

Toward an Effective International Development  
Assistance  
**Grassroots Level Community in Cambodia**

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## CONTENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS.....	vii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	ix
SUMMARY .....	x
CHAPTER 1 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Importance of Research .....	4
1.2 Expected Contribution of Research .....	5
1.3 Scope of the Study .....	6
1.4 Structure of the Thesis .....	8
1.5 Research Methodology .....	10
1.5.1 Data Collection.....	12
1.5.2 Methods.....	13
1.5.3 Field Research.....	15
1.5.4 Key informants.....	16
1.5.5 Equipment Used .....	16
1.5.6 Other.....	16
1.6 Data Entry .....	16
1.7 Data Analysis.....	17
CHAPTER 2 Literature Review and Major Development Theories.....	19
2.1 Literature Review .....	19
2.2 Major Development Theories .....	23
2.2.1 Modernization .....	23
2.2.2 Dependency Theory .....	24
2.2.3 Post-Modernism .....	26
2.2.4 Post Development .....	26
2.2.5 Deconstruction .....	27
CHAPTER 3 Development and International Development Assistance in Cambodia .....	30
3.1 Development in Cambodia .....	30
3.1.1 International Development Assistance (IDA) .....	30
3.1.2 History of IDA .....	30
3.1.3 Review of trends in IDA .....	31
3.1.4 Current academic approaches to IDA.....	31
3.1.5 Ensuring the effectiveness of IDA .....	32
3.1.6 Development: its definition and measurement .....	32
3.2 IDA: a questionable mechanism for eradicating poverty.....	34
3.3 Development aid and non-governmental organizations (NGOs).....	34
3.3.1 NGOs and Cambodia's legal system.....	35
3.3.2 International NGOs in Cambodia.....	35
3.3.3 Local NGOs .....	36

3.3.4	Coordination.....	36
3.4	Community .....	38
3.4.1	Examples of research on grassroots-level communities.....	38
3.4.2	Development, development actors and community structures .....	39
3.4.3	Examples of grassroots-level communities and IDA .....	40
3.5	Donors .....	40
3.5.1	Multilateral Institutions.....	41
3.5.2	Bilateral Donors .....	43
3.5.3	Positive and negative results of IDA.....	44
CHAPTER 4	The Royal Government of Cambodia and Development Policies .....	47
4.1	Cambodian development policies.....	47
4.1.1	Development plans during the Communist Period or People Republic Kampuchea ( <i>PRK</i> ) .....	47
4.1.2	Present development plans .....	47
4.2	ADP (Agricultural Development Plan).....	50
4.2.1	ADP 1996-2000 .....	50
4.2.2	ADP 2001-2005 .....	50
4.3	The goals of the RGC and Cambodia's development.....	51
4.4	The Design of PRSP, SEDP-I and II, NRSP and ADP.....	51
4.5	Cambodian politicians, agricultural development and the 2003 National Election Campaign.....	53
4.5.1	Methods.....	53
4.5.2	Analysis.....	53
4.5.3	Irrigation and development .....	55
4.6	Poverty.....	55
CHAPTER 5	Theory of Effective Community .....	57
5.1	Some Popular Theories or Strategies to Have Effective Development.....	57
5.1.1	Can PRA of Chambers realize success for IDA? .....	57
5.1.2	Theories and Policies are not an actual tool to realize IDA succeeds .....	58
5.1.3	Is IDA always helpful to the recipient countries? .....	58
5.1.4	Can Paraprojects as a New Mode of International Development Assistance of <i>Norman Uphoff</i> be a suitable model?.....	59
5.1.5	Can IDA adopt the private investment strategy?.....	59
5.1.6	Social Capital as the factor for social development and community strengthening .....	60
5.2	Horizontal and Vertical Mechanism Support to International Development or/and Development .....	61
5.2.1	Type of Structure Supporting International Development Assistance: Vertical Structures .....	61
5.2.2	Interaction Mechanism in a Society: Institutional Organization, Social Organization, Technology and Essential Conditions- The Horizontal Structures .....	63
5.3	Theory Analysis.....	64
5.3.1	Factors of changing .....	64

