasing number of newcomers in central areas of Phnom Penh led to the emergence of a slum over the whole area of Borei Keila, because of informal transactions of pieces of land and transformations and expansions of the original flats.

I showed how, in such a situation, a land-sharing process was presented as the best solution to re-house the poor on part of the site, while leaving great room for profit to a private developer on the rest of the site. The partial failure of such process led to forced evictions and an uneven situation on site: I showed how the modernisation of Borei Keila is haunted by a fast-paced ruination of the new housing for the poor, by illegal populations surviving in the interstices of the new developments, by several urban voids in the centre of the site, undeveloped *tabulae rasae* frequently used informally as public spaces.

While the new developments are built frenetically, therefore, obsolescing processes are affecting the entire site. In such a situation, I analysed some practices showing how these have led to the emergence of gated-community-like and camp-like dynamics. At the same time, I showed how other practices should be understood as having an emancipatory potential – as capable of opening, decommodifying, repoliticising the production of space in Borei Keila.

In the following chapter, I will explore the relocations sites built to host evictees from Borei Keila, Dey Krahorm, and the Railway Settlements.

7. Investigating the displacement of obsolescing urbanisms: Phnom Penh's relocation sites

7.1. INTRODUCTION

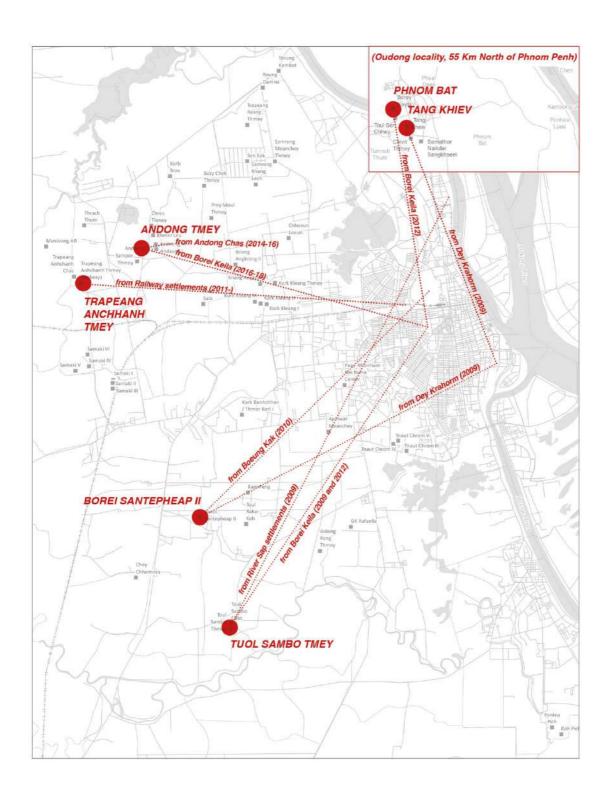
The production of relocation sites in Phnom Penh, following forced evictions, started in the 1990s: to date, fifty-four relocation sites have been built [Figure 7.1], most of them rising in the city's outskirts (STT, 2007, 2009a, 2011, 2012d).

In 1998, 129 families from the area of Tuol Svay Prey were relocated to the site of Aphiwat Meanchey through a participatory process (Goad, no date; STT, 2006). The site layout was designed by: UNCHS, that financed the construction of sanitation and transport infrastructures; URC's young professionals, that assisted the households in designing the new housing units; UPDF, that set up saving groups, giving loans to all households to finance the housing construction (Goad, no date). The community was able to negotiate the construction of a large public area and a primary school (Goad, no date). Although one third of the households has eventually returned to live in central Phnom Penh, Aphiwat Meanchey has for long been regarded as a sustainable model for the relocation of the urban poor communities.²⁵⁹

Aphiwat Meanchey was meant to constitute a sustainable model for future relocations (STT, 2006). Such model, however, was not followed, for disparate reasons: the increasingly high pressure over land (ACHR, 2004), the unwillingness of the MPP to collaborate with 'illegal' communities (as per 2001's Land Law – RGC, 2001), the doubts of actors such as UN agencies or non-governmental organisations on compromising with displacement processes. To date, the approach to relocating poor communities has been highly inhomogeneous with considerable differences in terms of (STT, 2009a, 2009b, 2011, 2012d): distance from the centre; size; provision of land, housing and infrastructures and services (if any); involvement of actors from the public, private and third sector; participation of the displaced population in the relocation process.

²⁵⁹ Interviews 226, 328, 333, 334.

²⁶⁰ Interviews 226, 333.



^{7.1.} Map of Phnom Penh's relocation sites, with indication of the six sites explored in this chapter and corresponding evicted areas (elaboration by Author. Source of base map: STT, 2012d).

I analyse in this chapter six relocation sites (see summary in Table 7.1, below), which are exemplary of Phnom Penh's wide and complex spectrum of relocation practices [Figure 7.1]. Such relocation sites host urban poor groups displaced from the localities I explored in chapters 5 and 6 (Dey Krahorm, Railway Settlements, Borei Keila). Noticeably (see Table 7.1), Borei Santepheap II hosts also evictees from Boeung Kak, Tuol Sambo Tmey has also received people from settlements along the Tonle Sap river, Andong Tmey's inhabitants are from both Borei Keila and Sambok Chab [Figure 7.1]. In Table 7.1, it is visible how housing on the relocation sites might be thoroughly provided, either by an NGO (as in the second stage in Tuol Sambo Tmey, or in Andong Tmey), or the Municipality (as in the early stage of Tuol Sambo Tmey), or a private company (as in Borei Santepheap II or the latest stage of Tuol Sambo Tmey itself). Other times, as in the case of Trapeang Anchhanh Tmey, displaced households are provided only with toilets blocks, around which they will have to build their future home on their own. The relocation sites' architectural forms are therefore disparate: incremental housing in the form of one-storey rectangular units organised along a regular structural grid of armed concrete (in Borei Santepheap II); roofed rectangular units in masonry (Tuol Sambo Tmey and Andong Tmey); self-built units in masonry or wooden materials, built around or next to a masonry toilet block (Trapeang Anchhanh Tmey). In other cases, the displaced households are dumped on flat virginal land, sometimes provided with water and electricity connections, or with just a paved or naked road. In the cases of Thang Khiev²⁶¹ and Phnom Bat (Vink, 2012a) some of the households were able to save some scrap material from their previous homes, and loaded it on the trucks that took them to the new sites. Once there, households built temporary housing through plastic sheets, wooden sticks or other makeshift materials [Figure 7.2]. Later, such structures were upgraded to self-built housing on stilts, thanks to the support of nongovernmental organisations, the establishment or consolidation of community-based organisations and, ultimately, an improved access to livelihoods thanks to development of new infrastructures and economic activities in the relocation sites' surroundings [Figure 7.3].

To date, a comprehensive analysis of Phnom Penh's complex topology of relocation sites is still lacking, along with a critical reflection on their significance in wider urban governmental dynamics. If compared to the amount of literature on forced evictions in Phnom Penh (see chapter 5, page 150), the debate on relocation sites themselves is considerably of a smaller size. A few comparative studies (Chi *et al.*, 2010; UNHR, 2012; McMahon, 2015) have focused

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²⁶¹ Interviews 300, 340.

Relocation	Hosting	Distance	Land	Total units /	Housing	Other notes
site	population evicted from (year of eviction)	from the centre	provided by	plots (total units / plots occupied during my research)	provided by (housing typology)	
Borei Santepheap II (BSII)	- Dey Krahorm (2009) - Boeung Kak (2010)	20km	7NG Group	2000 units (of which 400 for the relocated households)	7NG Group (incremental housing units in the shape of rowhouses)	Housing units for relocated poor households represent only 20% of the built units on site. The remaining 80% are sold on the market by 7NG.
Tang Khiev	- Dey Krahorm (2009 – initially settled temporarily next to BSII, final relocation in 2010)	55km	7NG Group	510 plots (104)	n.a. (units are self- built by the community with the support of Manna4Life NGO)	7NG had provided households with a plot of land only.
Trapeang Anchhanh Tmey	- Several locations across the Railway settlements (since 2011)	15km	ADB	400 plots (161)	n.a. (units are self- built by households around, or next to, toilet blocks provided by ADB).	Aus-Aid supplied the main public building. The settlement shares part of the public facilities with the adjacent Trapeang Anchhanh Chas.
Tuol Sambo Tmey	- Borei Keila (2009 – HIV affected households); - Several localities along the Bassac River (2009 – HIV-affected households); - Borei Keila (2012)	21km	MPP	108 (90)	Phase 1: Phan Imex (green sheds for HIV-affected households) Phase 2: Caritas (roofed rowhouses in masonry) Phase 3: Phan Imex (second wave of evictees)	There is a clear division in the settlement between HIV-affected households and the rest of the population.
Phnom Bat	- Borei Keila (2012)	55km	MPP	141 (60)	n.a. (units are self- built by the community with the support of an NGO of Christian inspiration)	Phan Imex had provided households with a plot of land, and several (non- potable) water wells.
Andong Tmey	- Andong Chas (2014, groups originally relocated from Sambok Chab, in 2006); - Borei Keila (2016-2018)	16km	MPP	1000 units (relocation process on- going during my research)	Habitat for Humanity and People for Care and Learning (one-storey rowhouses)	The site was initially built to relocate part of the households living in the adjacent Andong Chas.

Table 7.1. Summary of information on analysed relocation sites (elaboration by Author. Sources of data: 7NG Group, 2010; STT, 2012a, 2012b; UNHR, 2012; Vink, 2012a; Wells and Phak, 2014; Licadho, 2015; PCL, 2015a)





7.2. Housing made of scrap materials in Phnom Bat (Source: Vink 2014).7.3. Samaki I relocation site: housing units incrementally grown throughout the years (Source: Author).

on the displacements' immediate afterlives, analysing the displaced households' income, education and health condition, the housing and infrastructure provision, the land titling situation. In most cases, such studies have highlighted the worsening of living conditions in the post-displacement stage.

Little attention, thus far, has been cast upon the governmental dimension of the act of relocation, or over the political agency (or lack thereof) of the relocated groups. Nor have relocation sites been analysed from the point of view of their design. In this research, instead, I question the significance of relocation sites as forms of urban obsolescence (see chapter 3, pages 84 and 94) and, possibly, as camp-like and gated-community-like spatialities (chapter 2, pages 57 and 60): as controllable manifestation of the displacing agency of powerful urban stakeholders; as reassuring-though-patronising image of welfare provision; as marginal spaces (see chapter 3, page 84), built upon leftover pieces of land and through leftover materials, and around infrastructures and housing undergoing ruination even prior to the actual relocation. With such aim, the following sections explore the spatial and governmental dynamics of the relocation sites built for urban poor groups displaced from Dey Krahorm (see chapter 5, page 177), Railway Settlements (chapter 5, page 207), Borei Keila (see chapter 6).

7.2. RELOCATING DEY KRAHORM

7.2.1. Borei Santepheap II

Borei Santepheap II [Figures 7.4, 7.5, 7.6] – literally 'peace village two' – henceforth BSII, is a 2000 unit settlement (7NG Group, 2010), built about 20km South-West from the city centre (in Damnak Trayoeung, Dangkor district). This distance – via tuk-tuk or moto-dup – means about one hour driving from the centre of Phnom Penh, on bumpy and sometimes muddy roads. Borei Santepheap II hosts families evicted from both Boeung Kak (see page 19) and Dey Krahorm (see page 177).²⁶³ Defining BSII as 'relocation site' is, however, reductive, as 80% of its urban fabric is composed of units that were sold on the market [see Figure 7.5 above]. BSII land is owned by 7NG, the same company that caused the eviction of Dey Krahorm's families. While

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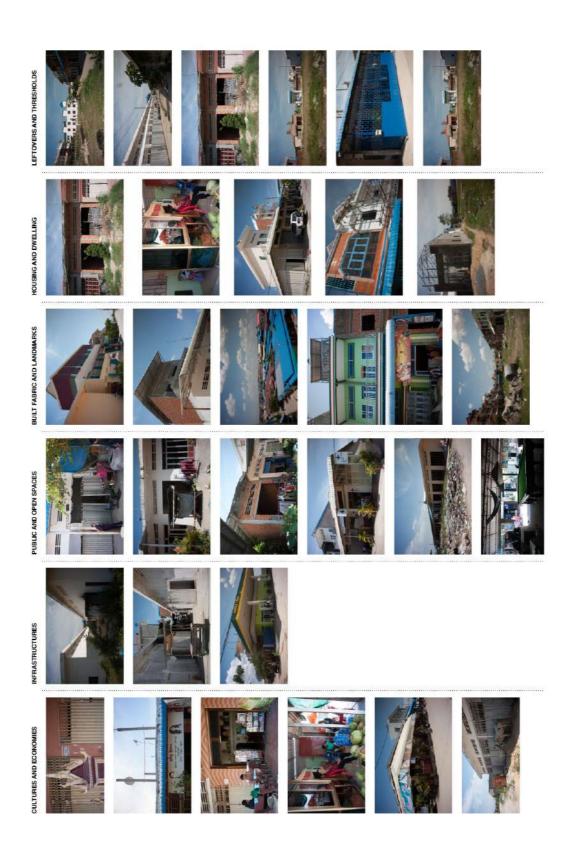
²⁶² The UNHR report has actually a very short section on community participation and social integration (UNHR, 2012), though these seem to remain largely marginal topics. Another notable exception is the work by Montvilaite (2014), on the analysis of land transactions post-relocation in Trapeang Anchhanh (the relocation site for the families displaced because of the Railway Rehabilitation Project), with a discussion on the micro-politics at play in the relocation site.

²⁶³ In the literature there is often confusion about this information: Borei Santepheap II is alternatively cited as relocation site for families from Dey Krahorm only (UNHR, 2012) or from Boeung Kak only (Chi *et al.*, 2010).





- 7.4. Satellite image of Borei Santepheap II (Source: Google Maps 2019) 7.5. Map of Borei Santepheap II, sketched after first reconnaissances (elaboration by Author).



7.6. Photographic notes on spatial dimensions of Borei Santepheap II after first reconnaissances (elaboration by Author; source of photographs: Author).

marketed as a philanthropic operation to provide urban poor groups with housing, BSII served as an investment opportunity for 7NG, in a periurban setting where the costs of land and labour were low. The housing units sale subsidised the construction of housing for the evicted populations, though confining them at the margins of the site, in units with lower construction standards [see again Figure 7.5]. 7NG designed the site following a uniform 4 by 10 metres grid and distributed the housing units along perpendicular roads and around one main open public space, where there is a market. Some open spaces look like huge leftovers, with piles of rubbish and spontaneous vegetation [Figure 7.7].

The housing units for the evictees lie in the southernmost part of the site, quite segregated from the rest. To date, many housing units are vacant, or their construction or expansion seem to be left unfinished: about two thirds of the relocated families have by now returned to central Phnom Penh.²⁶⁴ A middle-age woman,²⁶⁵ who had previously lived in Dey Krahorm, says that most of the people who decided to stay actually managed to find a job on the relocation site or in its close proximity. Her mother though, living with her, is a cleaner in Phnom Penh and uses a good part of its salary in commuting everyday by moto-dup. Most houses around their unit are empty [Figure 7.8]. The woman complains about the absence of a lottery system to assign the unit, with "the company along with the most powerful households within the community decid[ing] it all". She says that most powerful households have managed to secure the most valuable units facing the main open spaces for themselves, while other households were pushed toward the edge of the settlement. Her mother mentions there had been an attempt to set up a system of community savings, but it did not work out. Today, for them, the only way to have some money for extra-expenses such as medical care or housing upgrades is to apply for an individual loan to a bank (mortgaging the housing units), or to microfinance institutions one of each owned by 7NG Group itself.

The evictees' housing units are still property of 7NG, which has simply issued housing certificates and not ownership titles.²⁶⁶ Officially, this is done to avoid the sale of housing units in the first 5 years from the relocation.²⁶⁷ In most cases, though, ownership titles are never issued, suggesting that 7NG (or MPP in other cases) simply prefer to retain ownership, as a form of further control over the settlements' future transformation. In BSII, 7NG even held onto

²⁶⁴ Interviews 286, 289, 333.

²⁶⁵ Interview 287.

²⁶⁶ This is common in Phnom Penh, in contexts of both resettlement and on-site upgrading.

²⁶⁷ Interviews 124, 227.





7.7. Public spaces as leftovers in Borei Santepheap II (Source: Author).7.8. Housing for evictees in Borei Santepheap II: vacant units (Source: Author).

displaced families' residency books²⁶⁸ in exchange for housing certificates, giving no guarantee of ever returning them (UNHR, 2012).

In the central public spaces, there lies an open structure, originally meant as market [Figure 7.9]. Yet, most commercial units have been shut because of lack of business: many have now been privatised and converted to housing. A woman who sells beverages and food items²⁶⁹ says that she rents her small commercial/residential unit from 7NG, for 400USD per year. The unit measures 3m by 4m, and she uses part of its space during the day as small shop – a piece of furniture and a curtain serve as partition wall between the commercial and the residential parts [Figure 7.10]. There live three more people with her, her husband and son, both security guards, and her daughter, who works in the garment factory on the North-West side of the settlement. The factory was built by 7NG, too, but is currently owned by 'The Willbes Cambodia & Co. Ltd.', a Cambodian branch of a Korean textile company that provides work to about 2000 people (Bloomberg L.P., no date; HRInc. Cambodia, no date) [Figure 7.11].

On the other side of the main open space, the owner of a four-storey house says that his family had purchased the unit in 2014 for 37'000USD as an investment – thinking that they could sell it in the future, if the prices went up further. The previous owner was the *phum* leader, who apparently was given a few units around the settlement in exchange for his collaboration with 7NG. The current owner works as a soldier, and says life is easier compared to central Phnom Penh and its traffic: as soon as steady water and electricity supply arrived, there was really no difference for him. He considers the construction to be of a high quality in his house [Figure 7.12], and states that he knows that the housing for the poor has for sure weaker foundations and structure.

Observation suggests that the overall quality of all the housing units is decent. These are cleverly designed as incremental, leaving room for future expansion in height, as it has already happened in those units where wealthier families live. "Happiness" is the word used by 7NG Group (2010, p. 44) to describe the state of mind of those residents who had chosen to resettle voluntarily from Dey Krahorm, while showing images of a (never occurred)²⁷⁰ lottery to assign the several units (see also: Talocci and Boano, 2015). However, BSII is far from being the idyllic place described by 7NG, where – in opposition to the "anarchic, jobless, conflict[ive] situation [in] Dey Krahorm" (7NG Group, 2010, p. 15)— adults would find work (in the garment factory),

²⁶⁸ Interviews 287, 288.

²⁶⁹ Interview 290.

²⁷⁰ Interviews 285, 287, 288.





7.9. Central Market in Borei Santepheap II (Source: Author) 7.10. A housing unit in the central market, Borei Santepheap II (Source: Author)





7.11. Textile factory in Borei Santepheap II (Source: Author). 7.12. Middle-class housing in Borei Santepheap II (Source: Author).



7.13. Borei Santepheap II: snapshots from 7NG presentation (Source: 7NG 2010).

OBSERVED	SPATIAL DIMENSIONS			1			GOVERNMENTAL DIMENSIONS	SIONS			
PRACTICES	A. Spaces for cultures and oconomies	B. Infrastructures	C. Public and open spaces	D. Built fabric / Land- marks	E. Housing and dwell- ing	F. Leftovers and thresholds	G. Architectural Forms	H. Discourses and sci- entific / philanthropic statements	i. Institutions and 'laws'	J. Policy and regula- tory frameworks	K. Techniques of gov- emment / administra- tive measures
1. 7NG proposes a plot of land fying 15km away from the centre of Phrome Penh for the inhabitants of Dey Karhorm (see table 5.4)	Social and business nal- works of the displaced families are invitably disrupted.	The rabbation site is about one hour away taking into account traffic and burrey roads.	1	The fire bulk fabric of Dey Krahorm is turned linio a colarie one in BSII.	Households are ratio cased in units that are mindful to Pale recession of a fund in processing of a fund in processing to the road and of building their housing incrementally.	Dey Krahorm is left as a giant leftover, walting for may devolopments, while BSII becomes a marginal ferritory.	The site isson a plat- eau, and its bo underine followed an iregular rectangular shape. See also #1D and #1E.	After the tailure of a land-sharing proposed, TNG desired bod Day Kei. The May purpose them as anarchic, unhaselty, violent, pobless. The May purbod the residents to move to Bore is Santagheap II.	TNG and MPP used the eviction and relocation in Borel Saniapheap II to boost ever consensus amongst Phrom Penh's middle class.	The evicibin and reloca- tion happened before the promitgation of the Circular 68.	Policemen and private guards evicted and buil- dozed Day Krahorm arridat victorica.
2. 7NG's plan config- ures as a new part of the ofly, with only a small percentage of housing stock for the displaced population.	The whole operation represented the possi- bility of big eventues for TMG. In turn, the profit-driven dereispment have sub- sidised the production of housing for the relic- cated poor.	9		The seitlements develop homogenesty establishing a course guiln ahong a perpendicular ahong a perpendicular grid. There is one big open space in the centre of the settlement (See AT) plus other minor ones.	About 80% of the houseing stock is actually for commercial sale.	The secondary open apaces box like gaint letthorers.	See #20.	TNG presents fiself as the designer and provider of a piece of city vider of the that works, in opposition to the congested city centre.	TMG acits as the sole actor in charge of the place. They provide housing, services and housing, services and acting as microfreance institution.	The case of BSII has been used as 'success- in carniels by the MALMUPC while dratting the 2014 National Housing Policy,	a
4.7NG allocates the formation of the production of the school of the sch	See 82A, See 46L. The incurrent all components are not all components are unit as and fit that protection and it has protecting and a see all coaled to the protection and its area all coaled for the protection and incurrents are all coaled for the protection.	Units have their own top- back of post in a service road name on the back of the blocks.	The main roads eave open and pubs space for the sea of the selflement.	The boaring for the poor declerably honogene outly decay parallel code forming from the first of the berright is very coares.	The units are rectanglest second of the control of	While not sheet, the de- term to the promise and for the promise and the ver- tical promise and the ver- or of the selection of the and while the country of the promise and when the country and when the when the co	See #30 and #76.	The case the word The word first fare Th	See #21.	Utilis have been pro- dood by TAG Innognia. Bang cross-decides and the commencial de- verprenent of the rest of the sign.	This have last the over- eague the state of the country of the cou
4, 7NG end MPP, in agreement with Shukaku Inc., agrees to refocate to BSI siso a number of existees from Boeung Kak	Households coming from different localities — with different cultures and the elimods – have been farred to live to- gether. See also D.4.	See #1B.	ı.	See #1D.	See FIE.	Boeung Kak take has been turned into a giant void for a few years, through a land its opera- tion. Later, a develop- ment of a safetite city started.	See#1G.	See #2H and #3H.	7NC, the MPP and Shukaku line, acted in a legal and policy vac- uum.	See #41.	See FIK.
5. Middle class; new- context from certral Prhoan Park acquires housing on the rest of the site	Newcomers have set up free businesses, which are accessible by the whole sediment. A limited number of businesses (e.g. a gym) is geared especially to-ward middle class in-habitarits.	(1)	Sae #5A.	The coarse bulk fabric is composed by hing streethes of bown houses, diversigned to different heights and exhibit according to the resources of the several households, sillowwing their own aspirations.	See #5D.	See #3F.	See FSD.	See #2H.	See #5K.	(4)	Middle-class newcomers dear deflectly with TMB about everyday monthly about everyday monthly and the facilities in the Northern public space (see #7).
6. About two thirds of relocated families from Boeung Kak and Dey Krahorm return to live in central Phrom Penh	The impossibility of building livesthoods on safe keeds often to return soward the centre of Phnom Penh.	1	1	See #8F.	See MGF.	About two thirds of the housing stock are either sold or rended through informal transactions or left abandoned.	See RGF.	Households lament the solution of the settle- ment, lack of kvelhoods, and impossibility to par- ticipate in any decision making activity.	1	1	Units are sold or rented out to newconners or neighbours through in- neighbours through in- formal transactions (and for cheaper prices).
7. 7NO's plans recolves acount for main public spaces. One facing the main road, one at the main road, one at the feet which feet is a market. Yet rests out some of the market uritis for recidential use.	Several lations activities blook ploto in the market, blook ploto in the market, which is a pool besides for mis commer- cled activities, conventing commercial gases and translation one have translation one have sufficiently one bitm of preventing activities by the proventing activities by the proventing activities or the proventing activities by the proventing activities or the proventing activities by the proventing activities or the proventing activities activities the proventing activities activities the proventing act	The activities in the North-The activities in the regression to part the whole sur- incurdings. The mether according to people and only the Moder sur- incurdings. The mether according to people sure and control on the serve the serve counter of people sure after and lower the one outside of the people sure after and lower the one according a feat and the people sure active of the people sure according to the people sure active of the people sure active o	See 870.	The central public space clearly stands out as main, glarit, equare in the settlement.	Residential units are see small so to by 4 moties: mortages and remad out to kew-income new-comers.	in the central market, many continued units see non-goldische and left empty by TMC.	See 870, 87E, 87F.	1	See #21.		TNG is in charge of the manifestron of the pulp. The spaces and its septement of the spaces and its septement of the spaces and the spaces owners and households.

Table 7.2. Synthesis of Borei Santephap II's design practices, deconstructed in their spatial and governmental dimensions (elaboration by Author)

children would have access to education, and there would be proper health facilities. 7NG boasted about the provision of on-site facilities working efficiently, using generic pictures of a classroom, a paediatric clinic, and a factory [Figure 7.13]. Evidence from the interviews and the exploration of the site, however, suggests that there is no trace of such education or health facilities, but only a small school run by People Improvement Organisation, and a clinic run by another non-governmental organisation – not by 7NG.

Table 7.2. synthesises the above information, acknowledging the complexity of spatial and governmental practices in Borei Santepheap II. I analyse such synthesised information in section 7.5 below.

7.2.2. Tang Khiev

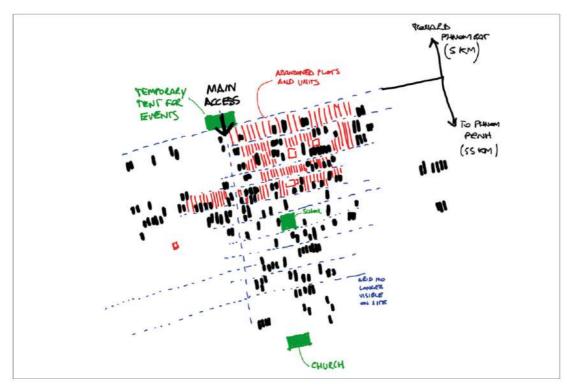
Tang Khiev [Figures 7.14, 7.15, 7.16] is a relocation site in Oudong (Kandal Province, although conventionally considered as part of the periurban area of Phnom Penh), lying 55km North of Phnom Penh (about 70km from BSII). The trip from central Phnom Penh takes about one and half to two hours, on a road often under maintenance and often blocked by traffic. The setting is a rural one, with bare and often muddy roads distributing to a number of two-storey houses, and a few bigger buildings. The households currently living in Tang Khiev were originally evicted from Dey Krahorm but did not have enough documents to be granted a unit in BSII.