CHAPTER 6	<i>Sambo</i> Village, Kampong Thom Province- Institutional Organization, Social Organization, Technology and Essential Conditions .....	68
6.1	Introduction .....	68
6.2	Selection of the Village.....	68
6.3	History of <i>Sambo</i> village .....	69
6.3.1	Human Settlement and Agricultural Practice.....	69
6.3.2	Some Differences between the Past and the Present .....	75
6.4	Selection of Sample from the Village.....	76
6.4.1	Procedures.....	76
6.4.2	Data collected from each sample.....	77
6.4.3	General Characteristics of Samples.....	77
6.5	Essential Conditions of the village .....	77
6.5.1	Ecological and Demographic Conditions.....	77
6.5.2	Social Conditions .....	79
6.5.3	The Village Economy.....	83
6.6	Institutional organization .....	100
6.6.1	Religious and ritual activities in <i>Sambo</i> .....	100
6.7	Technology .....	110
6.7.1	Traditional Rice Varieties in <i>Sambo</i> .....	110
6.7.2	Characteristics of rice varieties .....	111
6.7.3	Rice seeds holdings and exchanges.....	112
6.7.4	Techniques of rice cultivation in <i>Sambo</i> village .....	113
6.8	Social Organization .....	122
6.8.1	Modern Organizations.....	122
6.8.2	Indigenous Type.....	125
6.8.3	Vernacular Organizations.....	127
CHAPTER 7	Re-evaluating the Reciprocal Labor Exchange System- a Cambodian Case Study.....	129
7.1	Definition of the Reciprocal Labor Exchange System.....	129
7.2	Traditional reciprocal labor systems in Cambodian history.....	130
7.3	Present-day Reciprocal Labor Systems .....	136
7.3.1	Present day labor systems in <i>Sambo</i> .....	137
7.4	Example of reciprocal labor exchange.....	140
7.4.1	Reciprocal Labor Exchange in Two Household.....	140
CHAPTER 8	Analysis, Conclusion and Implication .....	144
8.1	Analysis .....	144
8.1.1	Vertical Structures Supporting IDA .....	144
8.1.2	Horizontal Structure with Grassroots Level Community .....	148
8.2	Alternative Cambodian Development.....	154
8.2.1	Internal Structure Supporting International Development Assistance .....	154

8.2.2	Is the present community (VDC and PBC) effectively supporting the International Development Assistance to Cambodia? .....	155
8.2.3	Alternative Structure Supporting IDA .....	157
8.2.4	Using the alternative structure for IDA .....	159
8.3	Conclusion .....	160
	References .....	163
	Appendices “A” .....	176
	Appendices “B” .....	212
	List of Interviewees .....	212
	List Questionnaires .....	214
	Assumption .....	231
	Term of Reference of Village Development Committee .....	232
	Sketch of Sambo village with location of Sample .....	233
	Appendices “C” .....	235

## LIST OF APPENDICES “A”

### Tables

Table 1 Sex, Age and Education .....	177
Table 2 Numbers of Family's Members and Married Kids .....	178
Table 3 House Condition.....	179
Table 4 Land .....	180
Table 5 Main Statistics Figures of Land (20 samples) .....	181
Table 6 Average of Annual Rice Production and Income of a Family (Calculated from Income Table) ...	181
Table 7 Rice filed and Yield .....	181
Table 8 Annual Family's Income .....	182
Table 9 National Poverty Line, CDRI's Poverty Line and Villager's Income (One Person per day) .....	183
Table 10 Rice Donated by Congregations of <i>Sambo</i> Pagoda after harvesting .....	183
Table 11 Expenditure .....	184
Table 12 Annual Calendar of <i>Sambo</i> Villagers.....	185
Table 13 Participants in <i>Mom</i> - sample no. 5 Labor Exchange .....	186
Table 14 Participants in <i>Leam</i> - sample no. 5 Labor Exchange .....	186
Table 15 Poor and Poorest Characteristics by ADB and in <i>Sambo</i> .....	187
Table 16 Poor and Poorest Characteristics by <i>Sambo</i> village Chief* .....	187
Table 17 World Vision International: Action Plan for <i>Sambo</i> .....	188
Table 18 Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and PER CAPITA GDP .....	189
Table 19 Growth rate of per capita GDP (% per year) by Four Economist Institutions in Cambodia .....	189
Table 20 World Bank Active Project in Cambodia.....	189
Table 21 Gross Domestic Product Economic Activity (In constant 1993 prices).....	190
Table 22 International Assistance to Cambodia: Pledge and Disbursement .....	190
Table 23 Official Structure and Alternative Structure Supporting Development .....	191
Table 24 Development structure at village level.....	191
Table 25 The geographic location of ODA supported programs/projects activities .....	192
Table 26 The top ten provinces that have received the most ODA either in 2002 or 2003.....	192
Table 27 The Reciprocal Labor Systems in <i>Sambo</i> village.....	192
Table 28 The Division of Labor in Common Activities.....	193
Table 29 Name List of Head of Group of <i>Sambo</i> village.....	193
Table 30 Rice Varieties in SAMBO.....	194
Table 31 Food Items Used by <i>Sambo</i> villagers .....	194
Table 32 Characteristics of Communities .....	195
Table 33 List of Social Community in <i>Sambo</i> village and others three components characteristics corresponding to the social community.....	196
Table 34 List of Provincial NGOs visited .....	198