A middle-aged woman²⁷¹ says that she had originally moved to Dey Krahorm from the province of Svay Rieng, through advice from a friend, She does not get flustered while recalling the dawn of the eviction day, when her family's house was destroyed: they could not save anything as they had been almost caught during their sleep, without previous notice. She had moved to BSII, where she found "solid houses in concrete that were not for us, but only for those who could afford to participate in a savings programme organised by 7NG, and were entitled to do so" – she was not, as she was a tenant in Dey Krahorm. Her family had initially settled in makeshift tents beyond the relocation site's 'official' boundaries, in the vain hope of being given a home. She lasted only a couple of months in such situation. She then preferred to rent a room near the central Orussey Market, because she had found work as a cleaner in a club near the market, and because one of the *phum* leaders at BSII had made clear to her how her family was not welcome there. After about a year, in 2010, also thanks to the support of some NGOs (STT and Licadho in particular), 7NG proposed the relocation to Oudong – claiming it as

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²⁷¹ Interview 295.





7.14. Satellite image of Tang Khiev (Source: Google Maps 2019) 7.15. Map of Tang Khiev, sketched after first reconnaissances (elaboration by Author).



7.16. Photographic notes on spatial dimensions of Tang Khiev, after first reconnaissances (elaboration by Author; source of photographs: Author).

economically sound for the households. The woman decided to move, as her husband had no fixed job and paying the rent had become complicated. As many other families, they were lured by the possibility of becoming landowners, even if the plot was small and tens of kilometres far from the city centre. However, they could not imagine the rural isolation they had then to face; nor the legal loopholes to be assigned a land ownership title. The title deed, the woman clarifies, was never issued, forcing many households wanting to return to Phnom Penh to sell their land at bargain prices. The woman's household was amongst the last ones arriving in Oudong: she could find only three lots available and says to have bribed one of 7NG employees. Along with the rest of the settlement, she had found herself desperate and with no sources of income. The 'first version' of her house was built by her family with scrap materials, while other families had built a shelter using plastic tents. The current version, instead, tells us a lot about the history of the site as we see it today.

After the transfer of 510 households (STT, 2012b) to Tang Khiev was completed, a volunteer from an NGO of Christian inspiration, called Manna4Life, began to help the population: he initially raised funds for the purchase of blue tarpaulin sheets, to be used as repair during the rainy season.²⁷² Although the tarps were soon sold by the population to purchase other items of prime necessity, from those early days the site has been known as Tang Khiev, whose translation is precisely 'blue tents'.

Manna4Life kept working with the community, setting up saving groups and, through these, funding the upgrading of the whole settlement. The current houses have been totally self-built by the community, using a simple design that rejects the 'expensive' models proposed by other NGOs²⁷³ and that well interprets – through a wooden structure – the traditional rural family house in Cambodia, elevated from the ground to repair from floods, and using the covered space on the ground floor for activities such as cooking, eating, resting, working – or simply as a deposit [Figure 7.17].

Although most of the original 510 families, not differently from BSII, have now left the site (a total of only 104 families have stayed – STT 2012b), the community has kept thriving, and recently has built also a school and a centre for the promotion of agriculture, in the attempt to generate livelihoods locally [Figure 7.18].

Noticeably, one of the open spaces at the periphery of the site is now occupied by a church [Figure 7.19]. For Manna4Life, the church is part of an effort to give hope to a group of people

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²⁷² Interview 300.

²⁷³ Habitat for Humanity for instance proposes a housing type (considered to be too 'Westernised' by many communities) that costs about 2000 USD, while in this case the cost of each single unit was about 600 USD.



7.17. Most common housing type in Tang Khiev, as designed by the local inhabitants with the facilitation of Manna4Life (Source: Author)





7.18. Temporary tent for events in Tang Khiev (Source: Author). 7.19. Church in tang Khiev (Source: Author).

OBSERVED	SPATIAL DIMENSIONS	2					GOVERNMENTAL DIMENSIONS	MENSIONS			
PRACTICES	A. Spaces for cultures and economies	B. Infrastructures	C. Public and open spaces	D. Built fabric / Land- marks	E. Housing and dwell- ing	F. Leftovers and thresholds	G. Architectural Forms	H. Discourses and sclentific / philanthropic statements	I. Institutions and laws.	J. Policy and regula- tory frameworks	K. Techniques of gov- emment / administra- five measures
1. TNG allocates plots of 5 by 8 maters to the relocated families. Nothing else is provided.	ř	Roads were traced but completely un- built. No sanitation facilities were pro- vided.	7NG designed no public spaces: such role should have been played simply by the roads within the plots.	The urban grain was meant as from ogenous and fine, with small plots that would have bosted housing units. Todds, many plots and units are abandoned (see #5).	Housing is initially made by the relo- cated households to the safe, as a safe, resembling tents built with plastic sheets and wooden stocks.	ř.	See #2 and #4.	1.	After this initial in- volvement, 7NG de facto abandors the site, though retaining the official ownership of the pidts of land.	ű.	See #31
2. Manna4Life NGO starts working with the relocated famil- lies, and donates blue tarpaulin tents.	Households were in an extremely poor situation, hence sold the tarpaulin tents inhabitants of villages nearby, for little money.	t	T.	The donation of a set of blue tarpaulin by Manna 4.Life tents gives the name to the site (Tang Khievin Khiner means precisely blue tent).	The tarpaulin served as roof for units made of makeshift materials.	т	See #4E.	The donation of tar- paulin tents followed a genuine concern of a Mannaetule repre- sentative, who later admitted "the ap- proach was wrong".	Manna4Life de fecto is the only acknowl- edged institution on site, and a very respected one.	1.	£
3. Manna4Life starts saving groups	Saving groups have been conductive to community mobilisation and to gain momentum, contrasting the affermath of the relocation.	Saving groups rise as infrastructures for interactions amongst members of the community.	Ü.	E	Ť.	E.	ı	According to a repre- sentative from Mann adulfe NGO. saving groups were what gave hope to the community and saved it from misery.	Saving groups fos- tered a sense of be- longing to a commu- nity group. MannalLife's activi- ties are key for com- munity cohesion.		Saving groups are administered by both Mannat-Life and community representatives. The former keeps the money safe.
4. Manna4Life promotes the adoption of self-bull incremental housing	The units cost only good/SD per unit, about 4-5 times less than a similar solubing proposed by Habital for Humanity, which was considered too western-sleered too western-holds.	Tollets are external to the units but pre- sent in every plot.	30	The obsessive repetition of the same bype does not result in a does not result in a bronogenous land. Stage as each household has modified the unit according to its resources and needs.	the housing units are elevated from the ground on stilts. The ground floor can be used for storage space or half-open space and vacated during the rainy sea-sor in case of flooding.	[8 1]	The households contributed to the design of the units. See #4D and #4E.	See #3H.	See #31.	Households are free to expand or modify the unit as they pict.	See #4K.
5. Approximately 80% of the families move back to central Phnom Penh	Households return- ing to Phnom Penh have sold a number of plots to the house- holds staying.	1	î	1	See #5F.	Two thirds of the plots/units are abandoned. Some of them are bought by neighbours (see #5A).	See #5F.	1	1	Informal transactions are regulated by the households them-selves.	See #5J. The community makes sure plots are not occupied illegally.
6. Relocated house- holds starts engag- ing in economic ac- tivities promoted and set up by Manna4Life	Crafts and agriculture have represented a moderate form of income for the house-holds.	Economic activities represent the infra- structure to open up the settlement toward outer realities.	Common buildings such as the school and the church, and parts of private housing units are dedicated to the economic activities.	1	See #8C.	1	See #6C.	Manna4Life pursues an expansion of the activities reported in #SA and #8B.	See #31.	3	Activities are nun by the households with the supervision of Manna4Life.
7. Manna4Life builds a church and a school.	While providing edu- cation, Mannad life has hijacked the cul- tural and religious background of the households.	ı	The school has been built at the core of the settlement. The church lies in a peripheral public spaces.	Both church and school stands out of the settlement's fabric, working as landmarks.).	,ï	The church follows a conventional redangular layout, has one sloped roof and is painted in blue.		See #31.	7	ī
8. Manna4Life promotes networking events.	The community shares its achievements and cultural background. Manna4Life, has imposed the performance of Christian chants and prayers.	See #6B.	The events are or- ganised in temporary public spaces: big tents set up by the community on the main access road.	The temporary structure (see #8C) stands out of the set- temporary fabric, working as landmark.	1	1.0%	See #8C and #8D.	See #6H	See #31.	1	T.

Table 7.3. Synthesis of Tang Khiev's design practices, deconstructed in their spatial and governmental dimensions (elaboration by Author)

otherwise at risk to fall into depression because of their displaced condition. According to the voluntary from Manna4Life, therefore, the church should not be seen as an attempt to convert a Buddhist community. The same voluntary tells me that "it was somehow relieving to have the opportunity to start all from scratch, you can almost plan an ideal community: we do not want K-TVs²⁷⁴ here, otherwise alcohol and prostitution will start again... We can use differently our collective energy"²⁷⁵.

Table 7.3. synthesises the above information, acknowledging the complexity of spatial and governmental practices in Tang Khiev. I analyse such synthesised information in section 7.5 below.

7.3. RELOCATING THE RAILWAY SETTLEMENTS: TRAPEANG ANCHHANH TMEY

Trapeang Anchhanh Tmey²⁷⁶ [Figures 7.20, 7.21, 7.22] is a relocation site built by the Asian Development Bank in collaboration with Australian Aid, lying about 15km from the city centre, and meant to host families evicted from the Railway settlements (see chapter 5, page 207). The locality of Trapeang Anchhanh has been chosen more than once as a destination for evictees: on the Western side of the area lies in fact Trapeang Anchhanh Chas, hosting families relocated from the Tonle Bassac area [see Figure 7.1 above].

The Asian Development Bank purchased the land from the MPP, with the intention of creating a relocation site for the households affected by the Railway Rehabilitation Project, regardless of ADB's principles of inclusive development (Bugalski and Medallo, 2012; Zsombor, 2013). Each household would have been given a 4 by 10 meters plot provided with a toilet – a white-plastered rectangular masonry block connected to a sewage tank [Figure 7.23] – and an amount of money to build the housing unit. Evidence from my observation shows how it has been hard for the relocated households to include the toilet block into the shape of the final house: in most cases, the toilet is rather left in the open space of the plot [Figure 7.24]. This

275 Interview 300.

²⁷⁴ See footnote 104.

²⁷⁶ Tmey is the Khmer term for 'new', whereas *Chas* is the Khmer term for 'old'. In the text I have used both terms to describe the current condition of the localities of Trapeang Anchhanh, Tuol Sambo (see below page 355) and Andong (see below page 373), all characterised by the presence of two adjacent relocation sites, an older and a newer one. It is important to notice how such nomenclature is unofficial: in some instances the same site are referred to as, for instance, 'Trapeang Anchhanh 1' and 'Trapeang Anchhanh 2'.





7.20. Satellite image of Trapeang Anchhanh (Source: Google Maps 2019)

7.21. Map of Trapeang Anchhanh, sketched after first reconnaissances (elaboration by Author).



CULTURES AND ECONOMIES

7.22. Photographic notes on spatial dimensions of Trapeang Anchhanh, after first reconnaissances (elaboration by Author; source of photographs: Author).





7.23. Toilets in unused plots in Trapeang Anchhanh (Source: Author).7.24. Trapeang Anchhanh: toilets incorporated in the housing units (Source: Author).

practice is not in line with local customs in urban areas, and overall has caused the emergence of many leftover spaces in the plots.

A thirty-year-old woman²⁷⁷ says to come from a Railway settlement nearby the National Road no.6, in the locality of Boeung Salang. Recalling how the eviction order was given, she says that ADB representatives "insisted for my household to move here, saying that otherwise we would have got nothing, and our house along the railway would have got destroyed anyway". She recalls how there was a community organisation in her previous settlement, and through saving groups they had supported the creation of a health care scheme, so that the community members could access health services for free: "we also created a community here, my mother is one of the organisers". She says that "there was nothing but land and toilets when we arrived, we were all sleeping in tents". She goes on saying that despite ADB providing the families with some money to build the houses "it was very difficult when we started living here, we did not even have the money for buying food. I was amongst the first families being moved, and we did not have water nor electricity. We had to wash ourselves in the pond nearby. Running water and electricity came only one year later, after the phum leader lobbied the Municipality to receive the supplies. At the beginning the toilet was not working properly either." She mentions that, because of all such shortcomings, many households decided to go back to Phnom Penh almost at once after being relocated. A 70-year-old man remembers how all the relevant authorities (sub-district and phum leaders, and representatives from the Ministry of Infrastructures) attended the measurements of her previous house, to determine what level of compensation her household should have received [Figure 7.25].²⁷⁸

STT has published a report on the difficult conditions on site, focusing on how most relocated households had to borrow money to survive in the new site (STT, 2012a). In such conditions, about half of the plots remained empty because of this, and in some instances some plots have been abandoned after a first attempt to build housing, resulting in unfinished and by now derelict units. Empty plots do give more breath to an otherwise very fine and tight grain, appearing as huge esplanades – open spaces populated only by the still nature of the extruded toilet blocks, and by some children playing [Figure 7.26].

A formal public space has been provided by ADB and Australian Aid and is meant for community meetings and networking events [Figure 7.27]. Interviewees confirm inhabitants hold regular meetings to discuss saving schemes and other businesses, but that at the same time the public building still is under-used and some of its premises are permanently locked. It

²⁷⁷ Interview 302.

²⁷⁸ Interview 303.





7.25. Trapeang Anchhanh: interviewee sketching on the dirt his previous housing conditions along the railway (Source: Author).7.26. Open spaces as leftovers in Trapeang Anchhanh (Source: Author).











7.27. Main public building in Trapeang Anchhanh (Source: Author). 7.28. Different housing types in Trapeang Anchhanh (Source: Author).











7.29. Holt Foundation venue in Trapeang Anchhanh (Source: Author). 7.30. Middle class housing in Trapeang Anchhanh (Source: Author).

OBSERVED	SPATIAL DIMENSIONS						GOVERNMENTAL DIMENSIONS	SIONS			
PRACTICES	A. Spaces for cultures and economies	B. Infrastructures	C. Public and open spaces	D. Built fabric / Land- marks	E. Housing and dwell- ing	F. Leftovers and thresholds	G. Architectural Forms	H. Discourses and scientific / philan thropic statements	I. Institutions and 'laws'	J. Policy and regula- tory frameworks	K. Techniques of gov- emment / administra- tive measures
1. ADB purchases lands in Trapeard Andream, in the proximities of an older resolutions of an older resolutions at an older resolution state. ("Integering Andream Chies) for an evicited Trafe Bississip and andream Trafe Bississip and andream resolutions and an evicited an evicited and a	Mexi households have beed displaced by the amens of Boung Kirk. Tool Shorijes and Kirk Parn-Kal with which will be permitted by Parn-Kal with with contest quent disruption of Ivelinods.	The relocation site lies about 200m away from the displaced sites. The main road, departing the main road, departing the main road, departing the main road, departing the major in their receiving the major in their receiving the major in the receiving the major state of their relation to the last bit correcting to the last bit corrections.	Both Trapeang An- chlanh Chas and Tinay tree in the middle of a tacker as a lindscape, tall of peddyfelide and paim lease.	Both Trapeang An- chlant Chas and Treay become the only tand marks over an otherwise ormyty piece of Phrom Penh's periphery.	Housing units are de- motished in the driginal boultes upon offering a compensation.	The original stea bear the trace of evictions and demolither, ment to the railway tracks.	See #1C to #1F.	ADB officially pursues a sustainable relocation.	The Interministerial Resettlement Commil- fee oversaw the opera- tions.	The refocution partially confevered ADB's pol-	Households were put on trucks and elecated to the new atte by the MPP.
2. ADB assigns plots the relocation to solid to the relocation that solid to the relocation to all the relocation to the	Evidence shows how it is hard for the relocated households is include the chief bod, who the shape of the first households is shape of the first house. Relocated households leave the build it the open space of the first with which is not in line with which is not in line with and in the analyst.	The MPP and ADB pro- vides to brist of door to- less, along with oads. Electricity and water Electricity and water Meer.	The only public space has been dedicated to a community centre by ADB (see f3).	The bull fabric is characteristical by the inventorial bull bull bull bull bull bull bull bu	See #28. Houses are made modify of wooden structures and gathweight materials.	The position of the foliet blocks within the blocks there are not of many lettone energy opens, as the foliet energy there agency as the foliet energy there ends up under used or out of of the housing layout (see practice 6).	See #2A to #2F.	The achiene follows a cleast the art ser- iolessic the and ser- vices provision.	34	9	34
3. Australian Aid provides a public building at the core of the settlement.	The building is manniful for community meetings and networking events. Interviewes confirm in habitants hold regular meetings to discuss saving schemes and other businesses.	The building is the only public space apt to act as infrastructure for community integration, strough its use is sportable.	The building is de facto the only public space available. It lies under- neath an octagonal roof.	The building is the only identifiable physical isofortifiable physical isofortiant in the area, and if competes with the school and the market on the Trapeang Anothernit's side.	1	The public building is under-used and some of its premises are simost permanently locked.	See #90. and #30.	t.	Aus-Aid no longer warns to be seen as linked to the project.	ř.	The key of the public spaces is tent by two households who are in charge of the community sawing groups (see #4).
4. Some of the reio- cated households start saving groups.	Sevings are meant to foster income general- ing activities within the community.	Δ I),	Discussions are held in the public building pro- vided by Aus-AID, see #3.	See #4C.	The saving groups add a level of repoliticisation to the everyday life of the households.	i i			The saving mechanism de facto led to the incoprion of a community group.	Not all households manage to get into the saving scheme.	Saving schemes are managed by a group of households whose authority is admowfedged within the settlement.
5. About 240 house- holds decide not to re- locate, or to elecate and then return to the city centre upon selling the plot to a third party.	As in all other relocation sles, there are no official records of such households. Their cuttures and livelhoods are disrupted, displaced, and eventually leave no visible traces.	Networks with the other housefolds may be maintained but are ham-pered by the distance, hence the ordy inta-structure in this earned remain redecommunications over cell phones.	Empty plots do appear as open public spaces, their inspection of their plots	The fire grain of the built urban fabric is given more breath by the empliness of a great number of plots.	Some potts are aban- dened after an initial at- lengt to build housing, resulting in dereticl or untinished housing by leaving households.	About 200 plots remain enruply. There are no traces of permanent nor temporation of such plots (see #445).	See #5D, #5E, #5F.	a		1	ADB and MPP, in agreement with the vit- linge leaders, make as sure the empty poist do not get appropriated lib- gally.
6. Middle class families purchase plots.	Most of these opera- flores are shiply financial investments, and at bull stage lave not pro- duced any contrarial cross- tertification. Some of the builders come from either Tapelong Andehersh Chas or Treey.	Sanitation infrastruc- funes ere def-built by the persented par- tially using the ones originally provided by ADB.	.1	As in #20.	See #50. Most houses are built through an armed conceive structure and with durable materials.	Most of the pibls are femed IT. These units earbitet a clear drivide between rich and poor on site.	See #8D, #8E, #0F,	See #6.A.			While such ilegal trans- actions should not have happened, ADB has no rearis to imposit him set is a brim of invest- ment generally indexade by the MPP, and a wide spread habit in Cambo- dia.
7. Holt Korea Childeri's services establishes a venue between Trapearg Anchhanh Chas and Tmey.	The venue is a point of encounter between households of Trapeang Anchanh Chas and Timey.	Holt represents an important facility in terms of household support.	See #7B.	The venue is known by everybody and raises as landmark in the settlement.		1	The venue is a two sto- rey building with an en- trance on the ground level, at the centre of the main façade.	Holt sels up welfare programmes for children, unwed mothers, and pecciel with special needs.	л		ă.
8. STT publishes a re- port on the situation of the displaced house- holds.	STT's report feetures the housing stories of many households and portrays their struggle to resettle.	а	1	а	See #8A.	а	See #8A.	ADB contravened its policies and undermined human and housing rights of the displaced households.	1	,	¥

Table 7.4. Synthesis of Trapeang Anchhanh's design practices, deconstructed in their spatial and governmental dimensions (elaboration by Author)

plays anyway a role of landmark within an otherwise homogeneous urban fabric, characterised by the obsessive repetition of the same plot – though embodying the peculiarities of each households' imagination, skills and economic capacities [Figure 7.28]. At the conjunction between Trapeang Anchhanh Chas and Tmey, Holt Korea Children's Services [Figure 7.29] has set up a venue where to implement welfare programmes for children, unwed mothers and other people with special needs. The NGO venue has become a landmark for both sides of Trapeang Anchhanh, working as point of encounter too – as well as the school and the market, found within Trapeang Anchhanh Chas but used by both settlements.

In such a landscape, it is important to notice how middle-class families from Phnom Penh are buying (through informal transactions)²⁷⁹ plots from poor households that have returned to the centre. There is a sheer difference between such units and the ones of the relocated households – the latter being built through wooden structures and lightweight materials, while the former through a structure of armed concrete and masonry. Housing for the middle class get soon fenced off, setting up a clear class divide within the site [Figure 7.30].

Table 7.4. synthesises the above information, acknowledging the complexity of spatial and governmental practices in Trapeang Anchhanh. I analyse such synthesised information in section 7.5 below.

7.4. RELOCATING BOREI KEILA

The first eviction in Borei Keila happened in April 2009 (Licadho, 2009), and relocated 31 households from Borei Keila to Tuol Sambo Tmey, about 20km away from Borei Keila, in the Southern periphery of Phnom Penh. Such households had HIV-positive members and had settled in Borei Keila because of the proximity of the Sihanouk hospital, that offered treatment for HIV.

The second eviction occurred in January 2012 (Channyda and Boulet, 2009; HRTF *et al.*, 2012; Vink, 2012a), and led to the demolition of the whole slum, with 88 households evicted to, again, Tuol Sambo Tmey, and roughly 200 households relocated to Phnom Bat a locality in the close proximity of Tang Khiev (see above, page 338). The households relocated to Phnom Bat did not have enough documents to prove their eligibility to be assigned a unit in Tuol Sambo Tmey.

²⁷⁹ See footnote 70, page 148.

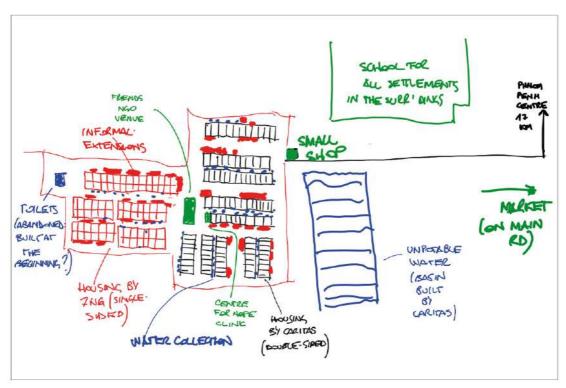
Between January 2016 and January 2018, illegal households were gradually offered compensation or a relocation to Andong Tmey, a relocation site initially built to accommodate part of the population of the nearby Andong Chas (Pech, 2017; Phak and Kijewski, 2017; Khouth and Kijewski, 2018; Kijewski and Kuoch, 2018; Soth and Kijewski, 2018). Below, I explore the quite different narratives of such three relocation sites.

7.4.1. Tuol Sambo Tmey

Tuol Sambo Tmey is a relocation site lying about 21km from the centre of Phnom Penh [Figures 7.31, 7.32, 7.33]: the road is bumpy and often jammed with traffic, so it takes around one hour from central Phnom Penh to reach it. It is the 'twin' relocation site of Tuol Sambo Chas, a relocation site created in 1999 to host 217 families evicted from several localities in Phnom Penh, most of them from informal settlements around the Tonle Bassac (URC, 2002). Tuol Sambo Chas' layout was designed by UNHCS (UNHR, 2012), which also financed the construction of latrines, drainage and roads, executed by community members under community contract. Over half of the families were aided by URC Young Professionals for the design of their houses and received help from housing loans from UPDF. The community received help from a primary school (today serving both sites) and from the interaction with Caritas, which has supported families to acquire new skills to make a living at the site – including sewing and producing washing liquids. Around one third of the people who originally moved to the site have returned to live in Phnom Penh (UNHR, 2012).

The land, found and bought by the MPP much earlier, had actually been rejected as a relocation site by earlier relocating communities precisely due to its isolation (URC, 2002). While a few more villages have developed in the surroundings, along with a small market and a few more business facilities along the main road connecting Tuol Sambo to the centre, today the locality keeps being very isolated [Figure 7.34]. Despite such isolation, the MPP decided to keep displacing people toward this area, with the establishment of the relocation site that would have then been called Tuol Sambo Tmey. On the 30th of April 2009, 31 households with HIV positive members were moved from Borei Keila to Tuol Sambo Tmey, following an eviction order enforced by the MPP (STT, 2011). A more recent report by United Nations Housing Rights (UNHR, 2012) brings the total to 42 families and moves the eviction date to June/July. Building on evidence from interviews and observation, the first number is exact: a total of 60 units were given to HIV-affected families, of which roughly half were from Borei Keila. The other half were HIV-affected families relocated from several settlements along the Tonle Sap river.





7.31. Satellite image of Tuol Sambo Tmey (Source: Google Maps 2019). 7.32. Map of Tuol Sambo Tmey, sketched after first reconnaissances (elaboration by Author).



7.33. Photographic notes on spatial dimensions of Tuol Sambo Tmey, after first reconnaissances (elaboration by Author; source of photographs: Author).





7.34. Satellite image showing the overall isolation of Tuol Sambo Tmey (elaboration by Author; source of satellite image: Apple Maps 2019).7.35. Green sheds initially built for HIV-affected households in Tuol Sambo Tmey (Source: Google Earth 2019)

The MPP was soon accused of creating a HIV colony. The HIV-affected households were segregated from Tuol Sambo Chas and the wider surroundings due to stigma and suffered poor housing conditions. Once relocated, the households were assigned green sheds of corrugated iron, built by the MPP prior to the relocation (UNHR, 2012). Every household was allocated a room of only 16.8 sqm (4.8meters by 3.5), whose layout could not be expanded. There were a total of six green sheds [Figure 7.35], each containing 10 rooms (UNHR, 2012). The 2mm thin green tin sheets – reportedly breaking very easily in the first weeks of inhabitancy (UNHR, 2012) – served as protection from raining water but not at all from the heat. Many people complained about starting to feel worse and having the heat interfering with their antiretroviral medication.

A project to improve housing and infrastructure was agreed between UN, National AIDS authority, the MPP and Caritas Cambodia (UNHR, 2012). Caritas built brick flats for the households, replacing the green sheds but occupying a larger land again made available by the MPP [Figure 7.36]. Households legally bought the housing units thanks to a loan given by Caritas, which set up saving schemes for repaying such loans. The housing units measure 4 by 6 meters, and all of them have a high, sloped roof that guarantees the possibility of building mezzanines in the centre. In an interview, a HIV-positive woman²⁸⁰ of about 55 years old tells me that she is happy with the house [Figure 7.37] and with the level of health-care she can access in the settlement. However, from other interviews,²⁸¹ households complain that their situation is difficult, as it is hard to access livelihoods, and to pay back the first loans. Another issue lies in the cost of transportation, as some households are still employed in the city centre. Such problems seem to contradict the statement contained in a UNHR report (2012), which regarded HIV-affected households in Tuol Sambo Tmey as the only ones in Phnom Penh who had benefitted from relocation.

Caritas also built a new well and connected it to a larger water basin [Figure 7.38], to provide the community with free water. Evidence from the interviews²⁸² shows how clean water on site was not available until several months after the relocation: people used non-potable water from a well. Now, the filtration system is no longer working, and most families buy water in 20-litre tanks from the market, while some poorer families are back drinking from the well.

²⁸⁰ Interview 311.

²⁸¹ Interviews 312, 313, 314, 315.

²⁸² Interviews 312, 315.











7.36. Tuol Sambo Tmey: housing built by Caritas (Source: Author). 7.37. Tuol Sambo Tmey: inside the housing unit of HIV-positive woman (Source: Author).





7.38. Tuol Sambo Tmey: main water basin built by Caritas (Source: Author). 7.39. Tuol Sambo Tmey: housing units built by 7NG (Source: Author).

After Borei Keila's second eviction, on the 3 January 2012, 88 more families were relocated to Tuol Sambo Tmey. From that moment on, the village doubled. Phan Imex built new housing units to accommodate the newcomers. Despite resembling the ones built by Caritas, such units are built in poorer quality materials. The housing type is also different, as units are layout-ed back to back [Figure 7.39], whereas the ones built by Caritas run across the building — managing to have openings on both sides, to allow light and ventilation. Importantly, the height of such units do not allow any incremental growth. This has meant an elevated level of encroachment on the adjacent roads, that households use as natural extensions of their units [Figure 7.40].

Evidence²⁸³ from the interviews shows how households complain about the way MPP and Phan Imex had treated them, displacing them so far away from the city centre. While they list the geographical isolation as the settlement's main issue, a problem of segregation has appeared, too. On one side, these households are worried about having any kind of contact with HIV-affected families. On the other side, there is also jealousy and a sort of 'class' divide at play, as households complain about the different level of services that HIV-affected families get, for instance the health-care services provided by the NGO Center of Hope.

Such evidence strongly contests UNHR's (2012) argument seeing Tuol Sambo Tmey as a potential model of community inclusion, development, and social integration with the neighbouring communities. Friends NGO has worked to avoid the mutual segregation between the two parts of the settlement, and to overcome the site's isolation [Figure 7.41]. The organisation has settled in the only public building in Tuol Sambo Tmey and involved several households from both parts of the settlement. Friends NGO started education activities for children, while providing their parents with cooking, hairdressing, sewing, tailoring and craftmaking skills. Small artefacts produced by Tuol Sambo's inhabitants are sold in the city centre, for instance in two restaurants run by Friends itself: in so doing, the realities and issues of Tuol Sambo Tmey are exposed to a wider public, aiming to sensitise the public opinion. ²⁸⁴

Table 7.5 synthesises the above information, acknowledging the complexity of spatial and governmental practices in Tuol Sambo Tmey. I analyse such synthesised information in section 7.5 below.

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²⁸³ Interviews 306, 309, 310.

²⁸⁴ The same mechanism is used in other settlement where Friends NGO is present.





7.40. Tuol Sambo Tmey: encroachment on the roads next to the housing units built by 7NG (Source: Author) 7.41. Venue of Friends NGO in Tuol Sambo Tmey (Source: Author)

OBSERVED	SPATIAL DIMENSIONS			9			GOVERNMENTAL DIMENSIONS	SIONS	3		
PRACTICES	A. Spaces for cultures and economies	B. Infrastructures	C. Public and open spaces	D. Built fabric / Land- marks	E. Housing and dwell- ing	F. Leftovers and thresholds	G. Architectural Forms	H. Discourses and sci- entific /philanthropic statements	i. Institutions and 'laws'	J. Policy and regula- tory frameworks	K. Techniques of gov- emment / administra- tive measures
1. The MPP is agreement when Phen Intex men with Phen Intex built the stockation site in a percheteal footbox. Cookin away from the centre.	Households complain frey them not been able to mainfain or is-baild any inferitoria on star, nor to make the control of the market the so-call networks they had eastablished in the city posture.	Households complains they are abelief. The algo of Uni Samo is from the centre way from the centre via no- tracks, but only a lew transe, our motorised vehicles.	()	The layout of the new settlement does not have advilling in common with the built should be of the original site in Benet (New), not does it. Bene the account poses be past landmarks.	The housing units in Breis folds have been Bers folds have been Bers folds have been dissipated by the MPP and households be baded Tool Surrior. The reforcation has hap pened it hou was to house the house was 2000 (see practice #2) and 2012 (see practice #2).	Households have been duringful and service in a marginal andscapes, on land owned by the MPP where value was very box.	0	Evicied households were resourced to either 1100 Startio or in 1100 St	The MPP acted in disa- greenral with the Circu- iar 03 on "Republic on temporary aetitement" (FIGC 2010).	The National Housing Policy (N.M.M.D.P.00) 4) was approved only two years effort the mode on 100, which occurred na policy and legal worken and rest of seague met if with the Circular OS (easing the mode of the circular OS (easing the mode of the circular OS (easing the	The eviction and reloca- flaw were enriched. Introgil he use of physical cast and psychological widered by policemen and district authori- flees.
2. The MiPP and Phan Innex decide inisily to relocate a number or households with mem- bers affeded by HIV.	The HIV-affected families were first gheticlead and stigmatised on site, and from hebicated to Tool Sambo upon a decision of the MPP.	The proximity of the Standard hospital was conducted for such the rester in the rester of the standard for the standard for the standard for the NGO Carter of Hope (see practice #6).		The relocated house- house vere initially housed in six green sheds provided by the MPP and Plan Innex, running in a par allel di- rection on the site.	The MePi and Phan Innex initially provided housing in the forms of 16 squ housing units in 18 green countingted from sheets. The poor consisteds. The poor consisteds. The poor consisteds have not send the unit made he units very hot and units earl units wary hot and units earl units and the units and units and units wary hot	The idea of Tuol Sambo T may as a HV colony (see #2th) controlles to storagen is character of lettover, marginal and solutionally forgotien space.	See #2D and #2E.	Local and interna- tional NGOs and me- das describe Tuol Sambo as HIV colony.	UN-AIDS strongly criti- cised the operation.	There is no policy furnework to deal with such relocation cases.	In addition to Borel Keils's households, the Mary oscided to relocate in Tuo! Sambo Timey HIV-affected house- hocks from excled set- flements along the Tonie Sap.
Carribas enters the process in the alternation to provide butter from trues in gire the first affected families.	Carlea did not implement in come generaling and victores generaling and victores generaling and victores generaling and victores dependent in a scring action, and up to bester a series of novership over the house oversline and or form and or from a sort scheme as it is of sort scheme as it is of so the form to pop built the built has defined to the propriet and to them by pop built the built has being men.	Cartas dup the basin for are strices have which including have pro- dated the whole are set- ment with postable water. Housefects complain the the welse is no brigger points and cun brigger points and cun brigger points and cun contrast to the set- ter of the set of the contrast of the set of the set of the set of the contrast of the set of the set of the set of the contrast of the set of the set of the set of the contrast of the set of the set of the set of the contrast of the set of the set of the set of the contrast of the set of the set of the set of the set of the contrast of the set of the set of the set of the set of the contrast of the set of the contrast of the set of the contrast of the set of the	See #38.	The blocks are distributed in restance in the blockway at W. & algorithment in the blockman and at M. S. algorithment in the Southern part. Blocks are wery long and establish a coarse grain or sits, with a low degree of permetability.	Carflas replained the grees inside provided by Phan Insacry and massaring 36 san, an assaring san	Most households Sound more convenient to expand their units appropriating part of the road space in front of the entrance glass.	See #38, #30, #9E.	Certifies assys to work to promote and attengine activities that are aimed or the imagni develop- ment of communities.	Carther presence is everywhere on the site intrough plates recalling the efforts made on elso.	<u> </u>	See 83.A.
A The MPP and Phen the stronger for each of the households from Doele Kells to Tud Sambo Timey	The accord wave of the accord wave of the according the first wave.	The MPP has provided the whole site will not pointly whole site will not be seen and seen and seen and seen and seen maked by a series of site if were. It collect the water.	The only space do- cent in the country of the count	The new trusting blocks on the partial a floringer on an order order of the partial and pa	Households are allo- country of security, pro- tool of security, pro- tool of security of security of security are to it recoversitie, and are to it recoversitie, and the security of security of security month plan a billed, and have one sings access and liquids.	Households have map- populities the public spoots in true of the most spoot in true of the most spoot in true of the most of beauting the most of beauting the first as an impact in and places meating the most of beauting the most of beauting the most of beauting the most publication is only and the Eastern (solid).	See #4C, #40 and #4E.	The MPP and Phen Control of the Cont	Households compline count have given fad were and free inner. Men and free inner, with a catonicipal, the being power less in front of them.	*	I lam not name of goo- ment and as a service of the control of the
5. Friende NGC has es- léalisted irecure-gener- ang activitées in the area.	Households produce small instance which are the first state of the city in other spaces and the city in other spaces and yet freeds. NGO (of histance two restaurants) Chief activities of the city of	Friende NGO has pro- vlotel ibne herbestructura Berrico Timey to a vider menor or cert-making (Reduling poople in other urban poor sette- ments) and selling. Tuol Sembo Timey's reelities and searce have allor gallende capcessee from such interaction.	Friends NGO occupies the college of	See #16.	à.	The frontpard of the building where the ordanastance resides (see 16G) is ferroad of the cest of the seatherment by bow modifies the understand the cest of the seatherment by bow modifies the understand the cest of the seatherment by the modifies the understand the cest of the seatherment belief to the cest of the seatherment belief to the cest of the	The building where the NGO reaches is at the barycentre of the site, softing as an important code between the site. Itwo parts.	Friends NGO says to be working with Identification and and ordered be more and provide man working with Charles and provide hearn with salks. They say to be working with children, but also toward the amprovement of their general provident to income.	Abrig with Center for Hope fees #5, Fleintes is acknowledged as in- stitution by botal resi- dents.	ī	ı
Center for Hope NGO provides medi- cines and heath care to the population in Tuol Sambo.	See IZA	See #2B.	The NGO venue (a housing unit converted into a clinic) characterises the settlement's public space.	The distribution of medi- cines contribuses to the construction of Tuol Sambo Tiney as a HIV. colony – as a landmark of such malpractice.	Ų.	See MGD and M2F.	See ABC.	See #2H and #2t.	Center for Hope acts as important institution on she, though catering for roughly half of the she only.	The activities of Center for Hope filts the assistance and provision tance and provision gaps left by the Ministry of Heath.	to.

Table 7.5. Synthesis of Tuol Sambo Tmey's design practices, deconstructed in their spatial and governmental dimensions (elaboration by Author)

7.4.2. Phnom Bat

Phnom Bat [Figures 7.42, 7.43, 7.44] is a relocation site lying in the locality of Oudong, where a total of 141 families were displaced from Borei Keila to a site (owned by the MPP) that was literally in the middle of virgin land. Noticeably, Phnom Bat is only 10 minutes via motorbike away from the site of Tang Khiev (see above, page 338) and the touristic site of Oudong's holy mountain. Most households, however, do not even have a bike — making difficult, if not impossible, to move and reach out toward other social and business networks.

Phnom Bat's built fabric, from a distance, looks like a stretch of identical houses, with metal roofs shining because of the reflected sunlight [Figure 7.45]. Aligned on three parallel roads, the units seem to look all the same, and with a design that is remarkably similar to the one I encountered in Tang Khiev [Figure 7.46]. Evidence from several interviews²⁸⁵ showed that an NGO of Christian inspiration²⁸⁶ came in contact with the relocated community and organised the construction of these houses in a very short time. Photographs by John Vink (2012a) show how, at its very inception, Phnom Bat was actually just a landscape of plastic tents and wooden sticks over virginal land [see Figure 7.2 above]. When Phnom Bat was established, the NGO Manna4Life²⁸⁷ (see above, page 363) did not have the resources to support its population, nor to coordinate any activities between Phnom Bat itself and Tang Khiev. A few months later, another NGO of Christian inspiration contacted Manna4Life to understand how Tang Khiev's upgrading had been organised and implemented:

"Their approach however was very different from ours. They did not use to spend much time on site, and in general gave us the impression to be in a great rush to deliver, hence prone to disregard the complexity of the process and its perils. They eventually copied our housing type, which is good, but were not able to source materials as we did and therefore could not spend as little as 600USD per unit as we did. They had more money available, so they did start the saving groups but also provided the families with grants – instead of loans as we did. Some families did not want or did not have the money to get into the process at its inception, so they were left out, creating tensions. Also, the pressure for delivering meant that they put part of the management of the process in the hand of one family who they trusted a lot. All of a sudden they became very powerful, their unit is a biggest one and they even have servants – they can afford paying a little money to other inhabitants of the site to run errands and housekeeping activities on their behalf" 288

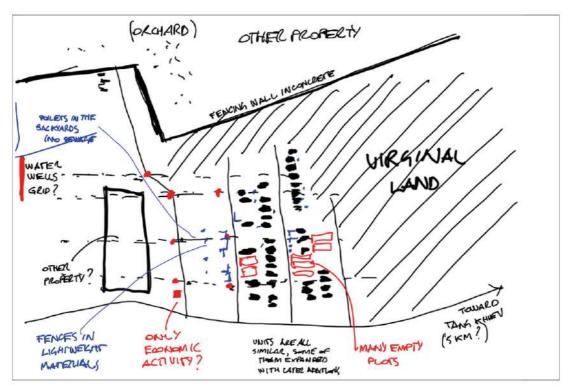
²⁸⁵ Interviews 300, 316, 318.

²⁸⁶ It was not possible to trace back the name of such NGOs: none of the interviewees seemed to remember.

²⁸⁷ Interview 300.

²⁸⁸ Interview 300.





7.42. Satellite image of Phnom Bat (Source: Google Maps 2019).7.43. Map of Phnom Bat, sketched after first reconnaissances (elaboration by Author).



7.44. Photographic notes on spatial dimensions of Phnom Bat, after first reconnaissances (elaboration by Author; Source of photographs: Author).





7.45. Isolation of Phnom Bat: view of the settlement from the top of Oudong mountain (Source: Author). 7.46. Phnom Bat: housing units, main type (Source: Author).

Twenty-five plots were vacated before the construction of the 'standardised' units started. On a few plots lie other derelict constructions – makeshift houses built prior to engaging with the NGO, and then left empty upon deciding to return to the centre of Phnom Penh [Figure 7.47]. A total of 101 houses were self-built by the inhabitants with the support of the NGO, following a building typology almost identical to the one I examined in Tang Khiev. The housing units are raised about three meters above the ground on wooden stilts, and accessible through a steep wooden staircase – a ladder. The upper level is characterised by one single room with a door and two windows (one on the front and one on the back). The roof is in corrugated iron with a level of insulation provided by panels of wood and straw – the same materials used in the external walls.

I start talking with a 45-year-old man²⁸⁹ that is resting in the shadow, along with a few women, lying beneath the space of their housing unit. He expanded the surface of his house adding a side structure in green corrugated iron, partially extending underneath the house (whereby he built a toilet), filling up about half of the unit's footprint [Figure 7.48]. His unit follows a different orientation if compared to the others on the same road (it was amongst the first ones to be built) and presents a door on the shorter side. He explains that he actually decided to modify the access due to the internal layout and modified the façades accordingly (the shorter side of the unit is now covered with panels of corrugated iron too). He speaks of his life in Borei Keila, where he had built a small house in 2003, along with his family, and where his family had been able to survive quite easily thanks to running a small business:

"I was excluded by the land sharing agreement because of several incidents of corruption. Other families, close to the local authorities, had been favoured over us – in spite of the fact that many of them had never lived in Borei Keila! We considered to keep staying on site but it would have been too dangerous after the eviction – the police would have evicted us again, and more violently. Along with other families we did decide to move to Phnom Bat, as we did not have any other choice."290

On the ground floor of his unit he continues his selling activity, through a small shop for small household items such as soap and detergent. However, he mentions that he does not manage to have enough income: "I often end up offering credit to my neighbours, as nobody has the money here, nobody has a job."²⁹¹

²⁸⁹ Interview 316.

²⁹⁰ Interview 316.

²⁹¹ Interview 316.





7.47. Derelict housing units in Phnom Bat (Source: Author). 7.48. An interviewee in Phnom Bat (Source: Author).





7.49. A different housing type in Phnom Bat (Source: Author). 7.50. Makeshift fences in Phnom Bat (Source: Author).

OBSERVED	SPATIAL DIMENSIONS						GOVERNMENTAL DIMENSIONS	SIONS			
PRACTICES	A. Spaces for cultures and economies	B. Infrastructures	C. Public and open spaces	D. Built fabric / Land- marks	E. Housing and dwell- ing	F. Leftovers and thresholds	G. Architectural Forms	H. Discourses and sci- entific /philanthropic statements	I. institutions and 'laws'	J. Policy and regula- tory frameworks	K. Techniques of gov- emment / administra- tive measures
1. The MPP in agree- ted with Plant lines. built interaction and external control of the entail or control of the away from the certifie.	Households compline De physes not been able the physes not been able to marteria or the baid more presented to see, more to marteria the so- cold reference they had celline.	Households complains asso of Tag Nines is asso of Tag Nines is asso of Tag Nines is morticized to the of the morticized to the of the land white is from the morticized from the may of more with heavy traffic.	1	Firm the top of the way of the way. Outdook mount in the sile search to the search to the search to the search to the same of	The housing units in the second of s	Rouseholds have been landwarf in americal landscapes, on said landscapes, on said landscapes, on said whose visite was chose to zero.	10	The extend foundshidts we reforted to other than the selected to effect that the selected that the sel	The MPP acted in classification of the Circuit of the Circuit of an "Persolation on temporary settlement" (RGC 2010).	The National Housing Procy (MALME) 2014, was approach any was approach any was approach and any was Bro, which coorned in a Bro, which coorned in a and is diagramment with the Carcular US (see 11).	The eviction and reloca- tions were enforced through the use of phys- tra and psychological videosity and district authori- and district authori- fies.
2. Phan thex and the MPP provided the relo- cated therries with poke of land (size 5 by 8 me- ters) and a few wels. Whose water resulted non-potable.	There is no official space for rosting out- space for rosting out- bue-restand or income- generaling archities on site 5 one households have opened arrall acco- norms activities in their frontyands.	The water wells installed by the Maybe mark the sales is grounds following at equilar grid. Axis of them are equilar grid. Axis of the them are each forceds, so they are seen by the households as one of the many failures of the site.	See FZA.	The picts were homogeneously faith build he house year build a short the main roads, bidrowing an orthogonal grid. The design was made by MPP's officers.	initial housing was made of passili barts, was wooden at take and other maskeshift materials as self-bart by the house holds themselves.	About one third of the plobs here been abon- doned (or sold our abon- doned (or sold our abon- through informat trans- actions) by households that decided to go back to the centre of Phrom Penti.	See #2D.	District authorities mentioned this was the only option for reboaring be wided households. Households generally sment the lack of livelihoods all electrical and waster supplies and so-claim networks.	See #11.	See #1.J.	No administrative struc- tures were enforced upon relocation, nor were community, organi- sations established
of Christian more than the christian of sailfular than the christian of sailfular more than the christian of	The lumamed NGO of Christians of NGO of Christians of the antiferior of the antiferior of the christians of the christia	1	The tob of public space The tob of public spa	The bulk fabric appears The bulk fabric appea	Mark untek blow the business b	Narry units have been addroived. On the foot of the foot of the foot of the gradual and the foot of the gradual than the foot of the gradual than entengod. Foot of the foot o	See add and 45E.	The juneanos) NGO of control of the control of control of the cont	connected to make the connected to make the in- marked Michael and the connected Michael and the place. The members of such a service and the place.	See #5.A.	The space is governed by the space is governed by the brushadouf merstened in 48A and 43L.

Table 7.6. Synthesis of Phnom Bat's design practices, deconstructed in their spatial and governmental dimensions (elaboration by Author)

He complains about the lack of electrical supplies, of communication with the surrounding communities, of drinking water. He shows me a water pump that was installed by the MPP and Phan Imex before the relocation occurred. There are a few pumps along each road, but the water has never been potable according to the interviewees.

A 40-year old woman²⁹² mentions that at the beginning Licadho was bringing rice to the settlement, but now they have been left completely alone. The population lives out of the livestock grazing around the houses, and of the crops grown in a few plots converted to agricultural activities. Common spaces and activities are non-existing, and the collective life occurs within the open spaces of the several units - beneath the main volume or in porches that have been built by the inhabitants at later stages. Some units have been intensely changed and expanded, with the addition precisely of porches and other enclosed spaces, either toilets or additional bedrooms - interviewees confirm that this was done by bigger families to allow more spaces for their members. Other units look just different from the standardised ones built with support by the Christian NGO: these are owned by the families who did not manage to enter the process set up by the NGO, and built later their units through makeshift materials and, in one case only, masonry [Figure 7.49]. These units are at once recognisable as they are built on one single floor, and therefore at risk of flooding. Finally, fences are a big part of Phnom Bat's landscape, built by its inhabitants through bamboo sticks to protect their crops or, in some cases, simply to emphasise the limits of a plot. In one case, a 'fence' has a quite monumental shape, with sections of sewage conduits dropped next to the only masonry house, remarking the perimeter of its plot, and visually protecting a toilet block, too [Figure 7.50].

Table 7.6 synthesises the above information, acknowledging the complexity of spatial and governmental practices in Phnom Bat. I analyse such synthesised information in section 7.5 below.

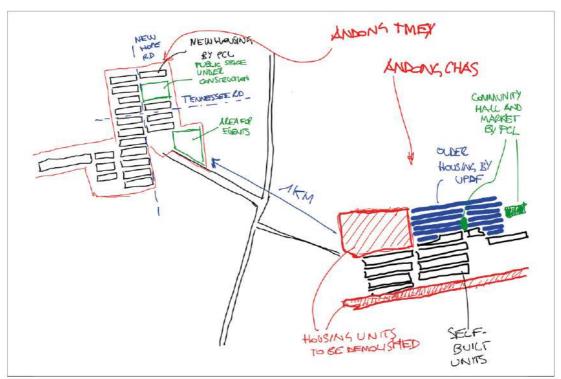
7.4.3. Andong Tmey

Andong Tmey²⁹³ [Figures 7.51, 7.52, 7.53] was born as outcome of the relocation of part of a nearby site, created to relocate about 600 households evicted from Sambok Chab settlement in June 2006 (Goad, no date; Chi *et al.*, 2010; STT, 2011; ADHOC, 2012; UNHR, 2012). Sambok Chab – whose literal translation reads 'bird's nest' and referred to the settlement's

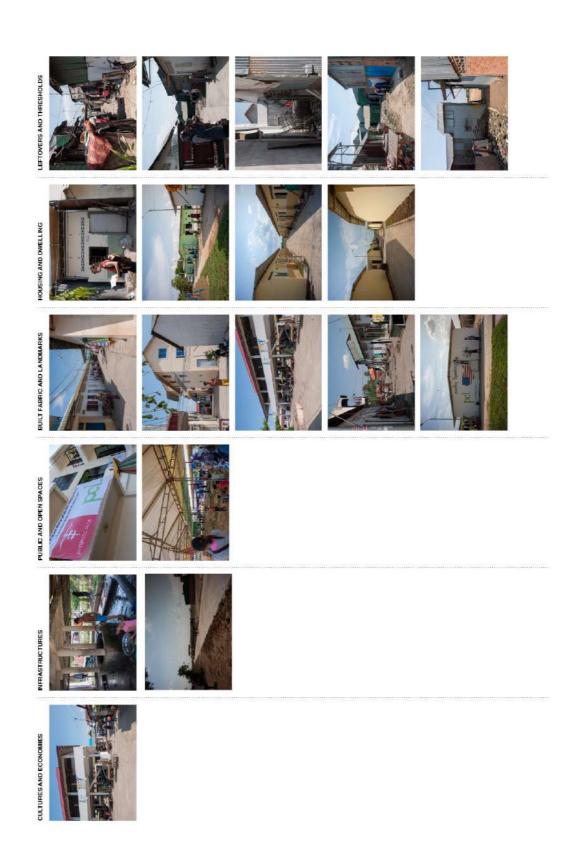
²⁹³ See footnote 276.

²⁹² Interview 318.





7.51. Satellite image of Andong Tmey (Source: Google Maps 2019).7.52. Map of Andong Tmey, sketched after first reconnaissances (elaboration by Author).



7.53. Photographic notes on spatial dimensions of Andong Tmey (and the adjacent Angong Chas), after first reconnaissances (elaboration by Author; Source of photographs: Author).

intricate morphology – was one of the many settlements composing the geography of the Tonle Bassac area, where also the White Building and the adjacent Dey Krahorm settlement lay (see chapter 5, pages 187 and 177).

The households were displaced to the locality of Andong, on a plot of land owned by the MPP, when the site was still lacking any form of shelter or basic infrastructure. Once relocated, households were organised by the MPP in six different areas according to their date of arrival, disregarding any structure or social organisation possibly present on the original site. Moreover, many more households – in spite of not being included in the list of assignees – had spontaneously moved to the site, in the hope of receiving a plot of land (UNHR, 2012).

With time, a high number of NGOs (seventeen in total) became involved in aiding the urban poor groups on site. Amongst these ones, the Cambodian Red Cross, the Korean Church Relief Team, and the Urban Poor Development Fund (CAN-Cam, 2015). UPDF initiated saving groups²⁹⁴ to develop income-generating activities, housing and infrastructures. Through the saving scheme, some families got 500 USD to upgrade their houses with the assistance of community architects [Figure 7.54], whereas other received 1000 USD to buy houses designed and developed by UPDF personnel itself (CAN-Cam, 2015).

In spite of a recent increase in the level of employment – due mostly to the emergence of a few industrial poles in nearby areas – the two sub-areas of Andong 4 and Andong 6 have remained considerably poorer than the others, and in the urgent need of physical upgrading [Figure 7.55]. Amidst discourses portraying the areas as in need of demolition and relocation,²⁹⁵ in 2012, Andong 4 and Andong 6 became the target of the *Build a City* project, devised by the non-governmental organisation People for Care and Learning (PCL), with the collaboration of Habitat for Humanity (Habitat for Humanity Cambodia, 2013).

PCL describes itself as a 'community for good', that "[f]rom Southeast Tennessee to Southeast Asia [...] implement[s] replicable projects that give hope to communities that need it most" (PCL, 2015b, p. 1). The project entailed the design and construction of 800 housing units funded by PCL itself, that were supplied for free in an adjacent site, 1km away from the original Andong settlement [see Figure 7.52 above]. PCL did conduct a survey for the project to target the poorest families only, de facto excluding from the project those households whose income was higher than 30 USD per month. The decision on whom was going to relocate, therefore, was

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²⁹⁴ Interview 328.

²⁹⁵ Interviews 326, 327.





7.54. Housing by UPDF in Andong Tmey(Source: Author). 7.55. Derelict portions of the former Andong settlement (Source: Author).

taken only on the basis of sheer economic criteria – and regardless of households' aspirations, family ties, social and business networks.

The new settlement articulates along 11 parallel rows of housing units [Figure 7.56]. Each unit measures 24 sqm. Roads had been named quoting the names of American cities that recall the term 'hope', e.g. 'New Hope, Tennessee'. On the side wall of the central row of houses, an American flag has been painted between the logos of PCL and the MPP [Figure 7.57], while on the following row the PCL logo stands out [Figure 7.58]. Two rows away, the core values of PCL (PCL, 2015a) stands colourfully painted on another wall: 'business, children, education, farming, housing'. In a brief meeting with a representative from PCL,²⁹⁶ he talks very proudly of the project, especially remarking the supposedly incremental design of the units – and avoid mentioning the 'five-years' clause against upgrading attempts. When asked whether they were trying to facilitate any sort of community organisation prior to the resettlement, his answer was that this could have come only 'after' the achievement of the other PCL's core values – hence after delivering housing, establishing employment, setting up educational structures, providing leisure spaces for children ("we notice that football is very followed in Cambodia, so we'll build a football pitch!"),²⁹⁷ cultivating the land in the surroundings.