Table 35 Evolution of My Research Finding: International Development Assistance (IDA).....	199
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### **Graphs**

Graph 1 Development Types- by Involved Actors.....	206
Graph 2 With private (A) or independent development (B).....	206
Graph 3 Poverty Pyramid.....	207
Graph 4 Proportional of Japan’s Total ODA in Cambodia (1991-2001) .....	208
Graph 5 Distribution of Japan ODA to ASEAN (2001).....	208

### **Figures**

Figure 1 House Roof Types .....	179
Figure 2 Gross Domestic Production in Current and Constant Prices.....	204
Figure 3 Cambodia GDP Per Capita (US\$).....	204
Figure 4 Institutional Arrangement and a basic concept of Cambodian Development Plan designing process .....	205
Figure 5 The Ideal Four Components in Society.....	207
Figure 6 Changing in a Society by Development.....	209
Figure 7 Vertical and Horizontal Aspects Support IDA and/or Development.....	210
Figure 8 Traditional techniques of paddy field plowing practiced by <i>Sambo villagers</i> .....	211

## ABBREVIATIONS

ADB- Asian Development Bank  
CARM- Cambodia Resident Mission (ADB office)  
CARERE- Cambodia Area Rehabilitation and Regeneration  
CBO- Community Based Organization  
CBRD- Community Based Rural Development  
CC- Commune Council or Councilor  
CCC- Cooperation Committee for Cambodia  
CDC- Council for the Development of Cambodia  
CRD- Cambodian Researchers for Development  
CDRI- Development Resource Institute  
CEDAC- Centre d'Etude et de Development Agricole Cambodgien  
CG- Consultative Group Meeting on Cambodia  
CIDA- Canada International Development Agency  
CIDSE- Coopération Internationale pour le Développement et la Solidarité  
CNSN- Cambodian NGO Support Network  
CPC- Communist Party of China  
CSP- Country Strategy Paper  
EC- the European Commission  
EU- European Union  
FAO- Food and Agricultural Organization  
FPK- Federation of Ponleu Khmer  
GDP- Gross Domestic Product  
GLC- grassroots-level community  
GNP- Gross National Product  
GSAPS- Graduate School of Asia Pacific Studies  
GTZ- Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (in German language)  
HDI- Human Development Index  
ICORC- International Committee on the Reconstruction of Cambodia  
IDA- International Development Assistance  
IDS- Institute of Development Studies  
IFAD- The International Fund for Agriculture Development  
IMF- International Monetary Fund  
IRRI- International Rice Research Institute  
IUCN- The World Conservation Union  
JBIC- Japanese Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC)  
JICA- Japan International Cooperation Agency