Relocated families are given a certificate and not the proper housing title, assuming they will thus avoid selling their unit, at least in the short term. As in the other relocation sites, however, keeping the ownership over the housing stock is rather one further means of control over the settlement's populations. Interviewed households²⁹⁸ in Andong Chas mentions that they are not happy with such arrangement. One further element of resentment appeared because of PCL's decision to impede any possible alteration to the housing stock in the first five years following the assignation of the units. Households are worried because of the thin corrugated iron roof that will make the temperature inside the units very high, and about the likely impossibility to expand the units in height (given the sloped structure – see Figure 7.59). The same concerns are expressed by a UN-Habitat officer in an informal conversation with me: "those are not houses, they are rooms, they are not suitable for big families – as many are in Andong. Also, they are completely disrespectful of Cambodian culture, I have never seen anywhere else a toilet being so visible from the rest of the unit, it is really poor design."²⁹⁹

²⁹⁶ Interview 326.

²⁹⁷ Interview 326.

²⁹⁸ Interviews 321, 322, 324.

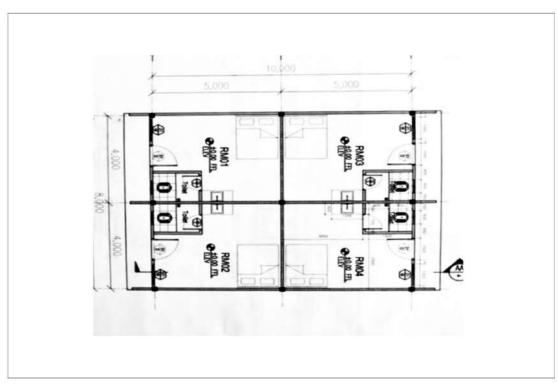
²⁹⁹ Interview 333.





7.56. Urban fabric in Andong Tmey (Source: Author) 7.57. An American flag painted by PCL workers in Andong Tmey (Source: Author)





7.58. The PCL "Build a City" project logo (Source: Author) 7.59 Housing typology in Andong Tmey (Source: Author).

OBSERVED	SPATIAL DIMENSIONS						GOVERNMENTAL DIMENSIONS	SIONS			
PRACTICES	A. Spaces for cultures and economies	B, Infrastructures	C. Public and open spaces	D. Built fabric / Land- marks	E. Housing and dwell- ing	F. Leftovers and thresholds	G. Architectural Forms	H. Discourses and sci- entific / philanthropic statements	Linstitutions and 'laws'	J. Policy and regula- tory frameworks	K. Techniques of gov- emment / administra- tive measures
1. PCL and the MPP de- cided to create a sale! the artiferrents fun away from Andong Chae relocation site	The possibility of main- baning social and busi- mens methorics with An- dong Chas is not dis- rupted. For alternities However, PCL attempts ho construct the caltural dimension of the settle- ment from scratch (see F3).	The settlement is con- nected to Andong Chas ittrough a short and wel-bull road.	Old and new settle- ments do not share any public space nor activity.	The built ribatic of the has observed in the baro selferents is apparently not too different as both sies are often about sies are often aborticed by long one-storey housing blocks.	In Andong Chas, hous- ing units were con- cented as incremental as in the internal space. The increasing could have but a messarine. See #20 and #2E for what concerns housing in Andong Timey.	The land in between the two self-ements act as threshold between two off-ement resides and two different resides and two different ways to conceive community, driven sufferment upgrading (or rehocation)	See #10 and #1E. Housing in Andong Ches was designed by UPOF through a partic- patrry process, whereas in Andong Timey PCL sign.	See #5H.	See #21.	The process happened before the promigation of the NF (2014), and served partially as model for it.	The activities of the new settlement are open also to the inhabitants of Andong Chas.
2. PCL claims the new housing to be suitable for people's needs and to be incremental.	Households state how the households do not not refect not respect Cambodia's culture of dealing, especially for the position of the folket that is strongly visible from the entrance.	Housing units are all provided with tolets (see #2A).	The settlement has been organised about organised about shong a network of properation: Is no observed by PCL. There is no observed	The units are con- sinuate back to back in several tropfuctional becks whose layout is regular and fabre and office and tables and the several gold. The flats arranges open regularly toward distri- bution needs. The result- ing grain a formogene- ous and obeser-	The housing is actually not incremental unless: proteined changes to the noof structure are under them, or the space on the road is encroached.	in the initial scheme, a number of usits will re- man vecant, due to the unwillingness of many horseholds to move from Andong Chas.	See #2A to #2F.	See #5H.	PCL has quickly be- corne has most powerful. authors in the process of decision making in An- dong, and it is very influ- erdial with the MPP.	Housing is entitlely pro- wided by PCL, based on a decapin by Habitat for Humanity.	1
3. PCL provides a range of collective activities and spaces	Rouds are named after other from the U.S. by Monte from the U.S. by Spaces for collective activities are provided for loveing a wich test appear and not decided to petuling and not decided to gether with the inhabit- and	Spizzee such as a foor- bed lights about at as infrastructure to boster a sense of community and enable youth recre- ational assivities.	See FTA and FTC.	Spaces for collective ab- tivities configure as age, and and configure as age, as and and configure of the households toward frem is not high.	(a	Ta .	See #3D.	See #5H.	See #21.	/á	PCL manages the maintenance of spaces for public activities.
4. A number of house- holds in Andong Chas refuse to relocate.	PCL's action acquires a divisive role within the aready divided original community in Andong Chas.	,	i .	The overcrowded and decellar portions of Androg Ches' but febric have been partially vaccised but will not be completely demolished.	Households keep fiving in the unit they had self- built.	See P2F.	See #4D.	See #41.	The refusel creded trictions with PCL, which in turn used a partonising rhebric against these households.	ĝ.	See #41.
5. PCL organises a launching event with MPP and donores	The event has been an afloring to advantage the capacity of the alliame between PCL and the MPP, while possibly at Vading more more you ward such kind of interventions.	Through the event, PCL. has oregind an infra- structure to possibly connect their nitiative to wider networks.	A big tent was installed by PCL in ordar to pro- vide stade and space vide stade and space for the official delivery of the housing unit.	See #SO.		(a)	See #5C.	PCL describe them- selves as a community for good; that "[flow Southeast Tennesce to Southeast Asia () im- perojects that give hope projects that give hope to communities that	36⊕ #2].		313
6. The MPP, in agreement with Phen Imex and PCL, proposes Andong Timey as relocation sile for households from Borol Kels, who have nowes between 2016 and 2016.	Households from dilferent localities – will different cultures and heelihoods – would be fored to love bogather in an extra-poripheral sec. 72 and 7.6). See also also are:	J12	Ü	r)	Households were accommodated in the va- commodated in the va- contrunts (see #2F),	Tennons batween new- comes and those households who reb- cated already in 2015 arise, because of the in- creased competition for job opportunities.	See #BE	į.	The MPP leverages the strong alliance with PCL.	The resettlement hap- pened within the Na- itional Housing Policy's framework.	118

Table 7.7. Synthesis of Andong Tmey's design practices, deconstructed in their spatial and governmental dimensions (elaboration by Author)

In January 2016, the MPP offered either a compensation of 5000USD or a unit in Andong Tmey to 84 eligible households in Borei Keila's illegal settlement. A total of 29 households accepted the relocation immediately (STT, 2016), while the rest would have gradually moved to Andong Tmey in the following two years (Phak and Kijewski, 2017; Soth and Kijewski, 2018).³⁰⁰ Reports from Andong Tmey (Kijewski and Kuoch, 2018) remark how the situation worsened after more Borei Keila evictees arrived to the site, as competition for jobs on site exacerbated.

Table 7.7 synthesises the above information, acknowledging the complexity of spatial and governmental practices in Andong Tmey. I analyse such information in section 7.5 below.

7.5. THE AMBIVALENCE OF URBAN OBSOLESCENCE IN PHNOM PENH'S RELOCATION SITES: **ANSWERING THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

The following two sub-sections answer respectively research questions no. 1 and no. 2, connecting the empirical data presented in this chapter to relevant aspects of the thesis' literature review and analysing it through the research methodological framework. The text builds upon the analysis presented in Figures 7.60 to 7.65.

7.5.1. Answering RQ1: Phnom Penh's relocation sites as partaking into the production of the fenced city

As Figures 7.60 to 7.65 show (colour purple), relocation sites prominently configures as camplike spatialities, which I defined in chapter 2 (page 57) as spaces characterised by dynamics of control, exclusion and depoliticization. The analysis in such figures show how, in all relocation sites, the condition of spatial isolation is at the basis of exclusionary dynamics: all interviewees expressed their despair due to the impossibility of building livelihoods in their new peri-urban context, and the frustration for having had most of their social networks disrupted because of the relocation.301 The indiscriminate relocation of populations from different parts of the city toward apparently random destinations has worsened the picture: in the absence of a clear logic, relocation sites host evictees from different locations, forcing them to live together (see again Figure 7.q). As seen above, and as the maps in Figures 7.60 to 7.65 show, all relocation

³⁰⁰ To date, a total of only 11 households have remained on site.

³⁰¹ A partial exception is represented by Andong Tmey, whereby about half of the households underwent a nearby relocation, from the adjacent Andong Chas settlement (see chapter 7, page 373).

sites are marked by a multitude of leftovers at the micro-scale, due to the abandonment of plots and housing units by households (two thirds of the evictees, in average) that eventually decide to return toward more central areas or, in fewer cases, to their rural provinces of origin: the presence of such leftovers can be read as a tangible manifestation of the above-mentioned exclusionary dynamics due to force displacement.

In some instances, the abandonment of plots has sparked off gated-community-like dynamics, too (colour blue): in all relocation sites, as evidence from the interviews suggests, plots or housing units initially provided as compensation to the evictees have become object of informal transactions, 302 starting a commodification process. In Trapeang Anchhanh Tmey [Figure 7.62, colour blue], relevantly, some plots were bought by middle class families looking to invest their money on a relatively cheap piece of land. Such process reveals camp-like dynamics, too: local authorities coordinate such transactions without ADB's knowledge, proving to retain a strong level of control over the settlement. ADB, on the other hand, still exercises control on all the yet-to-be-developed portions of the site.

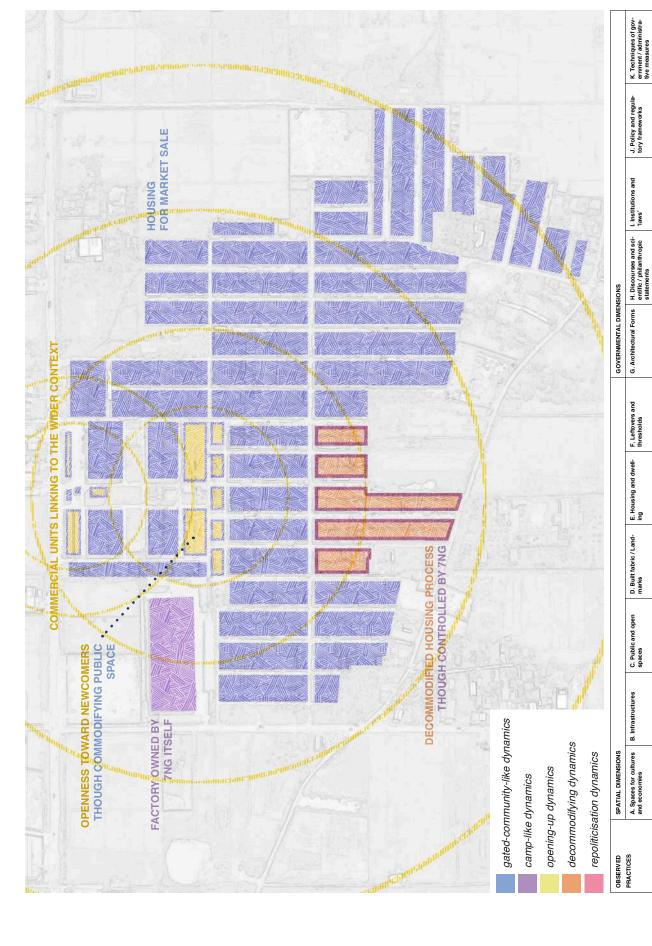
The analysis of Borei Santepheap II's project, as visible in Figure 7.60 (colour blue), revealed a preponderance of commodifying dynamics — which was expected as the site was conceived and designed by 7NG as an investment over an otherwise marginal piece of urban land, with 80% of the total housing stock meant to be sold on the market. Such configuration has led to the emergence of further gated-community-like dynamics (colour blue): the housing stock for market sale has turned into the possibility of speculation by middle class families; the incremental design of the unit has sparked off dynamics of fetishization, with families competing to build in height and with supposedly fancier materials. Camp-like dynamics (colour purple) can be identified in the division between the area for the poorer (displaced) population and the rest of the settlement, which is quite marked, with the former confined to the site's Southernmost area, as visible in Figure 7.60 (colour purple). Figure 7.63 (colour purple) shows how a comparable situation in Tuol Sambo Tmey, too, due to the strong division between HIV-affected households and non-affected ones, and the stigma toward the former group.

Other camp-like dynamics, occurring across all relocation sites, can be identified in the use of rigid and controllable layouts in the design of the sites' plans, and in the overall depoliticisation of the housing and planning process: relocated households complain about the lack of public spaces and the non-participatory design of the units (apart from the incremental design of the units in Borei Santepheap II and Tang Khiev, as I shall explain below). Tang Khiev, Tuol Sambo

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³⁰² See footnote 7070, page 148.

7.60. The ambivalence of urban obsolescence in Borei Santepheap II (elaboration by Author; source of photographs: Author)



Policemen and private guards evicted and bulldozed Dey Krahorm

The eviction and relocation happened before the promulgation of the

The site lies on a plateau, and its boundaries followed an irregular

The fine built fabric of Dey Krahorm is turned into a coarse one in

The relocation site is about one hour away taking into account traf-

1. 7NG proposes a plot of land lying 15km away from the centre of broom Boat for the the in

		7NG have kept the own- spile this had been spile this had been spile the had been spile the had been the Syears of occupa- tion of the units. See also #31.		Middle-class newcomers deals directly with TNG shout everyday matters. TNG has an office in the Northern public space (see #7).	Units are sold or rented out to newcomers or neighbours through informal transactions (and for cheaper prices).	TAG is in charge of the maintenance of the public spaces and its representatives collect the rent from both business owners and households.
		7NG have kept the certain of the housing spire this hard been more the population of the population of the units. See also #31.	See #1K.	Middle-class new ers deals directly TNG about every matters. 7NG has fice in the Norther its space (see #7)	Units are sold or ren out to newcomers or neighbours through i formal transactions (for cheaper prices).	G is in chintenance intenance spaces a spaces a statives contatives cut from both ners and nervices a
	The case of BSII has been used as success-tul example by the MLMUPC while drafting the 201 vN varional Housing Policy.			Mic 6rs 77 77 70 70 70 10 10	Outine outine neither form	mma ma lic. seren cow
	The case of BSII has been used as 'succet tul' example by while drain MLMUPC' while drain the 2014 National Ho ing Policy.	Units have been pro- vide by TMC through using cross-subsideas reformed all videous velopment of the rest the site.	See #41.	1	1	1
	ANG acts as the sole actor in charge of the place. They provides and housing services and recently – also loans, acting as microfinance institution.		7NG, the MPP and Shukaku Inc. acted in a legal and policy vac- uum.			
middle class	7NG acts actor in ch place. The housing, s recently — acting as r institution.	See #21.	7NG, the Shukaku egal and sum.	See #5K.		See #21.
residents to move to Borei Santepheap II.	7NG presents itself as the designer and provider of a plece of city that works, in opposition in that works, in opposition to the congested city centre.	TAG used the word happens to describe the operation conducted in BSI, and market it as an act of pillauthrony—showing services and facilities for the poor that then would not have been implemented. The following register that the services and the services and the filled as in the position to the services and the services and the services and the services and the services are not to the services that the services are not the services and the services are not the services and the services are not the services and the services are not services are not services and the services are not services and the services are not services and the services are not services are not services are not services and the services are not services and the services are not services are not services are	See #2H and #3H.	See #2H.	Households lament the isolation of the settle-ment, lack of livelihoods, and impossibility to participate in any decision making activity.	
- 2 11	See #2D. 17	See #3D and #3E.	See #1G.	See #5D.	See #6F.	See #7D, #7E, #7F.
	The secondary open Syspaces book like glant leftovers. See #3F.	While not sheer, the di- vision thewest the area of the good and the rest of the settlement is clear and visible, because of housing typology and urban fabric.	Boeung Kak lake has been turned into a giant word for a few years, through a landfill operation. Later, a development of a satellite city starfed.	See #3F.	About two thirds of the four sing stock are either sold or rented through informal transactions or left abandoned.	In the central market, some many formered units stand formered and left empty by 7NG.
			Boe bee voik thr tion men star	Sec.	Abo hou sok info	
ing their housing incre- mentally.	About 80% of the hous- ing stock is actually for commercial sale.	The units are rectangles measuring 4 by 10 me trees, with a toller in the trees, with a toller in the access of the trees are allowing the access of the trees of the trees, on the front, and for the trees, on the front and for the trees of the	See #1E.	See #5D.	See #6F.	Residential units are as small as 3 by 4 meters rectangles and reinted out to low-income new-comers.
	The settlements develop homogenously establishing a coarse grain along a perpendicular grid. There is one big open space in the centre of the settlement (see #7) glus other minor ones.	The housing for the poor develops homogene- bods, and grantled codes are codes from a form and from North to South. The uban grain is very coarse.	See #1D.	The course built fairle is composed by long stretches of town-houses, developed to different heights and extens eaching to the resources of the several households, following their own aspirations.	See #6F.	The central public space clearly stands out as main, glant, square in the settlement.
	1	The mair roads serve as open and roads serve as open and road in the settlement. The settlement.	T	See #5A.	1	See #7B.
	I	Units have their own tot- tadiesent to a service road running on the back of the blocks.	See #1B.	1	1	The activities in the contraction public specime in the represent the main inflar-face with the wider surnoundings. The market space at the encounter of people from different backgrounds and lower the population to access a residential unit.
	The whole operation represented the possibility of big revenues for MG. 7NG. In turn, the profit-driven development have sub-skiesed the production of housing for the relocated poor.	See #2A. See #4F. The incremental component along the man along households to expand their units and it their productives within their space. Economic activities with their space. Georgian and their productives are generally much rare in the area allocated for the proor.	Households coming from different localities — with different cultures and livelihoods – have been forced to live to-gether. See also D.4.	Newcomers have set up their businesses, which are accessible by the whole settlement. A limited number of businesses (e.g. a gym) is geared especially to ward middle class inhabitants.	The impossibility of building livelihoods on site leads often to return toward the centre of Phrom Penh.	Several leisure activities take plee in free market, for instance a play room with a pool. Basides formal commercial activities, converting commercial activities, converting commercial states in the state of the blue plee in formal small income generating activities by generating activities by generating activities by the households.
norm (see table 5.4)	2. 7NG's plan configures as new part of the city, with only a small percentage of housing stock for the displaced population.	3. 7NG allocates the Southermost part of the site for the evices, providing incremental housing units for free.	4. 7NG and MPP, in agreement with Shukaku Inc., agrees to relocate to BSII also a number of evictees from Boeung Kak	5. Middle class' new- comes from certital Phrom Penh acquires housing on the rest of the sile	6. About two thirds of relocated families from Boeung Kaik and Dey Krahorm return to live in central Phnom Penh	7. 7NG's plans revolves around woman public spaces, one facing the mail road, one in the centre of the site, which hosts a market. 7NG rents out some of the market unts for residential use.







PARTICIPATORY DESIGN PROCESS AND PLOTS AND INFORMAL THROUGH SAVING GROUPS AND BANDOMENT OF UNITS OF THE HOUSING UNITS RANSACTIONS CHRISTIAN VALUES OVER-IMPOSED ACTIVITIES **EDUCATION NETWORKING EVENTS** gated-community-like dynamics decommodifying dynamics repoliticisation dynamics opening-up dynamics camp-like dynamics

7.61. The ambivalence of urban obsolescence in Tang Khiev (elaboration by Author; source of photographs: Author)

K. Techniques of government / administrative measures See #3I. J. Policy and regula-tory frameworks After this initial involvement, **7NG** de facto abandons the I. Institutions and 'laws' G. Architectural Forms H. Discourses and scientific / philanthropic statements GOVERNMENTAL DIMENSIONS See #2 and #4. F. Leftovers and thresholds E. Housing and dwell-ing Housing is initially made by the **relo-**The urban grain was meant as homoge-nous and fine, with D. Built fabric / Land-marks **7NG** designed no public spaces: such role should have C. Public and open spaces Roads were traced but completely unbuilt. No sanitation A. Spaces for cultures B. Infrastructures and economies SPATIAL DIMENSIONS 1. 7NG allocates plots of 5 by 8 meters to the relocated fami-PRACTICES OBSERVED

	1	Saving groups are administered by both Manna4Life and community representatives. The former keeps the money safe.	See #4K.	See #5J. The community makes sure plots are not occupied illegally.	Activities are run by the households with the supervision of Manna4Life.	-	1
	1	1	Households are fee to expand or modify the unit as they the unit as they please within their plot.	Informal transactions are regulated by the households themselves.	1	-	ı
or the plots of land.	Manna4Life de facto is the only acknowledged institution on site, and a very respected one.	Saving groups fos- tered a sense of be- longing to a commu- nity group. Manna4.ife's activi- ties are key for com- munity cohesion.	See #31.	1	See #31.	See #31.	See #31.
	The donation of tar- paulin tents followed a genuine concern of a Mannad-Life repre- sentative, who later admitted "the ap- proach was wrong".	According to a representative from Manna4Life NGO, saving groups were what gave hope to the community and saved it from misery.	See #3H.	-	Manna4Life pursues an expansion of the activities reported in #6A and #6B.	_	H9# eeS
	See #4E.	1	The households contributed to the design of the units. See #4D and #4E.	See #5F.	See #6C.	The church follows a conventional rectangular layout, has one sloped roof and is painted in blue.	See #8C and #8D.
	1	1	1	Two thirds of the plots/units are abandoned. Some of them are bought by neighbours (see #5A).	1	_	ı
built with plastic sheets and wooden sticks.	The tarpaulin served as roof for units made of makeshift materials.	1	The housing units are elevated from the ground on stilts. The ground floor can be used for storage space and vacated during the rainy seat during the rainy sear in case of flooding.	See #5F.	See #6C.	_	1
units. Today, many plots and units are abandoned (see #5).	The donation of a set of blue tarpaulin by Manna 4 Life tents gives the name to the site (Tang Khiev in Khmer means precisely blue tent).	1	The obsessive repetition of the same type does not result in a homogenous land-scape, as each house bold has modified the unit according to its resources and needs.	1	1	Both church and school stands out of the settlement's fabric, working as landmarks.	The temporary structure (see #8C) stands out of the set-tlement's fabric, working as landmark.
the plots.	1	ı	-1	1	Common buildings such as the school and the church, and parts of private housing units are dedicated to the economic activities.	The school has been built at the core of the settlement. The church lies in a peripheral public spaces.	The events are organised in temporary public spaces. big tents set up by the community on the main access road.
	1	Saving groups rise as infrastructures for interactions amongst members of the community.	Tollets are external to the units but present in every plot.	-	Economic activities represent the infra- structure to open up the settlement toward outer realities.	_	See #6B.
	Households were in an extremely poor situation, hence sold the tarpaulin tents inhabitants of villages nearby, for little money.	Saving groups have been conductive to community mobilisation and to gain momentum, contrasting the aftermath of the relocation.	The units cost only 600USD per unit, about 4-5 times less than a smilar solut linn proposed by Habitat for Human. Ity, which was considered too western sied by the house holds.	Households returning to Phnom Penh have sold a number of plots to the house- holds staying.	Crafts and agriculture have represented a moderate form of income for the house-holds.	While providing edu- cation, Manna4Life has hijacked the cul- tural and religious background of the households.	The community shares its achieve- ments and cultural background. Manna4Life, has im- posed the perfor- mance of Christian charis and prayers.
	2. Manna4Life NGO starts working with the relocated families, and donates blue tarpaulin tents.	3. Manna4 Life starts saving groups	4. Manna4Life promotes the adoption of self-built incremental housing	5. Approximately 80% of the families move back to central Phnom Penh	6. Relocated households starts engaging in economic activities promoted and set up by Mannad Life	7. Manna4Life buids a church and a school.	8. Manna4Life promotes networking events.







ABANDONMENT OR EMPTINESS OF MOST PLOTS COMMUNITY MOBILISATION HROUGH SAVING GROUPS OF THE HOUSING TYPOLOGY INTRINSIC OPENNESS PURCHASING PLOTS MIDDLE-CLASS HOUSEHOLDS gated-community-like dynamics decommodifying dynamics repoliticisation dynamics TMEY AND CHAS opening-up dynamics camp-like dynamics ANCHHANH **PAPEANG** FOR BOTH SCHOOL

J. Policy and regulatory frameworks 7.62. The ambivalence of urban obsolescence in Trapeang Anchhanh Tmey (elaboration by Author; source of photographs: Author) I. Institutions and 'laws' H. Discourses and scientific / philanthropic statements GOVERNMENTAL DIMENSIONS G. Architectural Forms F. Leftovers and thresholds E. Housing and dwell-ing D. Built fabric / Land-marks C. Public and open spaces B. Infrastructures A. Spaces for cultures and economies SPATIAL DIMENSIONS OBSERVED PRACTICES

Households were put on trucks and relocated to the new site by the

The relocation partially contravened ADB's policy.

The Interministerial Resettlement Committee oversaw the operations.

ADB officially pursues a sustainable relocation.

Both Trapeang An-chhanh Chas and Tmey rise in the middle of a tabula rasa landscape.