JOCS- The Japan Overseas Christian Medical Cooperative Service  
JVC- Japan Volunteer Center  
LDP- Liberal Democratic Party (of Japan)  
LWF- Lutheran World Federation  
MCC- Mennonite Central Committee  
MoFA- Ministry of Foreign Affair  
MoI- Ministry of Interior  
MRD- Ministry of Rural Development  
MSF-B- Medecins Sans Frontieres Belgium  
NGO- Non-Governmental Organization  
NH- NEW HUMANITY  
NPRS- National Poverty Reduction Strategy  
ODA- Official Development Assistance  
OECD- Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development  
PBC- Planning and Budgeting Committee  
PRDC- Provincial Rural Development Committee  
PRSP- Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper  
RGC- Royal Government of Cambodia  
SAP- Structure Adjustment Strategy  
SEDP- Socio-Economic Development Plan  
SHG- Self Help Group  
UK- United Kingdom  
UN- United Nation  
UNCDF- United Nations Capital Development Fund  
UNDP- United Nation Development Program  
UNICEF- United Nation Children Fund  
UNOPS- United Nation Office for Project Suoport  
UNTACT- United Nation Transitional Authority of Cambodia  
USAID- United States Agency for International Development  
VDA- Village Development Association  
VDC- Village Development Committee  
VDP- Village Development Plan  
WB- World Bank  
WBIs- World Bank Institutions  
WFP- World Food Program  
WVI- World Vision International

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## SUMMARY

Since 1992, over \$USD5 billion in International Development Assistance (or IDA) has been sent to Cambodia. Despite all this aid, more than 40 percent of Cambodian people are living in poverty; most of these people are farmers living in rural areas. There is a real need to relieve the poverty of rural Cambodians.

Most of the previous research on development and IDA has looked at the *processes* of development; in this thesis, I have looked at the *conditions* that are required for development to take place. To do this, I have used an anthropological approach to document and analyze the social structures that support development and IDA. The research was conducted in *Sambo* village, a small and very ancient village located near the Sambor Prey Kuk monuments in Kampong Thom province in central Cambodia.

In addition to a literature review and a brief history of development and IDA since World War 2 and a discussion of development theory, this thesis contains two kinds of data. First is a description of the four actors involved in development and IDA in Cambodia – the aid donors, the aid recipient government, national and international NGOs and the aid recipient communities (in Cambodia, the aid recipients are typically poor farmers and their communities) and the strategies these actors use to effect development. Second is a description of the general socio-economical status of *Sambo* villagers: the essential conditions in the area, the villagers' income, expenditure, property, land size, labor, relationships, and information about the institutional and social organizations that *Sambo* villagers engage in. During my fieldwork between 2000 and 2005, found that there are three types of grassroots organizations – which I call “grassroots level communities” – active in *Sambo* village. The first are traditional or indigenous communities, organizations that have evolved in the village over time. These indigenous communities are focused on the Buddhist temple, local ancestral spirit cults, and social and kinship hierarchies. The second are modern organizations, created specifically to promote the adoption of democracy and modern development in Cambodia. These organizations have been imposed upon the villagers by donors, NGOs and the government. Third are vernacular communities, a composite of indigenous and modern communities.

My analysis demonstrates that the modern communities created by donors and NGOs for the delivery of IDA are ineffective. Beside the well supported and understood by other three actors (donor, recipient government and NGO) which I called vertical structure, it does not match with the horizontal structures (which consist of local essential condition, institutional organization, local technology/knowledge). On the other hand, indigenous type was emerged (or created- sometime) by the local people (villagers); vertically it is not understood and supported by the three actors (donor, recipient government and NGO) but horizontally, it matches with the other three ideal components of the society or village. However, indigenous type was emerged or created for the indigenous activities which most of them (in Cambodian rural) are religious related (and lack the training to deal with expectations of development professionals providing IDA), then it is hard to find the support and recognition from the development officers/ agents (who represent donor, recipient government or NGO). As indigenous type horizontally matches with the other components, then the sense of ownership, participation, transparency, equity and leadership is

embodied there giving an excellent condition and that condition is needed by the modern development. The local villagers (especially the wiseman and wise women) are familiar only with the indigenous projects or activities, to them some modern terminology or concept of modern development is shortage. They can do and manage the modern development project if they are receiving a basic capacity building. At the same time while these two community types are having advantage and disadvantage individually, for the development or/and IDA, a new modified type was emerged- vernacular community. It mixes the previous two into each other. This case happened in *Sambo* village. While the leader of modern community is more familiar with the modern development style (because the leaders are receiving training of modern project or program) and indigenous community's leader are more advance in resources mobilization, local participation, transparency and others... the two is merging for a period of time to make a success project.