ADB purchases lands in Trapeang Anchhanh, in the proximities of an older relocation site

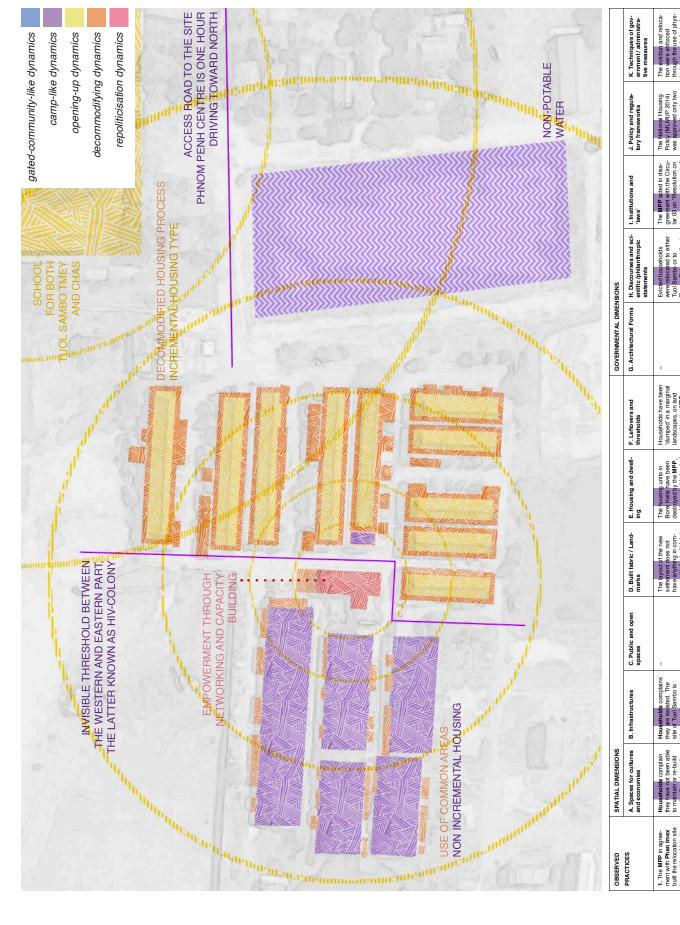
		1	Ī	1			
		The key of the public space is kept by two households who are in charge of the community saving groups (see #4).	Saving schemes are managed by a group of households whose authority is acknowledged within the settlement.	ADB and MPP, in agreement with the vII-liggle leaders, make sure the empty plots do not get appropriated illegally.	While such lilegal transactions should not have happened, ADB has no means to limpede them set it is a form of investment generally tolerated by the MPP, and a wide-spread habit in Cambodia.		
		The key of the public space is kept by two households who are in charge of the community saving groups (see #4).	Saving schemes are managed by a group households whose a thorist is acknowledg within the settlement.	ADB and M PP, in agreement with the vII-lage leaders, make sure the empty plots do not get appropriated ille gally.	While such lilegal trans- actions should not have happened. ADB has no means to impede them as it is a form of invest- ment generally tolerated by the MPP, and a wide spread habit in Cambo- dia.		
	1	The key space is househ charge charge child nity savi	Saving s manage hou seh thority is within th	ADB and agreeme lage lea sure the not get a gally.	While su actions s happene means to as it is a ment ge by the M spread t dia.		
			Not all households manage to get into the resaving scheme.				
	1	Aus-Aid no longer wants to be seen as linked to the project.	The saving mechanism of defacto led to the inception of a community sgroup.	1	1	1	1
	The scheme follows a classic site and services 'provision.	1	1	1	See #6.A.	Holt sets up welfare programmes for children, children, unwed mothers, and people with special needs.	ADB contravened its policies and undermined human and housing rights of the displaced households.
	See #2Ato #2F.	See #3C and #3D.	1	See #5D, #5E, #5F.	See #6D, #6E, #6F.	The venue is a two storety building with an entrance on the ground level, at the centre of the main façade.	See#8A.
	The position of the toilet blocks whill the blocks whill the blocks have caused the presence of many lethover spaces, as the foliate in the refer by under-used or out of the housing layout (see practice 6).	The public building is under-used and some of its premises are almost permanently locked.	ı	About 200 plots remain empty. There are no traces of permanent nor tempo-permanent nor tempo-ray appropriation of such plots (see #44).	Most of the plots are ferced off. These units establish a clear divide between rich and poor on site.		1
	See #2B. Houses are made morally of worders truc- tures and lightweight materials.	1	The saving groups add a level of repoliticisation to the everyday life of the households.	Some plots are abandoned after an initial attempt to build housing, resulting in derelett or unfinished housing by leaving households.	See #5D. Most houses are built through an armed corrorate structure and with durable materials.	1	See #8A.
empty piece of Phnom Penh's periphery.	The built fabric is characteristic by the inventivents of the several households, who have built their own houses according to skills, economic agriant (see #6). The arrays of topic at blocks have become a spatial andmark, and a spatial andmark, and a spatial andmark, and a spatial andmark, and a caton plan.	The building is the only identifiable physical landmark in the area, and it competes with the school and the market on the Trapeang Anchhanh's side.	See #4C.	The fine grain of the built urban fabric is given more breath by given more breath by the emptiness of a great number of plots.	Asin#2D.	The venue is known by everybody and raises as landmark in the settlement.	ſ
full of paddyfields and palm trees.	The only public space has occurrently centre by ADB (see #3).	The building is defacto the only public space available. It lies under- neath an octagonal rod:	Discussions are held in the public building provided by Aus-AID, see #3.	Empty plots do appear as open public spaces, their image resulting in squares and esplanades. However, these do not get any use beyond children playing sporadically.	1	See #7B.	ſ
ine ligan read, begant ing from the national highway bordening the airport, has recently been uggraded, but the last bit connecting to the site is bumpy, not paved and get easily flooded.	The MPP and ADB pro- vided a rotal of 400 to- lers, along with roads. Bectricity and water were provided two years tatler.	The building is the only public space apt to act as infrastructure for community integration, though its use is sporradic.	1	Neworks with the other households may be maintained but are hampered by the distance, hence the only infrastructure in this sense remain belecommunications over cell phones.	Sanitation infrastruc- tures are self-built by the households, par- tally using the ones originally provided by ADB.	Hoft represents an important facility in terms of household support.	1
Pram-Moi with consequent disruption of livelihoods.	Evidence shows how it is fard for the relocated households to include the collect block into the shape of the far all house. Recovered to use that house house have the tolief in the copen space of the plot, which is not in line with leave the collect in the copen space of the plot, which is not in line with all deals.	The building is meant for community meetings and networking events, interviewess confirm in habitants hold regular meetings to discuss saving schemes and other businesses.	Savings are meant to foster income generating activities within the community.	As in all other relocation sites, there are no offi-cal reached of such households. Their cultures and livelihoods are disrupted, displaced, and eventually leave no visible traces.	Most of these opera- tions are simply financial investments, and at this stage that end pro- duced any cultural cross-refilsation. Some of the builders come from either Trappears Arricharth Chas or Timey.	The venue is a point of encounter between households of Trapeang Anchanh Chas and Tmey.	STT's report features the housing stories of many households and portrays their struggle to resettle.
(Trape ang Anchhanh Chas) for an evicted Tonle Bassac settle- ment.	2. ADB assigns plots with a closel to the relo-cated households. About 16! households builds a unit around or moth and a unit around or housek, the original rollet blocks.	3. Australian Aid provides a public building at the core of the settlement.	4. Some of the relo- cated households start saving groups.	5. About 240 house-holds decide not to re- boate, or to relocate and then return to the city centre upon selling the plot to a third party.	6. Middle class familes purchase plots.	7. Hoft Korea Children's services establishes a venue between Trapeang Anchhanh Chas and Tmey.	8. STT publishes a report on the situation of the displaced households.
(Trapeang Archhanh Chas) for an evicled Tonie Bassac settle- ment.	2. ADB assigns piots with a totalet for the refo- atted households. About 161 households builds a unit around or houlds a unit around or houlds a unit around or houlds.	Australian Aid provides a public building a the core of the settlement. ment.	4. Some of the relocated households star saving groups.	5. About 240 households decident to reloade, of to rebocate and then return to the city centre upon selling the plot to a third party.	6. Middle class families purchase pids.	7. Holt Korea Children's services estab- dren's services estab- lishes a venue between Trapeang Anchhanh Chas and Tmey.	8. STT publishes a report on the situation of the displaced households.







7.63. The ambivalence of urban obsolescence in Tuol Sambo Tmey (elaboration by Author; source of photographs: Author)



where y potential and district authorities.	In addition to Borel Keila's households, the MPP decided to relocate In Tuol Sambo Timey HIV-afflected house- holds from evicled set- tements about the		l am not aware of gov- emment and surveil- lance mechanisms such as the ones occurrig in Borel Kela's upper floors (see table 6.x).		
ition graph	ion to F houset houset Sambo Sambo octed h om evi om evi ap.	á	t awar t and s rechan nnes oc eila's u see tab		
es. dis	In addition to Borei Keila's households, MPP decided to relo in Tuol Sambo Time, HIV-affected house- holds from evicited s, terments along the Tonle Sap.	See #3A.	lam not aware of gc memert and surveil fance mechanisms as the ones occurring Borei Keils a upper floors (see table 6.x)		
agreement agreement ircular 03 (see	There is no policy framework to deal with such relocation cases. If				The activities of Center for Hope fills the assistance and provision gaps left by the Ministry of Health.
oolicy and oolicy and in dis with the C	There i		1		The aci for Hol ance a gaps le
	UN-AIDS strongly criticised the operation.	Caritas presence is verywhere on the site from the site from the site from the efforts made on site.	Households complain about the wey they had been treated by the had been treated by they had have they had been treated by they had been treated by they have been treated to the treated to the had been treated to the had	Along with Center for Hope See #81, Frends is acknowledged as in stifution by local residents.	Center for Hope acts as important institution on site, though catering for roughly half of the site only.
mer so vitale and in the housing or land titles they actually possessed. Lower leave documents meant relocation to Phrom Bat The process was affected by briberies to phrum and sub district authorities.	Local and interna- tional NGOs and me- dias describe Tuol Sambo as HIV colony.	Carties says to work to promote and strengthen activities that are amed at the integral development of communities.	The MPP and Phan Imax presented the re- location as a planning success and a philar- thropic operation.	Friends NGO says to be working with identified utilities the or unterable individual as to educated them and provide them with skills. They say to be working with children, but also toward the empowement of their parents with the provement of the parents of the	See #2H and #21.
	See #2D and #2E.	See#3B, #3D, #3E.	See #4C, #4D and #4E.	The building where the NGO resides is at the Barycente of the site, acting as an important mode between the site it wo parts.	See #6C.
minder value was very flow.	The idea of Tuol Sambo Trings as a HIV colony (see #2H) contributes to strengthen its character of leftover, marginal and voluntarily forgotten space.	Most households found in the control of the entrance gates.	Households have reap- propriated the public space in front of the units togatin internal croom – shifting the troshold between pub- there is an invisible threshold between the Western part of the site and the Eastern (older) one, as households in the Western part of the site and the Eastern (older) one, as households in the Western part of the site and the Eastern (older) engage desemped on of engage desemped on of engage desemped on of affected families.	The fromyard of the building where the or- building where the or- ganisation resides (see #50) is fincted of the resi of the settlement by flow metallic structures. Visual permeability is still ensured.	See #6D and #2F.
Sambo Pened intwo waves, 2009 (see practice #2) and 2012 (see practice	The MPP and Phan Immer intelly provided housing in the forms of 16 sqm housing units in green convagated iron sheds. The poor construction of the unit made the units very hot and unhearthy.	Caritas replaced the green sheats provided by Phan Innex with units built in measuring and some measuring 36 som in-cluding a toller. Units are specious and roots are tolly, allowing incrementable, within the unit (see #3F). Units have access and verifiation from both the unit room both their front and rear façades.	Households are allocated Sagmunits, provided by the MPP and PhP and Sagmunital, are not incremental, are made of one single a biolity and have one single access and façade.		1
On the original store if Borel Kella, nor does it take into account possi- ble past landmarks.	The relocated house- holds were nitally housed in six green sheds provided by the MP and Phan Imex, running in a parallel di- rection on the site.	The blocks are distrib- uted along parallel lines, following a W.E. align- ment in the Korthern part of the settlement, and a N.S. alignment in the Southern part. Blocks are very long and establish a coaree grain on site with a low degree of permeability.	The new housing blocks establish a homogene- ous and coarse grain on the Western side of the sale dividing through three axes with low per- meability amongst them- see shots. High brovers for water framks act as and mark	See #5G.	The distribution of medicines contributes to the construction of Tuol Sambo Tmey as a HIV-colory – as a landmark
	1	See #3B.	The only space designed as 'public' is the central node occupied by the venue of Friends MCO (see #5). The role of public space is otherwise played by the strest running between the housing blocks.	Friends NGO occupies the only public building in the settlement Such building also has a small fronty and, that the occupies of the occupies used.	The NGO venue (a housing unit converted into a clinic) characterises the settlement's public space.
torinities and torinities and torinities own motorised vehicles.	The proximity of the Si- hanout knosptal was conducive for such households to settle in Borel Kalls. Such health facilities have been re- placed by the NGO Center of Hope (see practice #6).	Cartes dug the basin for lar artificial lake which should have provided the whole settlement ment with potable water. Households complain that the water is no fonge froat and be barely used to wash crockeries.	The MPP has provided the Whole site with non-potable water tarks, and with electricity. The site is also marked by a series of gant jars to collect rain water.	Friends NGO has pro- vided the infrastructure sambo inney to a wide method to connect Tuol methods of inney to a wide method of offer-making (including people in other urban poro sette method and selling. Tuol Sambo Tinely's realities and issues have allos and issues have allos gened accopance from such interaction.	See #2B.
To be interested in the city centre.	The HIV affected families were first gherbroised and stigmatised on site, and then relocated to Tuol Sambo upon a decision of the MPP.	Cardas did not implementing activities on site. At the same time, they did involve the households in a saving scheme, set up to fister a sense of nownership over the house compain about such scheme, as it is often hard for them to pay back the leans.	The second wave of indicate pools has a dispersion with the first wave.	Households produce small anterlacts when the are then sold in the certain are then sold in the certain spaces in by Flends NGO (for instance two restaurants). Other actual and particles sing, sewing and tailoring, wedning and tailoring, wedning meshanics and celectrical six is and electrical six ills.	See #2A.
Centre.	2. The MPP and Phan I max decle initially to lim and clock initially to relocate a number of households with members affected by HIV.	3. Cartas enters the process in the attempt of process in the attempt of provide better house ing for the HIV affected stamilies.	4. The MPP and Phan Imax relocated the rest of other bouseholds from it Boret Kells to Tuol Sambo Tmey.	5. Friends NGO has ser- tablished income-gener s- atting activities in the arrea.	6. Center for Hope NGO provides mediciones and health care to the population in Tuol







gated-community-like dynamics camp-like dynamics opening-up dynamics decommodifying dynamics repoliticisation dynamics LACK OF A PUBLIC DIMENSION ABANDONMENT OF PLOTS
AND UNITS INCREMENTAL HOUSING TYPE NON-USABLE WATER DWELLS PLOTS BEING FENCED OFF

7.64. The ambivalence of urban obsolescence in Phnom Bat (elaboration by Author; source of photographs: Author)

OBSERVED	SPATIAL DIMENSIONS						GOVERNMENTAL DIMENSIONS	SIONS			
PRACTICES	A. Spaces for cultures and economies	B. Infrastructures	C. Public and open spaces	D. Built fabric / Land- marks	E. Housing and dwell- ing	F. Leftovers and thresholds	G. Architectural Forms	H. Discourses and scientific /philanthropic statements	I. Institutions and 'laws'	J. Policy and regulatory frameworks	K. Techniques of government / administrative measures
The MPP in agreement with Phan Invex ment with Phan Invex ment with Phan Investments perighter in an externelly perighter all becation, 55km away from the centre.	Households complain they laws no theen able to maintain or te-build any (well-bods) on sile, nor to maintain the so-cial networks they had established in the city centre.	Households complains they are defined. The site of T ang Milleu is about 10 mins away via modicilities but only a lever families own motorities but only a lever families own motorities. Own motorities own motorities own motorities own motorities one hour motorities. The motorities of the motorities one hour motorities.	1	From the top of the needty Outdoor mount. Outdoor mount in the site seems to have become a land-mark in the empty land: scape of the surrounding planes.	The housing units in Borie Missing have been destroyed by the MPP, and households beashold shaded or truckes along with materials they were able to save.	Households have been during all andstabes, on land owned by the MPP whose value was obset to zero.	1	The evited households were recorded to either Tuol Sambo or to Phoron Bat according to criteria (set by the MPP) on the housing or land titles then thousing or land titles the or browned only lower level documents were taken to Phoron Bat. The process was how-ever directed by briber-ser to fullage and sets to whitege and sub-district authorities.	The MP P acted in clisa- greement with the Circu- tar O3 on "Resolution on temporary settlement" (RGC 2010).	The National Housing people (MLMUP 2014) was approved only two was approved only two seas affect the ratioca- tion, witch cocurred in a policy and logal vacuum and in disagreement with the Groular 03 (see 1).	The eviction and relocation where endocations were endocation through the use of physical and psychological violence by policement and district authorities.
2. Phan linex and the MPP provided the relocated families with polis of land (size 5 by 8 meters) and a few wells, whose water resulted non-potable.	There is no official space for hosting cul- ture-letated or income- generating activities on site. Some households have opened small eco- monic activities in their frontyards.	The water wells installed by the MPD mark the site's grounds following a regular grid. Most of them are out of order, so they are seen by the households as one of the many failures of the site.	See #2.A.	The plots were homogeneously distributed along the main roads, following an orthogonal grid. The design was made by MPP's officers.	Initial thousing was made of plastic tents, wooden statks and other makeshift materials, sel-built by the house- holds themselves.	About one third of the plots have been abandoned for sold out of consold out from a transactions) by households that decided to go back that decided to go back the centre of Phnom Penh.	See #2D.	District authorities mentioned this was the only option for relocating the evicted households. Households generally lament the lack of liveli- hoods, electrical and warder supplies and so- cial networks.	See #11.	Ѕее #10.	No administrative struc- tures were enforced upon relocation, nor were community organi- sations established.
3. An (umamed) NG O of furtigatin mappra- dio Originate of the com- munity at a later stage, and achieved the com- struction of self-built in- housing units (allowing the low-cost model im- permented in Tang Kriev.	The (umanied) NGO of Christian hispiration of Christian of Chr		The role of public space is played by the main roads between the pibls, and the som-princate sometimes granted in the pibls of the housing units.	The built fabric appears externelly homogene- ous, a fong stretch of identiest houses aligned on three parallel roads. From a cobese look, it is understandable how some units were built not following the man participatory construction process, and now from thouseholds have expanded and modified their units.	Most units follow the building typology/seen in Targ Khiev. The housing typology/seen in Targ Khiev. The about these nestes about these nestes about these nestes about these nestes and accessible through a sibep wooden staticase—almost a ladder. The upper level is characterised by one single room with a door and the front and nested to many the control and the control and the control and one on the beds.) The roof is in control and the control and the control and one on the forest and one on the beds.) The roof is in control and the co	Many units have been abandment of the form of the form of the spaces have emerged. Households have emerged enough their plots with ill some exceptional of acases, section of concrete sewage pipes.	See #3D and #3E.	The (unnamed) NGO of Christen inspiration ogo in touch with the community with Christen sprint of charity and aid.	In order to make the constructor heasible in an earbit time, the fun-iname) NGO of Christian inspiration placed great amount of power in the hand of a supposed furturable household less 30. The members of such itemity started acting as rulers of the place.	∀∀	The space is governed by the bringwaverd by the bringwaverd in #GA and #31.







PLACE-BRANDING BY PCL gated-community-like dynamics camp-like dynamics opening-up dynamics decommodifying dynamics repoliticisation dynamics **DWELLERS IN ANDONG CHAS** BETWEEN THE TWO SITES DISCONNECTION NETWORKING EVENTS
MAINSTREAM CIRCUIT OF DONORS OPENNESS TOWARD NEWCOMERS
HIGHLY CONTROLLED HOUSING PROCESS

7.65. The ambivalence of urban obsolescence in Andong Tmey (elaboration by Author; source of photographs: Author)

OBSERVED	SPATIAL DIMENSIONS						GOVERNMENTAL DIMENSIONS	SIONS			
PRACTICES	A. Spaces for cultures and economies	B. Infrastructures	C. Public and open spaces	D. Built fabric / Land- marks	E. Housing and dwell- ing	F. Leftovers and thresholds	G. Architectural Forms	H. Discourses and scientific / philanthropic statements	I. Institutions and 'laws'	J. Policy and regulatory frameworks	K. Techniques of government/ administrative measures
PCL and the MPP decoded to create a satelline settlements iform away from Andong Chas reflocation site.	The possibility of main- taining social and busi- ness networks with An- dong Chas is not dis- rupted. However, PCL attempts Howeve	The settlement is con- nected to Ardong Chas Irrough a short and well-buil road.	Old and new settle- ments do not share any public space nor activity.	The bull fabric of the two settlements is apparently not lood ifferent as both sites are characterised by brig one-storey housing blocks.	in Andong Chas, hous- ing units were con- celeved as incremental as in the internal space the households could have bull a mezzanire. See #2D and #2E for what concerns housing in Andong Timey.	The land in-between the two statements act as threshold between two different realities and two different ways to conceive community. driven settlement upgrading (or relocation)	See #1D and #1E. Housing in Andong Chas was designed by UPDF through a partici- patroy process, whereas in Andong Trney PCL. Informed a top-down de- sign.	See #5H.	See #21.	The process happened before the promulgation of the NHP (2014), and served partially as model for it.	The activities of the new settlement are open also to the inhabitants of Andong Chas.
2 PCL claims the new housing to be suitable for people's needs and to be incremental.	Household state how the houseling type does not relies in or respect Cambodis's culture of develling, especially for the postion of the clote that is strongly visible from the entrance.	Housing units are all provided with tolets (see #2A).	The settlement has been organised along a network of perpendicular roads by PCL. There is no clear main open space (see #5C).	The linits are constructed back to back in several organization blocks whose layout is equit and follow a rigid ormogeness of the lass are and follow a rigid ormogeness of the lass are and the lass are and so the lass are and so the lass are and so the lass are also as a last a lass are as a last a las	The housing is actually not incremental unless profound changes to the roof structure are undertaken, or the space on the road is encroached.	in the initial scheme, a number of units will remain waters, due to the unwilliopses of many households to move from Anderg Chas.	See #2Ato#2F.	See #5H.	PCL has quickly be- come the most powerful subject in the process of decision making in An- dong, and it is very influ- ential with the MPP.	Housing is entrely pro-	1
3. PCL provides a range of collective activities and spaces	Roads are hamed after cless from the U.S. by Prec. from the U.S. by Spaces for collective activities are provided for lowing a wish-list apparently complete by PCL. Itself and not decided together with the inhabit-arts.	Spaces such as a foot- bal priors should acritis infrastructures to foster a sense of community and enable youth recre- ational activities.	See #1A and #1C.	Spaces for collective ac- tivities configure as spa- tial landmarks, but the sense of belonging of the households toward them is not high.	1		See #3D.	See #5H.	See #21.	1	PCL manages the maintenance of spaces for public activities.
4. A number of house- holds in Andong Chas refuse to relocate.	PCL's action acquires a divisive role within the already divided original community in Andong Chas.	1	1	The overcrowded and derelict portions of Andong Chas' built fabric have been partially vacated but will not be completely demolished.	Households keep living in the unit they had self-built.	See #2F.	See #4D.	See #41.	The refusal created frictions with PCL, which in turn used a patronising rhetoric against these households.	1 - 50	See #41.
5. PCL organises a launching event with MPP and donors	The event has been an attempt to advertise the capacity of the alliance between PCL and the MPP, while possibly air tracting more money to ward such kind of interventions.	Through the event, PCL has created an infra- the created an infra- structure to possibly connect their initiative to wider retworks.	A big tent was installed by PCL in order to provide strade and space vide strade and space for the official delivery of the housing unit.	See #5C.	1		See #5C.	PCL describe them- selves as a community for good, that "fiftom Southeast Tennessee to Southeast Asia [] Im- plement(s) replicable projects that give hope to communities that need it most".	See #21.	1	1
6. The MPP, in agreement with Phan Innex and PCL, proposes Andord They as relocation steel for households from Borei Kela, who then moves between 2016 and 2018.	Households from dif- ferent localities – with different cultures and ivelincods – would be forced to live together in an extraperplical set- tlement (see also tables	1	1	-1	Households were accommodated in the vacant units (see #2F).	Tensions between new- coners and those households who relo- cated already in 2015 arrise because of the in- creased competition for job opportunities.	See #6E.		The MPP leverages their strong alliance with PCL.	The resettlement happened within the National Housing Policy's framework.	1







Tmey and Phnom Bat were designed with no provision of public spaces at all: as series of rectangular units, or plots, within an orthogonal grid of distribution roads. The underused public building provided by Australian Aid in Trapeang Anchhanh Tmey, the football pitches in Andong Tmey, and the series of public spaces in Borei Santepheap II represent exceptions to such trend. In the latter case, however, most public open spaces look like giant leftovers (which I interpreted as camp-like spatialities because the lack of care remarks an overall exclusionary and somewhat forgotten condition of BSII) and the central market spaces have undergone a strong privatisation process, with the conversion of many commercial units into residential spaces.

Although the fear of criminality and violence is less prominent on the relocation sites, the use of fences for security purposes is widespread in Borei Santepheap II and Trapeang Anchhanh Tmey, i.e. on those relocation sites characterised by the co-presence of poor (relocated) households and middle-class households. In Phnom Bat, despite widespread poverty, the use of fences built through makeshift materials, as I show in Figure 7.64 (colour blue), represents, simultaneously, a means of security against theft and a basic form of identifying one's ownership of a plot of land. I identify therefore the use of fences as a gated-community-like dynamic. Evidence from the interviews showed a major problem in the everyday violent behaviour of men due to alcohol abuse, sparking off dynamics of exclusion (camp-like dynamics) at the household level.

The analysis shows also other camp-like dynamics emerging across all relocation sites. In Borei Santepheap II, 7NG ultimately retains the housing ownership title over the relocated households' units: this has generated an exclusionary and depoliticising action for the households, that complain for being subjugated by such form of control. In Tang Khiev, Manna4Life – despite working toward opening up and repoliticising the site (as I explore below) - has framed its actions around Christian values, undermining to an extent the religious and cultural background of the households. In Trapeang Anchhanh Tmey, the overall relocation processes happened de facto through the suspension of ADB's policy, resulting in an exclusionary condition for the railway evictees. In Tuol Sambo Tmey, the saving scheme by Caritas has put financial and psychological strain over several households, preventing them to an extent from the possibility of rebuilding livelihoods and social networks on site. In Phnom Bat, the disproportionate amount of power held by one household, after the flawed implementation of a process of participatory design, has created exclusionary dynamics within the settlement. In Andong Tmey, the relocation from the adjacent Andong Chas settlement was reduced to a merely quantitative and technical problem, with no attention at all to the social and cultural capitals of the relocated households.

7.5.2. Answering RQ2: Phnom Penh's relocation sites as emancipating from the production of the fenced city

In spite of the overwhelming presence of gated-community-like and camp-like dynamics, the analysis below remarks how some practices actually manage to emancipate from the production of the fenced city: opening up the space of the relocation sites (practices highlighted in yellow, in the Figures 7.60 to 7.65); decommodifying such sites (practices highlighted in orange); repoliticising such sites and the actions of their populations (practices highlighted in red).

In Borei Santepheap II, the provision of incremental housing for the households relocated from both Dey Krahorm and Boeung Kak is a practice entailing a level of both decommodification and repoliticisation. As for the former, it is important to notice how units have been provided for free, through subsidies coming from the market sale of 80% of the built fabric: a process of commodification of a piece of marginal urban land has therefore allowed the decommodification of the provision of housing for the poor. As for the latter, the incremental design allowed households to expand their units according to their needs, aspirations and economic possibilities, de facto entailing the possibility for households empowerment. The same incremental design, used in the rest of the settlement, has de facto contributed to open the site, enticing newcomers with the flexibility of the housing stock and the potential of opening up businesses on the ground floors.

The incremental approach to housing used in Tang Khiev has succeeded thanks to the joint effort of Manna4Life and the local community: the households actively contributed to the design of the units, in so doing repoliticising the housing discourse. Such an approach has also decommodified the process of construction through the design of budget-conscious units, made of locally available materials and assembled by the community itself. The housing upgrading was made possible also by the establishment of saving groups – which definitely contributed to the overall repoliticisation of the settlement – and of economic activities, which opened up the settlement toward a wider network of actors, thanks also to the networking activities carried on by Manna4Life. In Phnom Bat, the housing process – although inspired by the one implemented in Tang Khiev – can be said to be a decommodified one, but could not repoliticise the settlement's population (as seen above) nor open up the settlement, which is still strongly isolated.

The units designed and provided by Caritas in Tuol Sambo Tmey benefit of an incremental design, too, which gives room for the households to expand the internal space through the construction of a mezzanine. This, again, entails a level of openness toward possible new

individuals or activities that could be hosted in the unit. Caritas also tried to repoliticise the settlement through activities aimed at reinforcing the organisational level of the community. In the same fashion, softening the thresholds between HIV-affected and non-affected households, Friends NGO has worked with vulnerable individuals and children to give them back a voice in the settlement's decision-making process. Importantly, the activities of Friends NGO introduced also a dimension of openness and decommodification in Tuol Sambo Tmey, as they expose the reality of the settlement to a much wider network of actors (and potential donors), and in a not-for-profit fashion, provide the dwellers with capacity- and skills-building activities.