I conclude that for IDA to be delivered effectively to Cambodian rural communities, development professionals must acknowledge the effectiveness of indigenous communities for development, and be guided by these communities when planning development programs and strategies.

## CHAPTER 1 Introduction

Since 1992<sup>1</sup>, a huge amount of international development assistance (IDA) has been channeled into Cambodia through two forums: the International Committee on the Reconstruction of Cambodia (ICORC) and the Consultative Group Meeting on Cambodia (CG)<sup>2</sup>. At the three ICORC meetings and the five CG meetings held since 1992, international donors made pledges of more than USD \$5 billion.<sup>3</sup> By the end of 2001, approximately US\$ 4.1 billion, or 73.3 % of the total amount pledged, had been disbursed. (CDC 2002a: 11) Despite the generosity of foreign donors, in 2004, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank concluded that Cambodia's "poverty incidence remains high and largely unchanged, with 43 percent estimated to be living below the international dollar-a-day poverty line in 2004" (IMF 2004: 4-5). Even Cambodia's Prime Minister Hun Sen admitted in a speech in 2004 that the Royal Government of Cambodia has failed to meet its Millennium Development Goal of poverty reduction:

The proportion of the population in poverty fell from 39% in 1994 to around 36% in 1999, thus falling by only 1% per year. The trends indicate that the estimated proportion of poor people in Cambodia will be 28% by 2015, more than the MDG set at 19.5% (Cambodian Prime Minister Speech 2004).

Why has IDA of more than USD\$500 million a year failed to help reduce poverty in Cambodia?

It seems that the IDA to Cambodia didn't reach the target, and one reason among others is the internal structure that supports (international) development assistance was not effective, especially, the commune at the grassroots level which this is the theme of this dissertation.

In order to seek the effectiveness of International Development Assistance from developed countries to developing countries<sup>4</sup>, both scholars and development practitioners are intensively raising ideas around such key words as "poverty reduction, harmonization, partnership, ownership or keeping the recipient in the driving seat" and only at recipient and donor government levels by treating the target people as a passive target – calling them merely as "beneficiary". The discussion didn't go deeper into the real mechanism of development assistance inside the recipient country. There is one important thing that most of discussions do not cover, it is the community at the grassroots level in the recipient country – a level extending from the poor family or poor individual, and that this community determines the failure or success of IDA to the developing country. This community functions as a bridge between the assistance

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<sup>1</sup> The civil war in Cambodia came to an end in 1991 marked by Paris Peace Accords of October 1991 when all the involved conflict's parties signed together the peace agreements. Since then (from 1992) the economic embargo to Cambodia was lifted giving a huge inflow of international assistance.

<sup>2</sup> The ICORC is a ministerial-level meeting and the CG is a working level meeting. ICORC was annually conducted, since 1993 it happened three times (1993, 1994 and 1995). After then from 1996 the CG was annually followed. (Extracted from Conway 1999: 57, table 3.4).

<sup>3</sup> In 1998, no CG meeting was held, and donors made no pledges, but the international community disbursed US \$ 433.28 million in IDA to Cambodia. A chronology of total IDA disbursements can be found in Table 22.

<sup>4</sup> I referred the less affluent country or third world country (as used in Hope 1996: 4-5); and the country receives development assistance as developing country. The industrialized and non-affluent country (such as western countries) or the giver of development assistance as developed country.

and the 'beneficiary' – poor individual or family and poverty reduction, harmonization of development assistance, ownership and partnership of the project or program.

To give a brief image of IDA, the structures involving IDA will be elaborated in the following. There are two dimensions of structure supports to IDA within recipient country: vertical and horizontal dimensions (see Figure 7). The vertical dimension<sup>5</sup> composes of four actors who are involving in the International Development Assistance (IDA) as well as the rural development of a developing country as Cambodia. Those are peasants or villagers, recipient's government, NGOs (Non-Governmental Organization) and donors or loan agencies<sup>6</sup>. All four actors have one common goal that is to benefit the villagers or peasants. In order to do so, every development project and program requires having a bridge that serves as a connection between the individual peasants with the other three actors. That bridge is the social infrastructure or put it in another term- social organization (such as a local cooperative, a grassroots level community).