In Andong Tmey, the availability of housing units opened the settlement to newcomers – though these are de facto forcedly displaced populations, as in the case of former Borei Keila's households. Paradoxically, the intervention of PCL in Andong Tmey has brought back a level of community organisation (and consequent repoliticisation) in Andong Chas settlement, with many households refusing to leave the units they had self-built and contrasting the obsolescing narrative developed by PCL and the MPP.

In Trapeang Anchhanh Tmey, a repoliticising dynamic has been sparked off by the establishment of saving groups, often meeting in the public building provided by Australian-Aid. Saving groups represent a form of decommodification of the settlement upgrading process, as allowing households not to depend on microfinance institutions to fund the establishment of income-generating activities. The abandonment of plots, paradoxically, guarantees a degree of openness to the settlement, as middle-class newcomers are slowly populating the site (as seen, however, such dynamic have fostered the emergence of gated-community-like and camp-like conditions). The work of Holt Korea Children's Services on the site has fostered openness toward a wider network of actors and helped to reconnect the older and newer halves of Trapeang Anchhanh Tmey, along with providing for free welfare programmes for children, single mothers, and people with special needs. STT, finally, has published a report on Trapeang Anchhanh Tmey's displaced households' housing stories, which has increased the exposure of the settlement toward a national and international audience, resulting in a level of repoliticisation.

7.6. CHAPTER SUMMARY

After exploring cycles of modernisation and obsolescence in Phnom Penh as a whole and in Borei Keila, this chapter focused on the most tangible outcomes of such dynamics: forced displacements and the consequent production of relocation sites in the periurban area of

Phnom Penh. Through the navigation of six relocation sites, I showed how the spectrum of relocation sites' in Phnom Penh is a very heterogeneous one – and how significant differences can be found in terms of land, housing and service provisions, regimes of tenure, design and construction of the units, size of the settlement and distance from the centre. I concentrated on the urban design and governmental dimensions of such new urbanities, showing how relocation sites are designed, built and managed as highly controllable urban ensembles. At the same time, I showed how relocation sites are already characterised by obsolescing dynamics such as abandonment and ruination of their built fabric, and an overall sense of failure and despair felt by their inhabitants. I concluded the chapter with the analysis of the design practices shaping relocation sites in their everyday life, showing the co-presence of, one side, gated-community-like and camp-like dynamics and, on the other side, opening, decommodifying and repoliticising dynamics.

8. CONCLUSIONS

This research has aimed to investigate the intrinsic ambivalence of urban obsolescence. It did so asking two research questions [see Figure 1.10 above]:

RQ1: what are those design practices that, emerging in obsolescing urbanisms, partake into the production of the fenced city?

RQ2: what are those design practices that, emerging in obsolescing urbanisms, emancipate from the production of the fenced city?

I aimed to question and contest the current sheer division between, on one side, literature understanding obsolescence as solely contributing to the production of exclusionary and capital-driven urbanisms, and, on the other side, literature defining obsolescence as liberating, resisting and emancipating from such production.

Below, I discuss the findings presented in chapter 5, 6, 7, reflecting on the ambivalence of the obsolescing urbanisms encountered in Phnom Penh, and questioning their actual potential for emancipation. I then elaborate on the original contributions of this research, on its limitations, and on directions for further research.

8.1. THE AMBIVALENCE OF URBAN OBSOLESCENCE: DRAWING CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the empirical data presented in sections 5.5, 6.8 and 7.5 has shown how all the grounds of investigations are marked by the co-presence of oppressive and emancipatory dynamics. The research findings show, therefore, how it would be very reductive, in Phnom Penh, to speak of obsolescing urbanisms as either solely partaking into the process of production of the fenced city, or solely emancipating from it. Rather, the obsolescing fenced archetypes – ruins, interstices, margins, voids – blend with those constituting the multifarious landscape of fenced urbanism, i.e. with the camp and the gated community.

8.1.1. Obsolescence and gated-community-like dynamics

Phnom Penh's ruins, interstices, margins, voids, present, to different extents, gated-community like dynamics: phenomena of security-obsession, privatisation, commodification, fetishization, icnisation.

The emergence of dynamics of security-obsession has affected all the grounds of investigation, leading also to the emergence of an aesthetics of securitisation made of reinforced gates, lockers, fences of any materiality – from concrete and barbed wire to lightweight materials. Security measures within Phnom Penh's urban voids involve also the use of private guards, CCTVS, checkpoints – not differently from the gated communities, satellite cities and *borei* developments I explored in chapter 5 (page 160). Within urban margins, interstices, ruins, I showed how the use of physical fences, locks and reinforced gates was a tangible expression of a concern for criminality and, in the case of middle-class housing (along the Railway, in Borei Santepheap II, in Trapeang Anchhanh Tmey), of a desire of separation from the adjacent poor households.

Fences have been used to privatise spaces, too, either formally (in the sub-leased plots in Dey Krahorm and Borei Keila) or informally, in the occupation of otherwise common spaces on the White Building's ground floor and of part of the public spaces in Phnom Bat. In a similar fashion, the housing units along the Railway settlements can be understood as a form of privatisation and commodification of an otherwise unused infrastructural space.

The same can be said for dynamics of commodification, as land, housing, services have been – in all sites, though to different extents – turned into commodities. Urban voids are created with the sole purpose of profiting from the redevelopment of urban land; urban ruins are under threat for the same reason and show, at the same time (as interstices do), how their complex socio-spatial fabric is born out of profit-driven informal transactions, often involving bribing mechanisms. Similar informal transactions contribute to commodify the map of most urban margins. Amongst these, the case of Borei Santepheap II was significant because it was designed as a profit-driven operation to commodify urban land.

Dynamics of fetishization have emerged, too. In Borei Santepheap II, Trapeang Anchhanh Tmey, and along the Railway, where middle-class households designed their façades as an ostentation of a status. In Borei Keila's informal settlement and at the White Building, as forms of ruin porn. In the profit-driven redevelopment of Borei Keila and Dey Krahorm, where some of the new buildings attempt to rise as icons.

Not only, therefore are obsolescing urbanisms entrapped in cycles of creative destruction occurring at the urban scale. Not only are their land and resources constantly and increasingly commodified in order to liberate new wealth. Rather, my analysis shows how ruin, interstices, margins and voids configure to an extent as gated-community-like spatialities, revealing the same dynamics, though articulated in an *ordinary* fashion, of the same dynamics that characterise the grand narrative of urban transformation in Phnom Penh – its satellite cities and gated communities, iconic skyscrapers, *borei* developments.

The dimension of land, in particular, has shown to be prominent in the process of production and reproduction of commodifying and exclusionary dynamics, at multiple scales: from 'big' urban design processes such as the ones leading to the eviction of Dey Krahorm's and Borei Keila's informal settlements, to 'micro-' transactions of plots along the Railway and on all relocation sites. As explained in chapter 5, the legal and policy framework has been instrumental in supporting such processes of commodification: since 1979, with the introduction of the 'dey samaki' policy (see chapter 5, page 147), which paradoxically resulted in boosting informal transactions of land, to the current Land Law (RGC, 2001), which has been critiqued as an instrument deliberately favouring capital accumulation in the form of urban land, through the category of State Private Land and the instrument of the Economic Land Concession. This research has contributed to overcome the dichotomic perspective (Springer, 2011b, 2012, 2015b) seeing on one side, Cambodian elites as agents in the commodification of land and, on the other side, a multitude of urban poor facing eviction, as unable to prove lawful possession of their plots. While such process certainly occurs and is legitimised by the Land Law, I showed how urban poor populations themselves have been agents in the commodification of obsolescing urbanisms and their resources. Further, I showed how, in the case of Borei Keila's land-sharing, the Social Land Concession mechanisms has been used as a tool for the depoliticisation of the poor (achieving pacification through the provision of housing), rather than for their empowerment (see also: Talocci and Boano, 2018) - below I elaborate further on forms of depoliticisation within obsolescing urbanisms.

8.1.2. Obsolescing urbanisms and camp-like dynamics

Not only policy and legal frameworks contribute to the dispossession and ultimate destruction of obsolescing urbanisms in Phnom Penh, but also discourses of urban failure and blight, overlapping to accusations of illegality, anarchism, lack of basic health conditions. It is this very rhetoric that first and foremost constitutes obsolescing urbanisms in Phnom Penh as camp-like

spatialities – through the condemnation of their social and spatial fabrics, and their construction as *others*, *unwanted*.

Camp-like conditions are often created deliberately through the purposeful socio-spatial isolation of such urbanisms, which are denied the possibility of thriving and upgrading. While these urbanisms – which I defined as *ruined* and *interstitial* ones – get cleansed and turned into urban *voids*, a multitude of urban *margins* are artificially created in the form of relocation sites – the latter being the most tangible manifestation of dynamics of dispossession, exclusion and creative destruction happening at the urban scale. Reinforcing the contemporary relevance of the Foucaultian (1995) paradigms of modern management, the *plague* and the *leprosy* (see chapter 2, page 47), obsolete spaces are isolated beyond fences, hidden within interstices, controlled through the joint action of developers and (often bribed) local authorities. Further, obsolescing urbanisms replicate logics of exclusion within their perimeters, being often unwelcoming toward newcomers, or becoming the breeding, contested, ground for hostilities between different groups to arise, as I showed in all the grounds of investigation.

In this sense, obsolescing urbanisms are gears of a wider biopolitical dispositif whereby urban subjects behave as they ought, where their conduct is highly controlled by the presence of mechanisms of surveillance (the watchdogs in Borei Keila for instance), of supposedly philanthropic institutions (for instance Caritas-Cambodia in Tuol Sambo Tmey and the way it promotes saving groups), of policies that build upon their own suspension (as in the Railway Rehabilitation Project), of ambiguities in the issues of land and housing titles (as in Borei Keila's new housing for the poor and all relocation sites). Obsolescence can therefore be understood as one furher factor in the overall reduction of urban politics to sole issues of management of the urban transformation: through the condemnation of obsolescing urbanisms as disorderly and violent ones, through denying their populations the issueing of 'full' land and housing titles, through 'divide and rule' tactics aimed to annihilate any forms of bottom-up organisation.

Divide-and-rule strategies have proved to be, across all the grounds of investigation, probably the most effective means to depoliticise forms of resistance and organisation of urban poor groups. In its most basic and perhaps subtle form, a divide-and-rule strategy entails, simply, to define a set of beneficiaries of a process of urban transformation, for instance in a case of slum upgrading. Naming a series of assignees in the land-sharing process of Borei Keila meant to create a conflict amongst poor households on the site, with the assignees no longer in the position of supporting the claims of the excluded households. The same mechanism was successfully applied in Borei Santepheap II and Tuol Sambo Tmey, with non-eligible households eventually relocated to, respectively, Tang Khiev and Tuol Sambo. Or, in a reversed logic, in Andong, with the households targeted as eligible for the new housing in

Andong Tmey that did not want to relocate – and the rest of the settlement that could not support their struggle, fearing PCL and the MPP. In such a desolating picture, I discuss, in the following two sub-sections, emancipatory practices in their potential to be truly open and accessible to a multiplicity of urban poor.

8.1.3. Obsolescing urbanisms and emancipatory dynamics

In the previous chapters I showed how a series of design practices contributed to open, decommodify and repoliticise Phnom Penh's obsolescing urbanisms, emancipating from the patterns of production of the fenced city. In my analysis, however, any form of emancipation has emerged as an interstitial or marginal one, in the midst of camp-like and gated-community-like dynamics, as shown in the previous two sub-sections.

Such observation applies also to the few practices that succeeded across the three dimensions of openness, decommodification, repoliticisation. These are:

- the work of Empowering Youth Cambodia, both in the White Building and along the Railway settlements, successfully opening up the realities of the Building and the Railway, establishing new not-for-profit uses in otherwise underused spatialities, repoliticising such urbanisms' youth through education and training activities;
- in the same fashion, the activities of Amny School and of People Improvement Organisation in Borei Keila;
- the project Open Photography Cambodia, that, although limited in time, successfully managed to open up the reality of the White Building, exposing both its monumental history and conflictive present to a a wider international reality; to decommodify the aesthetics of the Building, celebrating its ruined character through participatory photography workshops; to give voice to the workshops' participants, exposing their narratives and stating their relevance and uniqueness;
- the establishment of community organisations along the Railway and the activities of networking amongst those done by Community Management Development Partnership: through such networking activities, the Railway settlements become a truly 'open' space, allowing circulation of knowledge, capacity building and organisational momentum. The resistances to the Rehabilitation Project are in so doing repoliticised, and discussions over the spatial upgrading of their settlements are decommodified, feeding upon local expertise;

- in Tang Khiev, the design and construction of self-built housing and shared facilities, and the promotion of networking events, all facilitated by Manna4Life. Such activities did manage to open an otherwise marginal settlement toward its wider surroundings, to decommodify the production of housing, to empower households through a series of collectively designed and implemented economic activities;
- the work of Friends NGO in Tuol Sambo Tmey, able to populate an otherwise underused public space with a series of not-for-profit activities geared toward building capacities for the settlements' inhabitants; to empower households thanks to enhanced possibilities of building a livelihood; to open up the settlement exposing its reality throughout the NGOs' restaurants and venues in the city centre.

I showed how the agency of the above practices is confined within the boundaries of their locales, and isunable to scale up — although EYC and PIO work in multiple localities, and the action of CMDP impacted multiple sites along the Railway settlement. Evidence from the interviews with such organisations shows that such difficulty in scaling up is mostly due to a lack of financial and human resources, rather than to the lack of a vision. However, the director of EYC did state that "we cannot and do not want to do much in terms of networking with other organisations, even if these are working in the education sector like we do. It is the responsibility of the Ministry of Education to provide a comprehensive approach to education in the country. We do not want to replace the Ministry, we are there to fill the gaps they leave".³⁰³

In such a statement, the action of EYC seems to confirm having an interstitial or marginal character *by design*. It is such deliberate, quasi-natural, limitation of such practices to be at the same time liberating and frustrating. If gated-community-like and camp-like dynamics affect obsolescing urbanisms too, the emancipatory dynamics I identified do not manage, conversely to counter the production of the fenced city. Obsolescing urbanisms in Phnom Penh are certainly spaces of dialogue (Dobraszczyk, 2014), but such dialogue is constantly affected, hampered, by strongly uneven power relations.

Such unevenness leads to question that literature (de Solà-Morales Rubió, 1995a; Careri, 2002; Nicolas-le Strat, 2007; Tonnelat, 2008; Gandy, 2012; Berruete, 2013; Dillon, 2014; F. Anderson, 2015; Smith, 2015) that attempts to celebrate ruins, interstices, voids, margins for their heterogeneity and multivocality. Fragments and traces of a lost and supposedly inclusive urbanity (Edensor, 2005b; Viney, 2014; Harbison, 2015) are certainly identifiable within obsolescing urbanisms, as reminders of a history that has been half-erased (Harbison, 2015). However, the dynamics of transformation of Phnom Penh's obsolescing urbanisms exemplify

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³⁰³ Interview 45.

how the other half of such history is being widely written by powerful urban actors, able to seize control over those spatialities.

In such an apparently gloomy picture, however, it is important to remark how obsolescing urbanisms do still act as receptacles for a series of marginal and interstitial realities, allowing a multitude of temporary and informal uses, juxtaposing programmes that would otherwise be incompatible with one another, in a heterotopic fashion. In spite of the presence of camp-like and gated-community-like dynamics, therefore, obsolescing urbanisms should still be considered as places where and from which cross-scalar and cross-dimensional alliances can be planned and traced (Gandy, 2012), as sites for radical possibilities (Hooks, 1990). I reflect on such potentials in the following sub-section.

8.1.4. Emancipation as profanation? Interrogating the potential for destituent politics and coming communities

In this research, I defined emancipation (chapter 1, page 36) as a condition of liberation from the spatial and governmental constraints of the fenced city – later in the thesis understood as camp-like and gated-community-like dynamics. I showed above how, within Phnom Penh's obsolescing urbanisms, emancipatory practices do emerge, but always configure as marginal and interstitial ones, not managing to scale up nor to counter the production of the fenced city.

Reflecting on such constraint, I question here the idea of emancipation with Agamben's concept of *profanation* (Agamben, 2007, 2009b) – as the act that can return a *sacralised* object to the free use of men: in the case of this research, as the act that can return the urban realm to the free use of all its inhabitants. For Agamben (Agamben, 2007, 2009b), profanation represents a form of negligence toward the *religio* of the dispositif's norms. Agamben reconstructs the etymology of the term *religio*, suggesting it does not derive from the Latin *religare* (the binding together of the human and the divine) but, rather, from *relegere*, a verb that "indicates the stance of scrupulousness and attention that must be adopted in relations with the gods, the uneasy hesitation [...] before norms – and formulae – that must be observed in order to respect the separation between the sacred and the profane" (*ibid.:*75). Hence, adopting Agamben's etymology in the correct manner, *religio*, in the first instance, refers to "that which removes things, places, animals, or people from common use and transfers them to a separate sphere" (Agamben, 2007, p. 74). Negligence, in this instance, would translate into "an entirely

inappropriate use (or, rather, reuse) of [the norms]: namely, play" (Agamben, 2007, p. 75). ³⁰⁴ Do the practices that I defined as opening, decommodifying, repoliticising ones actually play with the spatial and governmental dimensions of the urban dispositif?

As for the spatial dimensions, it is possible to answer questioning whether such play happens, for instance, through establishing new uses of space, reactivating old infrastructures or public spaces or building them anew, creating spaces for economies and cultures to grow and meet, establishing new landmarks, repoliticising housing. The activities of EYC in both the Railway and the White Building, and of Amny and PIO schools in Borei Keila, reappropriated otherwise unused and privatised spaces for the sake of establishing new uses that were publicly accessible, not depending on profit, and aimed to foster culture and education: such spaces acted also as new infrastructures for encounter, and rose as landmarks of such locales. OPC contributed to resignify the White Building as landmark, celebrating its aesthetics and current uses and politics. CMDP acted as infrastructure for fostering alliances and connection across several localities in the Railway. The same can be said for the work of Manna4Life in Tang Khiev, which initially focused on repoliticising the housing process, using local materials and expertises while creating new public spaces, with which the inhabitants of the settlement could feel identified – as well as Friends NGO did in Tuol Sambo Tmey.

As for the governmental dimensions of the urban dispositif, relevant questions revolve around whether such emancipatory practices can actually emerge in-between policies, rules, norms and structures of power, contesting existing discourses and engendering alternative ones. In answering such questions, Agamben's (2014) idea of *destituent* politics is particularly useful. For the author, constituent powers are those that overthrow the Law through insurrectional violence: those that – to use the terminology of this thesis – erase an existing dispositif and replace it with a new one. For Agamben (2014, p. 69), indeed, "[a] power that was only just overthrown by violence will rise again in another form, in the incessant, inevitable dialectic between constituent power and constituted power, violence which makes the law and violence that preserves it." Conversely, destituent powers centre around the deactivation of the existing governmental dispositifs: in the framework of this research, around opening, de-commodifying,

³⁰⁴ It is important to notice how, for Agamben, negligence in the form of play does not erase the sacred dimension, but puts it at a different use. Drawing on the work of Emile Benveniste, Agamben (2007) emphasises the close connection between play and the sacred, stating that everything pertaining to play once pertained to the realm of the sacred. Such is the case, for instance, of many games, which originally derive from religious ceremonies, rituals, and practices: ball games come from myths associated with the gods fighting for possession of the sun, games of chance bear the marks of oracular practices, the chessboard was once an instrument of divination, and so on. Playing with these practices of ceremonies and rituals, turning them into games, allows a new and free use that is no longer tied to their origins in the sacred sphere (see also: Boano and Talocci, 2014a).

repoliticising existing fences while avoiding new camp-like and gated-community-like dynamics to emerge.

It is important to remark, however, how opening, de-commodifying and repoliticising actions should be directed towards all those subjects having an interest in the transformation of an urbanism. Forms of empowerment targeting specific groups, otherwise, might lead to the emergence of new exclusionary and disenfranchising dynamics toward other subjects, i.e. toward the creation of a new dispositif and its new, constituent, politics. In such sense, the concept of *coming community* (Agamben, 1993) is useful to represent an idea of theoretical and ideal openness. Agamben speaks of a coming community as a community that will embrace new forms of singularity without identity, and will be "free of any essential condition of belonging, common destiny or work, or principle of inclusion and exclusion – a being together of existences" (Whyte, 2010, p. 3). Originally developed as the response to the work of other authors (Blanchot, 1988; Nancy, 1991) on the idea of a community immune to exclusion, isolation, discrimination, violence, abandonment, the coming community is theoretically open to *whatever being* (Agamben, 1993). *Whatever* is used as the literal translation of the Latin *quodlibet*, that Agamben (1993, p. 1) interprets as "being such that it always matters".

Do the above practices establish destituent politics and coming communities? While coping with limited resources, EYC, PIO, AMNY aim to open their activities to all the households of a certain locale. CMDP's action across the Railway aimed to empower all the existing community-based organisations. Friends NGO and Manna4Life's activities targeted all households in, respectively, Tuol Sambo Tmey. Such activities definitely establish new modes of politics that – although not managing to scale up, as explained above – are indicative of an attempt to play with the governmental dimensions of the dispositifs: emerging in spite of exclusionary policies, establishing new norms and rules, contributing to the formation of alternative discourses. The same could not be said for activities such as Licadho's in Borei Keila, that proved to be eventually divisive and entrapped in the existing discourses.

I therefore posit that forms of coming community and destituent politics already exist, *in nuce*, within the contemporary city's obsolescing urbanisms – in presence of open, de-commodified, and repoliticised practices. Such practices, which can therefore be defined as emancipatory ones, profane the spatial and governmental dispositifs of the fenced city, enacting communities that transcend belonging, attempting to make all subjects matter (to make *whatever* voice heard), establishing new modes of politics.

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 $^{^{305}}$ Instead of the traditional translation "being, it does not matter which" (1993, p. 1).

It is relevant to highlight how, for Agamben (2007), the act of profanation is not a one-way avenue: as every object can be made sacred once again, a supposedly *profaned* fenced city can become again a breeding ground for camp-like and gated-community-like dynamics. While in the previous section I questioned the capacity of opening, de-commodifying and repoliticising practices to scale up, I must here ask, therefore, whether these can be sustained over time. The activities listed above have all been – with the exception of the OPC experience in the White Building – long term efforts: their possibly permanent character, however, is put under threat by the precarious conditions of the urbanisms where they occur. Such urbanisms are prone to disappear (as it has already happened to the White Building) and to undergo exclusionary dynamics of transformation because of financial pressures over land and housing. Moreover, the very marginality and interstitiality of such experiences mean that their impact and effect is hampered by the availability of resources and their capacity to struggle with more powerful stakeholders. How to sustain over time, therefore, such emancipatory practices? How to design a city that is *ungovernable* (Agamben, 2009b; Heron, 2011), i.e. able to emancipate from all dispositifs and to remain as such?

The practices that, above, I discussed as emancipatory ones, are therefore not to be understood as harbingers of a possible future open, decommodified, repoliticised urban realm. Rather, following the projective epistemology of this research, such practices should be read as opportunities for design capitalisation, as strongholds for designing a city open to whatever being, free from the tyranny of capital-driven development, repoliticised. In section 8.4. below, I will expand this argument elaborating upon directions for further research, connecting the idea of coming community to a more recent work by Agamben, *The Highest Poverty – Monastic Rules and Form-of-Life* (Agamben, 2013), and its idea of conceiving a life which can never be object of property, but only of common use.

8.2. ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

8.2.1. Contributions to the urban studies debate on the proliferation of fenced urbanisms

In chapter 2 I explored the current transdisciplinary debate in urban studies, highlighting how the archetypes of the gated community and the camp can be considered as the spatial and governmental formations characterising the contemporary fenced city. The research findings have shown how gated-community-like and camp-like dynamics emerge also in those urbanisms that – from a shallower look – would instead seem to eschew them. Phnom Penh's

ruins, interstices, margins and voids are, therefore, not only by-products of the process of transformation of the fenced city but rise as partaking into nowadays' fenced condition.

At the same time, the reserch questioned whether obsolescing urbanisms could be understood as emancipatory ones. The research showed how those practices that are understood to open up, de-commodify, repoliticise the reality of such urbanisms are de facto condemned to a marginal or interstitial existence: they show indeed an inability to scale up and a difficulty to sustain their agency over time.

Obsolescing urbanisms, therefore, cannot be defined as solely partaking into the production of the fenced city, or as solely emancipating from it. Both conditions were present, in all grounds of investigation, at the same time, showing how any attempt to explain the urban reality through the use of univocal archetyps would necessarily encounter shortcomings and lead to simplifications. The introduction of a series of obsolescing archetypes, which embody themselves the potential for both oppression and emancipation, wants to set as a contribution to the current urban studies debate: it is indeed conducive to question the grand narratives of the fenced city, to acknowledge inevitable cracks in its spatial and governmental dynamics, and to state the inevitable ambivalence of such cracks.

Showing how the literature on urban obsolescence and the one on informality overlap to a great extent, the research shows the necessity to surpass the 'medieval' understanding of the contemporary city proposed by Alsayyad and Roy (2006): the figures of 'regulated squatter settlement', the camp, and the gated community are no longer sufficient to make the contemporary city intelligible. I suggest therefore an epistemological shift, in order to see obsolescence and obsolescing dynamics as immanent to the fenced city, and present anywhere.

8.2.2. Contributions: methodology

Inspired by a series of works (Weizman, 2010; Aggregate Group, 2012; Boano, 2017) thriving on a similar methodology, this research has stressed the need of looking at urban transformation processes from a twofold governmental and urban design perspective. The research understood fences as spatial and governmental artefacts and used, accordingly, a series of spatial and governmental categories to deconstruct the functioning of such fences. In so doing, I have loosely re-elaborated a classical urban design approach to urban analysis: I have come up with a series of spatial categories that were mindful of my perspective on the contemporary city — as an ensemble of *obsolescing* fenced urbanisms — and of an

understanding of urban design as spatial political economy (Cuthbert, 2006). In a similar fashion, I embraced the understanding of dispositif as a prone-to-obsolesce network-like formation (Legg, 2011), and come up with a series of governmental categories, drawing on the original definition by Foucault (1980).

From an urban design perspective, this approach has proved particularly powerful in the understanding of complex dynamics of urban transformation, and especially useful once acknowledging the necessity of an expanded definition of design (Boano, 2014): if 'design' encompasses a complex set of formal and informal acts, that contribute to building, imagining, strategising, organising, controlling the city and its environments, then there is no possibility but to embrace such complexity, in its spatial (political economic) and governmental dimensions. All the design practices that I questioned as possibly emancipatory ones, prove the importance of expanding the understanding of whom a designer is – looking at experiences of transformation led by community-based organisations, NGOs, local authorities, activists. Such reflection offers a contribution to the current debate on the social turn of architecture and urban design (Fuad-Luke, 2009; Awan, Schneider and Till, 2011; Schneider, 2013; Boano and Talocci, 2014b, 2017):

From a governmental perspective, the use of theory has been fundamental in understanding and stressing "the transversal heterogeneity of the social practices, institutions, policy and norms" constituting an urban ensemble (Schmid, Stanek and Moravánszky, 2015, p. 16). I started from Foucault's (1980, 2004) understanding of power as circulating in a net-like structure, and overlapped such understanding to a biopolitical perspective (Foucault, 1975, 1991, 2007) over the city and its polity. I believe that an original contribution of this research lies in putting such biopolitical perspective directly in connection with the possibility of emancipation from the spatial and governmental dispositifs of the fenced city. The conclusions above show how framing the idea of emancipation within further theory - within the ideas of profanation (Agamben, 2007), coming community (Agamben, 1993) and destituent politics (Agamben, 2014) – allows to recalibrate the way we think about a possible alternative to the current reality, about the emergence of possible new worlds (Whyte, 2010). In this regard, this research sets as contribution to the debate started by those works (Lahiji, 2016; Boano, 2017) that have framed the possibility of an emancipatory architecture within an Agambenian critique to the current stage of capitalist development and to the exclusionary dynamics of the present society.

In chapter 4 (page 99), I questioned the opportunity and appropriateness of using Western theory to understand a context belonging to the so-called Global South. I think that the use of the dispositif as a spatial-governmental ontological lens, has proved to be extremely powerful

in the analysis of situation whereby certain urbanisms develop as subaltern ones – whereby political 'Souths' are constantly reproduced and marginalised, in Phnom Penh and possibly in other cities of South-East Asia and beyond. This research methodological framework, however, certainly does not bear any claim of universality: its application in other cities and contexts would definitely entail adjustments in terms of the definition of the urban transformation archetypes, and of the spatial and governmental dimensions that are apt to deconstruct the transformation process and the narratives and agendas of its actors. Its vocabulary, above all, has to be questioned, and should be refined and mobilised in a dialogue with local actors as the terms 'gated-community', 'camp', 'ruin' (at least) are not necessarily intelligible nor meaningful at the local level. Below (page 421) I discuss paths for future research in Phnom Penh, that should be developed starting precisely from such conversation.

8.2.3. Contributions to the regional debate

Paraphrasing Robinson (2005), the fundamental assumption of this research has been that fencing and obsolescing dynamics of the contemporary city occur in both Northern and Southern cities, through different though comparable mechanisms. Such assumption allowed me to build a methodological framework to study Phnom Penh drawing from literature, theory and design research experiences appeared in contexts across North and South.

I attempted to address the literature gaps that I identified in the literature on Phnom Penh, searching for a middle-ground between the narratives focusing solely, on one side, on the the emergence of a neoliberal urban landscape (Paling, 2012b; Percival and Waley, 2012) and, on the other side, on the dispossessions caused by the increasing accumulation of wealth in the form of urban land (Springer, 2011b, 2012, 2015b), following the introduction of neoliberal policies. Showing how obsolescing archetypes present gated-community-like and camp-like conditions, I highlighted that it is impossible to speak of Phnom Penh in a dichotomic fashion, as a city made, on one side, of capital-driven, spectacular and exclusionary developments and, on the other side, impoverished though apparently *open* urbanisms. Rather, processes of commodification, dispossession, exclusion are entangled to one another and replicate at different scales, and through the action of a multiplicity of actors. Such statement is a contribution to the debate, explored in chapters 1 and 2, on the increasingly *enclaved* nature of Asian urbanisms, and highlights the need to explore such enclaved nature using a spatial and governmental framework – able to identify dynamics of power at different scales, being exercised by actors from/to multiple directions, and across several dimensions.

At the same time, focusing on urban ruins, voids, interstices, margins, I offered a contribution to the debate on obsolescing spatialities in Asian cities, interpreting urban obsolescence as a series of cycles of creative destruction. Such interpretation allowed me to explain evictions and displacement from both a governmental perspective and a spatial political economic one, whereas thus far the debate had discussed evictions and relocations from perspectives focusing either solely on human rights (Brickell, 2014; Connell and Grimsditch, 2016) or on the disruption of the evictees' livelihoods and social networks (Chi *et al.*, 2010; McMahon, 2015).

Following Raghuram and Madge (2006), I stressed the importance, for my methodological framework, to be embedded in the power relations structuring Phnom Penh's urbanisms, and at the same time rooted in the work of research partners. In the following sub-section, I discuss the agency of my research on the work of partners.

8.3. LIMITATIONS

8.3.1. In terms of time: a long research timeframe

The research has developed over a long timeframe, which has forced me to conduct a diachronic analysis over the several grounds of investigation. In chapter 4 (page 101), I mentioned that the fieldwork occurred in December 2012 (ten days), then between May and December 2013 (eight months), and then for shorter timeframes in May 2014 (three weeks), May 2015 (four weeks), May 2016 (seventeen days).

Given Phnom Penh's fast-paced of urban transformation, the landscape of the several grounds of investigation looked different throughout the years. The White Building housing units were slowly bought by a Japanese developer, Arakawa Co., changing the social fabric I encountered during my first visit, and eventually leading to the building's demolition in January 2018. The adjacent land of Dey Krahorm, as well as the 12 hectares of land allocated for commercial development in Borei Keila, had been gradually developed – partially helping my analysis, making the transformation more intelligible. Borei Keila's illegal settlement changed rapidly, too: though already uninhabited, two more Old Buildings (B and C) were still standing in 2013, to be then demolished shortly after; Old Buildings D and F would have been demolished after the last fragment of fieldwork in 2016, but an increasing number of housing units were vacated throughout the previous years. As for Borei Keila's new housing for the poor, the empty units

of New Buildings G and H had been assigned to newcomer households by May 2016:³⁰⁶ I did not have the time to run another series of interviews, so I had to limit my investigation to the little data I gathered from other sources such as NGO workers (the same applied for the evictions targeting a number of households in the illegal settlement, all happened after May 2016).

At the same time, however, the long research timeframe was beneficial in terms of the coemergence and mutual refinement of the research methodological framework and the research fieldwork. In December 2012, and then in the early stages (May to July) of my 2013 fieldwork, I aimed to investigate obsolescing urbanisms in Phnom Penh through a spatial and governmental perspective: I did develop research methods accordingly, but the idea of the fence as paradigm had not yet coalesced fully. In a similar fashion the relationship between what in this thesis I defined as gated-community-like and camp-like spatialities had not yet been developed in dialectical terms. In the final stage (October, November) of the 2013 fieldwork, therefore, I felt 'forced' - because of the impressive amount of collected data, and the difficulties in organising it and processing it - to develop in detail the idea of fence as spatial and governmental paradigm, therefore being able to systematise data through a series of spatial and governmental dimension. Such systematisation happened only once back in London, and revealed a series of gaps that I eventually addressed in the fieldwork occurred in May 2014. Meanwhile, I had developed the idea of obsolescing fenced archetypes as example of, and exemplar for, specific trends of urban transformation: this allowed me to finalise Table 4.1 (page 111), thus clarifying which my 'main' grounds of investigation were - empirical evidence from other areas was eventually used to corroborate my argument in chapter 5. Such table highlighted the need to gather further empirical evidence on Phnom Penh's relocation sites: the fieldwork of May 2015 addressed such need. In May 2016, finally, I collected further data on those areas that in Figure 1.11 I indicated as other illustrative cases - CamKo City, Boeung Kak, Diamond Island – but also on borei and townhouses developments, having realised how their narratives would have been instrumental in grasping the complex (and somewhat ordinary) picture of a fenced Phnom Penh.

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³⁰⁶ Significantly, the safety nets suggested as a technical solution to the rubbish problem in May 2014 – by former community leaders and district authorities during a focus group discussion I held (see also chapter 6, page 275) – had actually been installed by May 2016.

8.3.2. In terms of space: significant physical distances

Other limitations arose due to the physical distance between the several grounds of investigation. Borei Keila, the White Building and Dey Krahorm were in the city centre, and close to the place where I resided (respectively 2 and 2.5 kilometres away): this allowed to organise a long series of days of fieldwork with ease. In the case of the Railway settlements, obviously, distances varied: the closest settlements were just 1.5km away, while the farthest ones about 8 km (heading West) and 6km (heading North) away. All such territories were at a distance that was easily covered on a bicycle or motorbike: this meant I could easily go back for accessing more information, addressing doubts arising from the earlier fieldwork, and corroborating empirical materials. As for all the relocation sites, however, the picture was a completely different one. The closest one, Borei Santepheap II, was 15km away, which considering the heavy traffic - would have meant around one hour of travelling using the motorbike of my research assistant. The same could be said for Trapeang Anchhanh Tmey and Tuol Sambo Tmey, just a little farther away. Such distance meant that I could spend only a limited amount of time in such territories. While I was able to literally immerse myself in the realities of the White Building, Borei Keila, and the Railway settlements - even building an empathy with some dwellers that would recognise me and even help me when possible - my fieldwork on the relocation sites was a drier one, geared toward revealing a specific set of data in a limited amount of time. The same argument can be taken to an extreme when talking of Tang Khiev and Phnom Bat, which I was able to visit only twice each, given the 55km distance from the centre and the logistic difficulties I encountered when organising a site visit.

8.3.3. In terms of ethics: conflicts between research partners

Limitations arose from an ethical standpoint, too, because of the incompatibilities (and to a certain extent rivalries) between the multiple organisation working in the research grounds of investigation – especially between CDF/ACHR and STT. As mentioned in chapter 4 (page 103) all such non-governmental organisations follow different visions, methods and, above all, engage in different ways with public authorities: either in a collaborative fashion (as in the case of CDF and ACHR, and to an extent CMDP); or with a confrontational attitude (as for STT, Licadho, HRTF). Such incompatibilities limited the possibility for my work to contribute to open, decommodify and repoliticise the territories I investigated, hence for this research itself to configure as an emancipatory practice. In spite of my networking efforts, it was difficult to open up such territories toward new actors: the workshop in Borei Keila could not have Licadho involved, as it was organised in collaboration with CDF and ACHR; the workshop at the White

Building ran into the same issue because of the impossibility of collaboration between STT and CDF; three workshops.³⁰⁷ run by CDF/ACHR and The Bartlett Development Planning Unit, could invite members of STT only informally and only as audience in the final discussions, because of the involvement of public authorities such as the MPP and MLMUPC.³⁰⁸

Nevertheless, the abovementioned three workshops allowed to generate attention and momentum, in Phnom Penh, over people-driven processes of socio-spatial upgrading of urban poor settlements, while exposing Phnom Penh's inequalities and potentials to a cohort of international students (whose works were eventually published, gaining further exposure). Such workshops were instrumental in empowering CDF's capacity of networking with international (DPU and ACHR) and local (MLUMPC, MPP, a series of local universities) actors. Above all, the workshops generated momentum and attention over the possibility, for young architects and students of architecture, to have a say in processes of urban transformation at the citywide scale, and overall to support the cause of excluded populations. Several faculties of architecture were able to focus on a topic that lectures tend otherwise to avoid, the transformation of urban poor settlements. A series of students got involved with CAN-Cam, which received great attention and support, before quasi-dissolving in 2017, due to lack of resources. Below, discussing directions for further research in Phnom Penh, I reflect on possibilities for people-driven process to regain momentum.

8.4. DIRECTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Below, I elaborate on four possible directions for further research. Building upon my research methodology, I reason on possible future expansions from a twofold governmental and urban design perspective. From a governmental perspective – acknowledging an intrinsic openness that characterise fenced and obsolescing urbanisms – I suggest a bridge between assemblage-thinking in urbanism and the understanding of the urban realm as a dispositif. From an urban design perspective, I suggest a research on practices that, while attempting to emancipate from the fenced city, are also able to face the challenge of scaling up and to last over time, eschewing the marginal condition of the emancipatory practices I encountered in Phnom Penh. At the threshold between such two perspectives, I question the contemporary relevance of the

³⁰⁷ Workshops "Cambodia: Transformation in a time of transition", held in May 2014, May 2015, May 2016.

³⁰⁸ The MLMUPC was an official partner of the workshop in May 2015.

monument (see chapter 2, page 69) as, possibly, one further archetype of transformation of the obsolescing fenced city. Finally, I elaborate on possibilities for further research in Phnom Penh.

8.4.1. A governmental perspective: assemblage and dispositif

In chapter 4 (page 113), I recalled how Deleuze (1992) assumes assemblage and dispositif as concepts living dialectically, and how Legg (2011) partially supports the philosopher's argument the definition of assemblage indeed, as "first and foremost what keeps very heterogeneous elements together" is very close to the seminal Foucauldian (1980) definition of dispositif. For Legg, the assemblage emphasises more the *organisational* side of the dispositif.

In this research, I have used the dispositif as ontological lens to look at the city and the nature of its spatial and governmental dynamics. Brenner, Madden and Wachsmuth (2011) highlights how assemblage thinking too has been used as an alternative ontology for the city, de facto displacing the investigation of capitalist urban development and its foci (Smith, 2010; Farías, 2011; McFarlane, 2011a). Such ontological use of the assemblage concept is highly relevant for this research: the emancipation from the fenced city (see chapter 1, page 36), indeed, entails the emergence of an alternative to capitalist development. Once opened, fenced urbanisms can activate a series of connections with other urbanisms – through alliances and other forms of organisation and communication – and networks through which goods, knowledge, people travel. What is the nexus between assemblage-thinking and thinking through a dispositif? How do governmental dynamics overlap, build upon, or are expression of network-like organisational structures?

A research bridging the literature gap between urban governmental studies and assemblage-thinking in urbanism could be conducive to uncover further those neglected dimensions of capitalist urbanisation that, according to Brenner, Madden and Wachsmuth (2011) can be brought to the fore when assemblage-thinking is used also as a method (McFarlane, 2009, 2011b; Baker and Mcguirk, 2017).

8.4.2. Between governmental studies and urban design: the monument as yet another archetype in the transformation of the fenced city?

In chapter 2, drawing from Sklair (2005, 2006), I traced a distinction between icons and monuments. Differently from the icon, which remains alien to the surrounding urban fabric, the

monument configures as a familiar and intelligible artefact, aimed to actualise a consensus, sought by a highly centralised power – be this the State, or more generally a recognisable religious or political institution.

Lefebvre (1991) highlights how the Latin word *monumentum* comes from the verb *monere*, and translates literally with 'something that reminds' or 'that warns'. Monuments assumes therefore, often, a phallic aspect, creating a space whose symbolism is repressive and authoritarian, expression of "a generally accepted Power and a generally accepted Wisdom" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 220).

Lefebvre's reading interestingly links the governmental reading of an urban design artefact with a semiotic interpretation of its dynamics of transformation. Although representing a strong and apparently univocal signifying operation, the monument does not have simply a *signified*, but represents rather a "horizon of meaning: a specific or indefinite multiplicity of meanings, a shifting hierarchy in which now one, now another meaning comes momentarily to the fore, by means of – and for the sake of – a particular action" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 222). For Lefebvre it is the very diversity of society to ensure that monuments – even though state-reinforcing and state-creating – will always be *polysemic*: they will always acquire multiple meanings, some of which are other than those intended. Even if born as a totalising design gesture, the monument holds therefore a repoliticising potential (Batuman, 2005).

It is therefore important to acknowledge the ambivalent character of monuments – on one side born as totalising urban design gestures, on the other side exposed (and prone) to reappropriations by its users – and to trace a parallel with the intrinsic ambivalence of obsolescing urbanisms. Is it possible to speak of obsolescing urbanisms as monumental ones and vice-versa? The ruins I explored in this research were born out of derelict monumental ensembles: I showed how, to an extent, it was their ruination itself to create the conditions of possibility for *multivocality* to appear. Voids and interstices revealed an intrinsic multivocal character and the ability to enter collective imagination and memories, too. Urban margins, in the form of relocation sites, appeared as monumental and consensus-seeking expressions of a State or Municipal power in Phnom Penh, though at the same time being prone to obsolesce and leave space for resignifications.

A direction for further research, therefore, lies in the possibility of bridging the interdisciplinary debate on urban obsolescence, constructed in this research, with literature on monuments and big urban artefacts (Koolhaas, 1998; Aureli, 2011) and mega-projects (Díaz Orueta and Fainstein, 2008; Boano, Lamarca and Hunter, 2011). Is the monument the archetype par excellence of the current obsolescing processes of urban transformation, at the threshold

between oppression and emancipation? And how can the current practice of urban design build constructively upon such question?

8.4.3. An urban design perspective: the challenge of scale and time, and the debate on commoning practices

Above I highlighted how an important shortcoming of the practices I identified as emancipatory ones: their inability to scale up and sustain over time. The same shortcoming was identified by Brenner's (2015) in his commentary to the MoMA's exhibit *Uneven Growth: Tactical Urbanisms for Expanding Megacities* (Gadanho, 2014). The exhibit revolved around projects concerned with promoting social justice in the conception and appropriation of urban space. All projects materialised in acupunctural and immediate modes of invervention that were tackling urgent local issues, usually within a brief time horizon. Brenner criticises such projects because of their limits in addressing the engrained, structural and scalar, *wicked* problems of contemporary urbanism and growth-oriented models of development. Brenner asks whether such tactics could actually rise as alternative to the mainstream neoliberal way of development of the urban – question that is particularly relevant "in light of the stridently anti-planning rhetoric that pervades many tactical urban interventions and their tendency to privilege informal, incremental, and ad hoc mobilizations over larger-scale, longer-term, publicly financed reform programs" (Brenner, 2015, p. 1).

The practices I identified as emancipatory, configure to an extent as tactical modes of intervention: in their being specific to a certain locale, in their addressing an urgent problem of such locale, in their privileging a participatory approach. Falling though beyond the reach of formal urban planning procedures and urban design processes, such practices could result, building on Brenner (2015), in palliatives for structural urban problems that public institutions have failed to address. Recent literature on the social turn of architecture and urban design (Fuad-Luke, 2009; Awan, Schneider and Till, 2011; Schneider, 2013; Boano and Talocci, 2014b, 2017), and experiences emerging out of a so-called *critical practice* (Wigglesworth, 2006; Gamez and Rogers, 2008; Kapp, Baltazar and Morado, 2008; D'Anjou, 2011; Boano and Talocci, 2017), raises the same question and concern.

How to scale up, therefore, an emancipatory practice, and sustain its agency over time? I believe one crucial role in such a process can be played by public institutions, especially at the national level. Looking at experiences such as the one of ACHR and SDI, for instance, their

capacity to deal with public institutions is readily apparent – as seen for instance in the promotion of the land-sharing programme in Phnom Penh (chapter 5, page 156).

Such capacity, however, does not necessarily lead to emancipating from the exclusionary dynamics of the fenced city, as the examples of Borei Keila's and Dey Krahorm's land-sharing processes exemplify. Using again Agamben (2000), the state apparatus is a core element of the society of the spectacle (Debord, 1992), and therefore inevitably founded upon logics of capitalist development (Passavant, 2007). Any attempt at emancipating from the fenced city building linkages with the state apparatus is therefore a problematic one, especially in contexts such as Cambodia – whereby the State is blamed for the denial of basic human and housing rights, and for turning urban (and rural) resources into commodities. Evidence from the interviews with representatives from organisations such as Manna4Life, EYC, CMDP (but also Licadho, STT, EC) showed a substantial rejection of any possibility of collaboration with public institutions while, at the same time, emphasised the benefits of maintaning a position of marginality for their practices.

I see therefore a direction for further research in questioning how opening, decommodifying, repoliticising practices could play on the dialectical tension between a condition of marginality (hooks 1990) and a shift toward a position of centrality (Lefebvre, 2014). As explained above, such shift should not be searched in the institutionalisation of such practices: rather, it should be found in the possibility for such practices to turn into forms-of-life completely separated from the state and its laws (Agamben, 2013), and to inaugurate regimes of common use of resources, independent from logics of property and privatisation. Such research expansion would entail intersecting recent literature on the commons in the urban realm (Diacon, Clarke and Guimarães, 2005; Bradley, 2015; Bresnihan and Byrne, 2015; Enright and Rossi, 2018), with an emphasis on how such commons are conceived (designed) and governed. Commons have been seen as a strategy for eschewing the exchange value of urban resources (emphasising, rather, their use value), for opening the use of such resources to a multitude of people, for empowering groups to take ownership over the modes of managing, using and caring for such resources. Commons have been flagged as sites for experimenting postcapitalist cooperative relations, or even as sites where anti-capitalist practices of resistance take place (Squatting Europe Kollective, 1965; Enright and Rossi, 2018) - in so doing opening up, decommodifying and repoliticising urban space.

Enright and Rossi (2018), however, have emphasised how commons themselves thrive on a fundamental ambivalence, too: the commons are indeed characterised by a tension between openness and exclusion, and their very notion is in conflict with the one of 'public'. Could

commoning practices actually contrast the dynamics of production of the fenced city, rising as a sustainable alternative at scale?

8.4.4. Directions for further research in Phnom Penh

Some of the teaching activities I ran at The Bartlett Development Planning Unit³⁰⁹ built, remotely, upon my the empirical evidence of this research and on my overall experience in Phnom Penh. Students developed design projects on Phnom Penh's territories, deliberately questioning the emancipatory potential of the envisioned interventions, and questioning how to open up, de-commodify and re-politicise such territories – with a particular focus on Borei Keila's transformation.

Such projects have been shared with local partners, which, however, by now have limited agency within Borei Keila's boundaries. At the time of writing (summer 2019), CDF has undergone a profound restructuring of its organigram, while CAN-Cam's activity has significantly slowed down. There is however an interest, from both ACHR and CDF's perspectives, in giving again momentum to the experience of the Community Architects Network in Cambodia. The methodology I developed in this research – in the way it contributes to highlight potentials for design capitalisation and to understand dynamics of oppression and emancipation at multiple scales and through multiple dimensions – could be instrumental in building such momentum. I hope, in the next future, to be able to liaise with local partners and to travel again to South-East Asia to develop, along with CAN-Cam, a spatial database of 'actually existing emancipatory practices' in Phnom Penh. Such database should contribute to empower further the work of CDF/ACHR and other organisations on the design and implementation of a people-centred city-wide transformation, with a special attention for those urbanisms that I defined as obsolescing ones.

8.5. CONCLUSIVE REMARKS

In this chapter, I explained how the research configures as a threefold contribution to scholarship. The first contribution is to the current urban studies debate: the research, constructing an interdisciplinary debate on urban obsolescence, shows how obsolescence is embedded and immanent to the dynamics of production of an increasingly 'fenced' urban realm.

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³⁰⁹ Module Critical Urbanism Studio II: Designing Investigative Strategies for Contested Spaces.

Moreover, it shows how obsolescing urbanisms must be acknowledged in their ambivalence, as being shaped by dynamics that either partake or emancipate from the production of the fenced city. The second contribution is a methodological one: the research threads on a twofold governmental and urban design perspective, and deliberately embraces the use of theory as method. Not only is theory used to frame research, but also to guide it: a) through the use of the fence as paradigm, to understand obsolescing urbanisms as an ensemble of singularities and how fenced archetypes have evolved and obsolesced; b) through the use of the Foucauldian concept of dispositif, to deconstruct each fenced urbanism in its spatial and governmental dimensions; c) through framing the possibility of emancipation from the fenced city within Agamben's ideas of profanation, coming community, and destituent politics. The third contribution is to the regional debate on the proliferation of gated environments in Asian cities, and to that literature focusing on obsolescing spatialities and phenomena of dispossession. Remarking the intrinsic ambivalent nature of urban obsolescence, indeed, the research has sought to overcome the rigid dichotomy between, on one side, the emergence of a neoliberal form of urban transformation and, on the other side, such transformation's supposedly collateral effects – dispossession, displacement, contestation, dereliction.

I showed how very few practices manage to emancipate by the dynamics of production of the fenced city, i.e. to configure as practices opening, de-commodifying and re-politicising a given fenced urbanism. At the same time, hinging upon Agamben's (2007, 2009b) idea of profanation, I questioned whether such practices actually result in the emergence of destituent politics (Agamben, 2014) and coming communities (Agamben, 1993). I argued that such coming communities do exist, *in nuce*, within obsolescing urbanisms: in so doing, however, I remarked how forms of emancipation emerge as inevitably marginal and interstitial, and how their permanence is often under threat.

I therefore argued that those practices that I defined as emancipatory ones should be treated as opportunities for design capitalisation. While I reflected on the impossibility of emancipation of my grounds of investigation as a research limitation, I believe that the projective stance of this research translates into uncovering such opportunities, and I set direction for further research that could possibly capitalise on this work, in Phnom Penh or in other contexts.

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APPENDIX 1. LIST OF INTERVIEWS

no.	Where	Who	Gender	Age Date
The same of	rahorm redevelopment			10 10050015
	1 n.a.	business holder	M	40 18/05/2015
	2 n.a.	business holder	M	50 18/05/2015
	3 n.a.	business holder business holder	M	60 18/05/2015
	4 n.a. 5 n.a.	business holder	M	45 18/05/2015
	6 n.a.	business holder	F	35 18/05/2015 40 18/05/2015
	7 n.a.	business holder	M	35 18/05/2015
	7 n.a. 8 n.a.	business holder	M	50 18/05/2015
/hito	Building			
	9 Main staircase 1	Dweller	М	45 04/12/2012
	0 Main staircase 2	Dweller	F	50 04/12/2012
	1 Main staircase 3	Dweller	F	30 04/12/2012
	2 Main staircase 4	Dweller	F	60 04/12/2012
	3 Main staircase 5	Dweller	F	20 04/12/2012
14	4 Ground floor	Dweller	M	40 04/12/2012
13	5 Block A	Dweller	F	60 02/08/2013
16	6 Block A	Dweller	M	35 02/08/2013
	7 Block A	Dweller	М	60 02/08/2013
	8 Block A	Dweller	F	35 02/08/2013
	9 Block B	Dweller	F	40 02/08/2013
	0 Block B	Dweller	М	20 03/08/2013
	1 Block B	Dweller	F	30 03/08/2013
	2 Block B	Dweller	M	40 03/08/2013
	3 Block C	Dweller	M	60 03/08/2013
- 2.57	4 Block C	Dweller	M	40 03/08/2013
	5 Block C	Dweller	F	25 04/08/2013
	6 Block C	Dweller	F	20 04/08/2013
2	7 Block D	Dweller	M	40 04/08/2013
2	8 Block D	Dweller	F	30 04/08/2013
	9 Block D	Dweller	М	70 04/08/2013
3	0 Block D	Dweller	M	50 06/08/2013
	1 Block E	Dweller	F	40 06/08/2013
3	2 Block E	Dweller	М	40 06/08/2013
3	3 Block E	Dweller	F	50 06/08/2013
3	4 Block E	Dweller	F	65 06/08/2013
3	5 Block F	Dweller	M	50 07/08/2013
3	6 Block F	Dweller	F	40 07/08/2013
3	7 Block F	Dweller	M	55 07/08/2013
3	8 Block F	Dweller	M	30 07/08/2013
3	9 Ground floor	Dweller	M	60 07/08/2013
4	0 Ground floor	Dweller / Business Holder	F	50 08/08/2013
4	1 Ground floor	Dweller / Business Holder	F	40 08/08/2013
4	2 Ground floor	Dweller / Business Holder	F	50 08/08/2013
4	3 Ground floor	Dweller	M	35 08/08/2013
4	4 n.a.	STT representative		02/07/2013
4	5 n.a.	EYC representative		19/07/2013
Railwa	ay settlements			
	6 Northern end	Dweller	F	65 02/11/2013
	7 Northern end	Dweller	F	70 02/11/2013
4	8 Northern end	Dweller	F	50 02/11/2013
	9 Northern end	Dweller	M	45 02/11/2013
	0 Boeung Salang	Dweller	М	65 02/11/2013
	1 Boeung Salang	Dweller	F	70 02/11/2013
	2 Boeung Salang	Dweller	M	50 02/11/2013
	3 Boeung Salang	Dweller	M	40 03/11/2013
	4 Boeung Salang	Dweller	M	40 03/11/2013
	5 Boeung Salang	Dweller	F	50 03/11/2013
	6 Boeung Salang	Dweller	M	65 03/11/2013
	7 Boeung Salang	Dweller	М	35 03/11/2013
	8 Boeung Salang	Dweller	F	45 03/11/2013
	9 Tuol Songkae	Dweller	F	25 07/11/2013
	0 Tuol Songkae	Dweller	F	20 07/11/2013
	1 Tuol Songkae	Dweller	М	65 07/11/2013
	2 Tuol Songkae	Dweller	М	35 07/11/2013
	3 Tuol Songkae	Dweller	М	50 07/11/2013
	4 Tuol Songkae	Dweller	F	50 07/11/2013
	5 Tuol Songkae	Dweller	М	65 01/11/2013
	6 Western side of Boeung Kak	Dweller	F	50 01/11/2013
	7 Western side of Boeung Kak	Dweller	F	40 01/11/2013

68 Western side of Boeung Kak	Dweller	F	25 01/11/2013
69 Western side of Boeung Kak	Dweller	M	30 01/11/2013
70 Western side of Boeung Kak	Dweller	F	60 01/11/2013
71 Western side of Boeung Kak	Dweller	F	35 01/11/2013
72 Western side of Boeung Kak	Dweller	M	25 01/11/2013
73 Southern side of Boeung Kak	Dweller	F	40 30/10/2013
74 Southern side of Boeung Kak	Dweller	M	50 30/10/2013
75 Southern side of Boeung Kak	Dweller	F	65 30/10/2013
76 Southern side of Boeung Kak	Dweller	M	20 30/10/2013
77 Southern side of Boeung Kak	Dweller	M	
78 Southern side of Boeung Kak		F	25 30/10/2013
	Dweller	F	20 30/10/2013
79 Western end, next to factories	Dweller	133	50 06/11/2013
80 Western end, next to factories	Dweller	M	45 06/11/2013
81 Corner between North and West branches	Dweller	М	40 30/10/2013
82 Toward Hanoi Road	Dweller	М	35 06/11/2013
83 Toward Hanoi Road	Dweller	F	40 06/11/2013
84 Between RUPP and Hanoi Road	Dweller	M	50 31/07/2013
85 Between RUPP and Hanoi Road	Dweller	F	60 31/07/2013
86 Between RUPP and Hanoi Road	Dweller	F	65 31/07/2013
87 Between RUPP and Hanoi Road	Dweller	M	70 31/07/2013
88 Behind RUPP (Northern side)	Dweller	M	35 20/08/2013
89 Behind RUPP (Northern side)	Dweller	M	25 20/08/2013
90 Behind RUPP (Northern side)	Dweller	F	60 20/08/2013
91 Behind RUPP (Northern side)	Dweller	F	20 20/08/2013
92 Behind RUPP (Northern side)	Dweller	F	40 20/08/2013
93 Behind RUPP (Southern side)	Dweller	М	
- 14 CONTROL OF COLOR (COLOR COLOR C			60 30/07/2013
94 Behind RUPP (Southern side)	Dweller	М	35 30/07/2013
95 Behind RUPP (Southern side)	Dweller	F	60 30/07/2013
96 Behind RUPP (Southern side)	Dweller	М	35 30/07/2013
97 Behind RUPP (Southern side)	Dweller	F	45 30/07/2013
98 Behind RUPP (Southern side)	Dweller	M	45 30/07/2013
99 Behind RUPP (Southern side)	Dweller	F	30 30/07/2013
100 Behind RUPP (Southern side)	Dweller	M	50 29/07/2013
101 Behind RUPP (Southern side)	Dweller	M	35 29/07/2013
102 Behind RUPP (Southern side)	Dweller	M	40 29/07/2013
103 Behind RUPP (Southern side)	Dweller	F	55 29/07/2013
104 Aphiwat Trey behind RUPP	Dweller	F	60 01/08/2013
105 Aphiwat Trey behind RUPP	Dweller	M	40 01/08/2013
106 Aphiwat Trey behind RUPP	Dweller	F	50 01/08/2013
107 Aphiwat Trey behind RUPP	Dweller	M	70 01/08/2013
108 Aphiwat Tmey behind RUPP	Dweller	F	
	Dweller	F	45 01/08/2013
109 104/105 communities			55 21/08/2013
110 104/105 communities	Dweller	М	50 21/08/2013
111 104/105 communities	Dweller	F	65 21/08/2013
112 104/105 communities	Dweller	М	20 21/08/2013
113 Behind RUPP (Northern side)	Dweller	М	30 21/08/2013
114 Close to the station	Dweller	F	40 29/10/2013
115 Close to the station	Dweller	F	50 29/10/2013
116 Close to the station	Dweller	M	55 29/10/2013
117 Close to the station	Dweller	M	35 30/10/2013
118 Close to the station	Dweller	F	65 30/10/2013
119 Close to the station	Dweller	M	25 30/10/2013
120 Close to the station	Dweller	F	40 30/10/2013
121 Close to the station	Dweller	M	30 30/10/2013
122 Close to the station	Dweller	F	20 30/10/2013
123 n.a.	ADB representative		14/08/2013
124 n.a.	CMDP representative 1		12/08/2013
125 n.a.	CMDP representative 2		25/09/2013
126 n.a.	EC representative		08/10/2013
127 n.a.	STT representative 1		04/06/2013
128 n.a.	STT representative 2		28/08/2013
129 n.a.	BAU representative		10/09/2013
Davei Maile man beneing fruth a ser comment	***		
Borei Keila, new housing for the poor, upper flo			00 40/11/11
130 New building A, floor 6	Dweller	М	30 09/08/2013
131 New building A, floor 6	Dweller	F	50 09/08/2013
132 New building A, floor 5	Dweller	F	35 09/08/2013
133 New building A, floor 5	Dweller	F	40 09/08/2013
134 New building A, floor 4	Dweller	M	25 09/08/2013
135 New building A, floor 4	Dweller	M	50 09/08/2013
136 New building A, floor 3	Dweller	F	40 12/08/2013
137 New building A, floor 3	Dweller	F	35 12/08/2013
138 New building A, floor 2	Dweller	M	50 12/08/2013
139 New building A, floor 2	Dweller	M	55 12/08/2013
100 HOW building A, 11001 E	former community leader	M	60 12/08/2013
140 New building A, floor 1			

141 New building A, floor 1 Dweller	F 40 12/08/2013
142 New building B, floor 6 Dweller	M 45 13/08/2013
143 New building B, floor 6 Dweller	M 20 13/08/2013
144 New building B, floor 5 Dweller	F 50 13/08/2013
145 New building B, floor 5 Dweller	F 35 13/08/2013
146 New building B, floor 4 Dweller	F 45 13/08/2013
147 New building B, floor 4 Dweller	M 25 13/08/2013
148 New building B, floor 3 Dweller	M 35 14/08/2013
149 New building B, floor 3 Dweller	F 45 14/08/2013
150 New building B, floor 2 Dweller	F 50 14/08/2013
	M 70 14/08/2013
152 New building B, floor 1 Dweller	M 50 14/08/2013
153 New building B, floor 1 Dweller	F 40 14/08/2013
154 New building C, floor 6 Dweller	
155 New building C, floor 6 Dweller	F 50 15/08/2013
156 New building C, floor 5 Dweller	M 35 15/08/2013
158 New building C, floor 4 Dweller	F 45 15/08/2013
159 New building C, floor 4 Dweller	F 45 15/08/2013
160 New building C, floor 3 Amny school rep	
161 New building C, floor 3 Dweller	M 40 16/08/2013
162 New building C, floor 2 Dweller	M 60 16/08/2013
- · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
163 New building C, floor 2 Dweller	F 70 16/08/2013
164 New building C, floor 1 Dweller	F 45 16/08/2013
165 New building C, floor 1 Dweller	F 55 16/08/2013
166 New building D, floor 6 Dweller	M 65 19/08/2013
167 New building D, floor 6 Dweller	F 40 19/08/2013
169 New building D, floor 5 Dweller	M 35 19/08/2013
170 New building D, floor 4 Dweller	F 35 19/08/2013
171 New building D, floor 4 Dweller	
	M 25 19/08/2013
172 New building D, floor 3 Dweller	M 35 19/08/2013
173 New building D, floor 3 Dweller	M 45 20/08/2013
174 New building D, floor 2 Dweller	F 55 20/08/2013
175 New building D, floor 2 Dweller	F 30 20/08/2013
176 New building D, floor 1 Dweller	F 40 20/08/2013
177 New building D, floor 1 Dweller	M 50 20/08/2013
178 New building E, floor 6 Dweller	F 65 25/08/2013
179 New building E, floor 6 Dweller	
180 New building E, floor 5 Dweller	F 25 25/08/2013
181 New building E, floor 5 Dweller	M 20 25/08/2013
182 New building E, floor 4 Dweller	20002010
183 New building E, floor 4 Dweller	M 50 25/08/2013
184 New building E, floor 3 Dweller	F 65 25/08/2013
186 New building E, floor 2 Dweller	M 65 26/08/2013
187 New building E, floor 2 Dweller	M 35 26/08/2013
188 New building E, floor 1 Dweller	
189 New building E, floor 1 Dweller	F 50 26/08/2013
190 New building F, floor 6 Dweller	M 70 26/08/2013
191 New building F, floor 6 Dweller	M 45 26/08/2013
192 New building F, floor 5 Dweller	F 35 26/08/2013
193 New building F, floor 5 Dweller	F 45 27/08/2013
194 New building F, floor 4 Dweller	M 50 27/08/2013
195 New building F, floor 4 Dweller	M 60 27/08/2013
196 New building F, floor 3 Dweller	
	2770012010
197 New building F, floor 3 Dweller	M 55 27/08/2013
198 New building F, floor 2 Dweller	M 70 27/08/2013
199 New building F, floor 2 Dweller	
200 New building F, floor 1 Dweller	M 35 27/08/2013
201 New building F, floor 1 Dweller	M 55 27/08/2013
202 New building G, floor 6 Dweller	F 50 28/08/2013
203 New building G, floor 6 Dweller	M 55 28/08/2013
204 New building G, floor 5 Dweller	M 80 28/08/2013
205 New building G, floor 5 Dweller	F 55 28/08/2013
206 New building G, floor 4 Dweller	M 60 28/08/2013
207 New building G, floor 4 Dweller	
208 New building G, floor 3 Dweller	F 45 28/08/2013
209 New building G, floor 3 Dweller	F 45 28/08/2013
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210 New building G, floor 2 Dweller	M 65 29/08/2013
211 New building G, floor 2 Dweller	F 40 29/08/2013
211 New building G, floor 2 Dweller	F 40 29/08/2013
211 New building G, floor 2 Dweller 212 New building G, floor 1 Dweller	F 40 29/08/2013 M 40 29/08/2013
211 New building G, floor 2 Dweller	F 40 29/08/2013

215 New building H, floor 5	Dweller	F	55 30/08/2013
216 New building H, floor 4	Dweller	F	35 30/08/2013
217 New building H, floor 3	Dweller	F	40 30/08/2013
218 New building H, floor 2	Dweller	М	20 30/08/2013
219 New building H, floor 1	Dweller	F	35 30/08/2013
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226 n.a.	ACHR representative		18/12/2012
227 n.a.	CDF representative 1		20/12/2012
228 n.a.	CDF representative 2		02/07/2013
229 n.a.	Licadho representative		01/11/2013
230 n.a.	District deputy governor		07/05/2014
1 2 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1			
orei Keila, new housing for the poor, groun	d floors		
231 New Building A	Seller	F	35 25/08/2013
232 New Building C	Seller	F	40 25/08/2013
233 New Building F	Seller	М	20 25/08/2013
234 New Building A	PIO worker	F	45 25/08/2013
235 New Building B	Dweller	м	45 25/08/2013
236 New Building D	Dweller	F	
		F	30 25/08/2013
237 New Building E	Dweller		35 25/08/2013
238 New Building G	Dweller	М	50 25/08/2013
239 New Building B	Dweller	F	50 19/05/2014
240 New Building C	Dweller	М	25 19/05/2014
241 New Building D	Dweller	М	40 19/05/2014
242 New Building E	Dweller	F	30 19/05/2014
243 New Building G	Dweller	F	70 19/05/2014
	Dweller	M	
244 New Building H	Dweller	IVI	40 19/05/2014
orei Keila, illegal settlement			
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245 Old Building F	Dweller	F	40 25/08/2013
246 Old Building F	Dweller	M	50 25/08/2013
247 Old Building F	Dweller	F	45 25/08/2013
248 Old Building F	Dweller	F	35 25/08/2013
249 Old Building H	Dweller	М	40 20/05/2014
250 Old Building H	Dweller	F	60 20/05/2014
251 Old Building H	Dweller	F	35 20/05/2014
252 Old Building D	Dweller	М.	50 20/05/2014
253 Shacks	Dweller	M	60 20/05/2014
254 Shacks	Dweller	М	45 20/05/2014
255 Shacks	Dweller	М	70 20/05/2014
256 Shacks	Dweller	F	70 20/05/2014
257 Shacks	Dweller	F	65 20/05/2014
258 Shacks	Dweller	M	40 20/05/2014
259 Green sheds	Dweller	F	65 20/05/2014
260 Green sheds	Dweller	М	25 20/05/2014
261 Green sheds	Dweller	F	30 23/05/2015
262 Green sheds	Dweller	M	30 23/05/2015
263 Shacks	Dweller	F	50 23/05/2015
264 Shacks	Dweller	М	40 23/05/2015
265 Shacks	Dweller	F	35 23/05/2015
266 Shacks	Dweller	F.	30 23/05/2015
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267 Old Building D	Dweller		40 23/05/2015
268 Old Building D	Dweller	F	40 23/05/2015
269 Old Building D	Dweller	М	30 23/05/2015
270 Old Building D	Dweller	M	70 23/05/2015
271 Old Building F	Dweller	F	40 23/05/2015
272 Old Building F	Dweller	М	50 23/05/2015
273 Old Building H	Dweller	F	35 23/05/2015
274 Old Building H	Dweller	М	25 23/05/2015
orei Keila, profit-driven redevelopment of th	e rest of the plot		
		-	40 44/0E/0046
275 Shophouses (Northern Side)	Dweller	F	40 11/05/2016
276 Shophouses (Northern Side)	Dweller	М	40 11/05/2016
277 Shophouses (Northern Side)	Dweller	F	30 11/05/2016
278 Eastern side	Business holder	M	55 11/05/2016
279 Eastern side	Business holder	М	35 11/05/2016
280 Eastern side	Business holder	F	50 11/05/2016
281 New Market	Business holder	M	45 11/05/2016
282 Southern side	Dweller	М	50 11/05/2016
283 Building in place of New Building B	Construction worker	М	30 11/05/2016
284 Undeveloped plot (N-W)	Private guard	M	30 11/05/2016
orei Santepheap II			
	Dweller	М	40 20/05/2015
285 Area for evictees	DWeller		
285 Area for evictees 286 Area for evictees 287 Area for evictees	Dweller Dweller	M F	50 20/05/2015 50 20/05/2015

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289 Area for evictees	Dweller	F	40 20/05/2015
290 Market	Dweller	F	50 20/05/2015
291 Market	Dweller	F	35 20/05/2015
292 Market	Dweller	М	45 20/05/2015
293 Housing for market sale	Dweller	М	50 20/05/2015
294 Housing for market sale	Dweller	F	60 20/05/2015
ang Khiev			
295 n.a.	Dweller	F	40 22/10/2013
296 n.a.	Dweller	F	50 22/10/2013
297 n.a.	Dweller	M	25 22/10/2013
298 n.a.	Dweller	F	60 22/10/2013
299 n.a.	Dweller	М	30 22/10/2013
300 n.a.	Representative from Manna4Life		20/10/2013
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301 n.a.	Dweller	F	40 21/05/2015
302 n.a.	Dweller	F	30 21/05/2015
303 n.a.	Dweller	М	70 21/05/2015
304 n.a.	Dweller	M	35 21/05/2015
305 n.a.	Dweller	F	45 21/05/2015
uol Sambo Tmey			
306 Phan Imex housing	Dweller	F	50 22/05/2015
307 Phan Imex housing	Dweller	М	35 22/05/2015
308 Phan Imex housing	Dweller	F	40 22/05/2015
309 Phan Imex housing	Dweller	F	50 22/05/2015
310 Phan Imex housing	Dweller	M	35 22/05/2015
311 Caritas Housing	Dweller	F	55 22/05/2015
312 Caritas Housing	Dweller	F	40 22/05/2015
313 Caritas Housing	Dweller	М	40 22/05/2015
314 Caritas Housing	Dweller	M	30 22/05/2015
	Dweller	F	45 22/05/2015
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316 n.a.	Dweller	M	45 22/10/2013
317 n.a.	Dweller	М	35 22/10/2013
318 n.a.	Dweller	F	40 22/10/2013
319 n.a.	Dweller	F	45 22/10/2013
320 n.a.	Dweller	F	60 22/10/2013
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321 Andong Chas	Dweller	M	40 06/05/2014
322 Andong Chas	Dweller	M	50 06/05/2014
323 Andong Chas	Dweller	M	70 06/05/2014
324 Andong Chas	Dweller	F	45 06/05/2014
325 Andong Chas	Dweller	F	55 06/05/2014
326 n.a.	rep PCL		03/05/2015
327 n.a.	rep MPP		02/05/2014
328 n.a.	rep CDF		08/05/2014
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329 Rousreay settlement (Boeung Kak)	community leader	F	50 07/05/2014
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329 Rousreay settlement (Boeung Kak) 330 Anlong Knang 331 Boeung Chhoeuk Meanchey Tmey II 332 n.a.	community leader community leader rep HRTF	М	60 12/05/2015 45 08/05/2015 12/12/2012
329 Rousreay settlement (Boeung Kak) 330 Anlong Knang 331 Boeung Chhoeuk Meanchey Tmey II 332 n.a. 333 n.a.	community leader community leader rep HRTF rep UN-Habitat	М	60 12/05/2015 45 08/05/2015 12/12/2012 31/05/2013
329 Rousreay settlement (Boeung Kak) 330 Anlong Knang 331 Boeung Chhoeuk Meanchey Tmey II 332 n.a. 333 n.a.	community leader community leader rep HRTF rep UN-Habitat rep USG	М	60 12/05/2015 45 08/05/2015 12/12/2012 31/05/2013 01/08/2013
329 Rousreay settlement (Boeung Kak) 330 Anlong Knang 331 Boeung Chhoeuk Meanchey Tmey II 332 n.a. 333 n.a. 334 n.a. 335 n.a.	community leader community leader rep HRTF rep UN-Habitat rep USG PhD researcher 1	М	60 12/05/2015 45 08/05/2015 12/12/2012 31/05/2013 01/08/2013 13/12/2012
329 Rousreay settlement (Boeung Kak) 330 Anlong Knang 331 Boeung Chhoeuk Meanchey Tmey II 332 n.a. 333 n.a. 334 n.a. 335 n.a. 336 n.a.	community leader community leader rep HRTF rep UN-Habitat rep USG PhD researcher 1 PhD researcher 2	М	60 12/05/2015 45 08/05/2015 12/12/2012 31/05/2013 01/08/2013 13/12/2012 14/12/2012
329 Rousreay settlement (Boeung Kak) 330 Anlong Knang 331 Boeung Chhoeuk Meanchey Tmey II 332 n.a. 333 n.a. 334 n.a. 335 n.a. 336 n.a.	community leader community leader rep HRTF rep UN-Habitat rep USG PhD researcher 1 PhD researcher 2 PhD researcher 3	М	60 12/05/2015 45 08/05/2015 12/12/2012 31/05/2013 01/08/2013 13/12/2012 14/12/2012 12/02/2013
329 Rousreay settlement (Boeung Kak) 330 Anlong Knang 331 Boeung Chhoeuk Meanchey Tmey II 332 n.a. 333 n.a. 334 n.a. 335 n.a. 336 n.a. 337 n.a.	community leader community leader rep HRTF rep UN-Habitat rep USG PhD researcher 1 PhD researcher 2 PhD researcher 3 International academic	М	60 12/05/2015 45 08/05/2015 12/12/2012 31/05/2013 01/08/2013 13/12/2012 14/12/2012 12/02/2013 14/05/2016
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329 Rousreay settlement (Boeung Kak) 330 Anlong Knang 331 Boeung Chhoeuk Meanchey Tmey II 332 n.a. 333 n.a. 334 n.a. 335 n.a. 336 n.a. 337 n.a.	community leader community leader rep HRTF rep UN-Habitat rep USG PhD researcher 1 PhD researcher 2 PhD researcher 3 International academic	М	60 12/05/2015 45 08/05/2015 12/12/2012 31/05/2013 01/08/2013 13/12/2012 14/12/2012 12/02/2013 14/05/2016
329 Rousreay settlement (Boeung Kak) 330 Anlong Knang 331 Boeung Chhoeuk Meanchey Tmey II 332 n.a. 333 n.a. 334 n.a. 335 n.a. 336 n.a. 337 n.a. 338 n.a.	community leader community leader rep HRTF rep UN-Habitat rep USG PhD researcher 1 PhD researcher 2 PhD researcher 3 International academic Independent practitioner	М	60 12/05/2015 45 08/05/2015 12/12/2012 31/05/2013 01/08/2013 13/12/2012 14/12/2012 12/02/2013 14/05/2016 25/06/2013
329 Rousreay settlement (Boeung Kak) 330 Anlong Knang 331 Boeung Chhoeuk Meanchey Tmey II 332 n.a. 333 n.a. 334 n.a. 335 n.a. 336 n.a. 337 n.a. 338 n.a. 339 n.a.	community leader community leader rep HRTF rep UN-Habitat rep USG PhD researcher 1 PhD researcher 2 PhD researcher 3 International academic Independent practitioner Journalist	M	60 12/05/2015 45 08/05/2015 12/12/2012 31/05/2013 01/08/2013 13/12/2012 14/12/2012 12/02/2013 14/05/2016 25/06/2013 22/07/2013

APPENDIX 2. TEMPLATE FOR SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

Topic	Question	Relevant	Relevant spatial
Торіо		governmental dimensions	dimensions
Demographics / livelihoods / everyday life	How many people live in the households?	Architectural forms; Techniques of government and administrative measures	Cultures and economies; housing and dwelling
	How many household members work / study?	Techniques of government and administrative measures	(same as above)
	Where do household members in school age go to study? Where do working household members work?	Institutions and laws	Culture and economies; public and open spaces; infrastructures
	Can you share an approximate schedule of your daily routine?	n.a.	Housing and dwelling; public and open spaces
	Where are you used to shop?	Institutions and laws; Policy and regulatory frameworks	Culture and economies; public and open spaces; urban fabric and landmarks
	Do you own or rent the unit? From whom did you buy / do you rent?	Institutions and laws; Techniques of government and administrative measures	Culture and economies; housing and dwelling
	Can you comment on the ratio income vs. expenditures that your household has to deal with?	Policy and regulatory frameworks	(same as above)
Provenance / housing stories	When did you arrive in the area? Was this housing unit your first accommodation in the area or were you living somewhere else prior to moving here?	n.a.	Culture and economies; housing and dwelling; urban fabric and landmarks
	Where did you arrive from?	n.a.	Culture and economies; housing and dwelling; infrastructures
	Why did you decide to settle here? Were there any contacts / social or business networks that suggested this urban area as advantageous?	Institutions and laws; Techniques of government and administrative measures	(same as above)
	Can you share some memories of how [ground of investigation] was when you settled? (in both spatial and social terms)	Architectural forms; Institutions and laws	Culture and economies; housing and dwelling; open and public paces; urban fabric and landmarks
	Can you comment on the main differences between the previous spaces where you had lived and the current one? Both at the unit and neighbourhood scale.	Architectural forms	Culture and economies; housing and dwelling; open and public paces; urban fabric and landmarks

Spatial perceptions / imaginations	Can you comment on what you like or dislike about your unit and this neighbourhood?	Architectural forms; Institutions and laws; techniques of government and administrative measures; discourses and philanthropic / scientific statements	Culture and economies; housing and dwelling; open and public paces; urban fabric and landmarks; leftovers and thresholds; infrastructures
	Can you elaborate on what you mentioned to like / dislike the most?	(same as above)	(same as above)
	Is there any place where you like to spend time in [ground of investigation] or anywhere else in Phnom Penh?	Architectural forms; discourses and philanthropic / scientific statements	Open and public spaces; urban fabric and landmarks
	What are the relationships with your neighbours?	Institutions and laws; Policy and regulatory frameworks; Techniques of government and administrative measures	Cultures and economies; leftovers and thresholds
	Is there any event related to the history of [ground of investigation] that you strongly remember and might want to share with me?	Institutions and laws; Techniques of government and administrative measures	Cultures and economies; open and public spaces; housing and dwellings; leftovers and thresholds
The housing unit and its materiality	Did your housing unit have the same layout when you got it? If yes, why did you leave it as such? If not, why did you decide to make changes, and with the help of whom?	Architectural forms; Techniques of government and administrative measures	Cultures and economies; Housing and dwelling
	How do you use the space of the unit? Is there any space that you use for working? Do you cook?	(same as above)	Cultures and economies; Housing and dwelling
	Can you tell me more about this particular piece of furniture / this picture / this gate / etc ? Why and where did you get it?	(same as above)	Cultures and economies; Housing and dwelling

APPENDIX 3. ON THE MEANING AND UNDERSTANDING OF THE TERM 'COMMUNITY' IN KHMER (CAMBODIAN) LANGUAGE

This thesis has deliberately avoided a light-hearted use of the term 'community'. Such term is often misused in the Cambodian context: while groups of households may belong to the same territory and pursue common interests – as for instance the one of resisting to the threat of displacement – definining them as 'communities' is indeed fundamentally wrong.

The word 'community' is translatable with the Khmer term *sahakhum*, a word that is currently not of common usage. Such term indicates a form of organisation and mobilisation within a certain group of individuals. De facto, Cambodian authorities do not encourage the formation of *sahakhum* groups, attempting to disable any form of collective mobilisation.³¹⁰ Such attitude is also a legacy from the Khmer Rouge era (1975-1979), when *sahmakum* groups were prohibited and, rather, people were organized in *sahako*, a form of collective production unit, controlled by the Regime and meant to cultivate rural land.³¹¹

Today, to formally exist, community groups (sahakhum) must be registered with the sub-district authorities. ³¹² Registerd communities are not completely autonomous structures: they have to comply with the decisions of sub-district authorities. For instance, the community of Boeung Choeuk Meanchey Tmey II, in Chbar Ampov district, was obliged in 2012 to split from the community of Boeung Choeuk Liroth. The split was imposed because a group of households had managed to acquire a land title from a private landlord (whereas the settlement of the community now known as Boeung Choeuk Meanchey Tmey II was built over State Public Land). ³¹³

This research has found no community organisations anywhere but in the Railway settlements, in Andong Chas, in Tang Khiev. In Borei Keila, eight community groups were present but dissolved soon during the implementation of the land-sharing process. Evidence from the interviews³¹⁴ shows that one reason behind the overall decrease of formally recognised in Phnom Penh lies in the long series of corrupted community leaders, which led eventually to disaffection and to the failure of many community saving schemes. The scepticism toward forms of community organisation have contributed to the success of *divide-and-rule* strategies by authorities and developers, and to the rejection by urban poor groups of collective forms of land tenure.

³¹⁰ Interviews 227, 334.

³¹¹ Interviews 227, 334.

³¹² Interviews 227, 334..

³¹³ See Land Law (RGC, 2001).

³¹⁴ Interviews 124, 227, 300, 302, 311.