On the other hand the horizontal dimension<sup>7</sup> of IDA's support structure refers to the local society/village which embodied of four ideal components, those are:

- "Institution" here is a generic concept for the behaviors, rules, and expectations that "pattern social behavior: norms, folkways, custom, conventions, etiquette and law." Examples of institutions include religion, art, a kinship system, law, and family life." (Anthropological Glossary Online). The meaning of institution here is different from the meaning of old traditional institutionalism<sup>8</sup> but here I borrowed and modified<sup>9</sup> from the new institutionalism (in political science), institution refers to the intangible or non-materialistic including the norms, values, cultures, and ideas (Lecours 2005: 6-8). Other scholars use the term "social fabric" or "social capital" (see Halpern 2005, and Putnam 1995<sup>10</sup>)

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<sup>5</sup> Vertical dimension here is termed in accordance to the flow of the IDA's fund which is usually flowing from the source-donor to the recipient governments, NGOs and community. Hence the top part of this vertical dimension represented by donor while the bottom part represented by grassroots community.

<sup>6</sup> The major countries that give assistance to Cambodia are: Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Japan, The Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, the Republic of Korea, Thailand, the Russian Federation, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Multilateral donors are: UN agencies (such as UNDP), the Bretton-Woods institutions (World Bank and International Monetary Fund or IMF), the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and the European Union (EU).

<sup>7</sup> Horizontal dimension here refers to the same locality level and everything which is binding together inside a society or a village or a locality.

<sup>8</sup> Traditional or old institutionalism refers "institutions were material structures. They were constitutions, cabinets, parliaments, bureaucracies, court, armies, federal or autonomy arrangements, and in some instances party systems" (Lecours 2005: 6).

<sup>9</sup> I said there modify as the new institutionalism meaning "institution" means including the material and non-material aspects. It includes the old institutionalism meaning as well. (see Lecours 2005: 6-5).

<sup>10</sup> "Social capital" also refers to the intangible levels of trust that keep societies together, healthy, crime-free and livable. The World Bank uses "social capital" to refer to the institutions, relationships, and norms that shape the quality and quantity of a society's social interactions. Increasing evidence shows that social cohesion is critical for societies to prosper economically and for development to be sustainable. "Social capital is not just the sum of the institutions which underpin a society – it is the glue that holds them together" (World Bank, web site). Hence by social capital, it includes the social organization and institutional organization, which I defined in this thesis.

- “Social organization” here refers to a human group (Coward 1991: 48-49) and here the grassroots level community is a represented of this organization. Local cooperative or grassroots level community represents social organization- one ideal component of society among the four components<sup>11</sup>.
- “Essential conditions” refer to ecological and demographic conditions.
- “Technology” refers to the technical application that villagers develop or/and borrow or/and are imposed on them to survive.

These four elements have to work together in harmony and are interrelated. As the grassroots level community (represents social organization) which serves as a supporting structure to IDA then the others interrelated components also are indirectly affecting to the IDA. Hence the success or failure of development, more or less is depending on the efficiency of social infrastructure- local cooperative or grassroots level community which is vertically understood and accepted by the others three actors (donors, recipient government and NGOs) and horizontally appropriateness suited with the others three ideal components of the society. Does any effective grassroots level community exist in Cambodia, which successfully transmits IDA to the target community? How can this grassroots-level community be replicated elsewhere in Cambodia?

In this thesis, I argue that whenever donors, recipient government and NGOs; are unable to work within Cambodia's social infrastructure at the level of the local community and that community is suited with the other three components of society; IDA will continue to be ineffective<sup>12</sup>. To this end, I propose an anthropological approach that can be used to more effectively target IDA to rural communities. I present an ethnography of *Sambo* village, a rural community in *Kampong Thom* province. My analysis of the social infrastructure of this small but very ancient and important rice-cultivating village provides important information that development professionals can use to target IDA more effectively to Cambodia and to other developing countries<sup>13</sup>. To be more specific following section reserves for the importance of this thesis.

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<sup>11</sup> Emil Durkheim defined human nature as “human being is social; they live in group” (Wilk 1996: 77) and “Durkheim thought that society impresses its will on the individual through both the carrot and stick. The carrot is the system of belief in the sacred that gives order to the world and lets each individual share contact with a power greater than the self....The stick is a set of sanctions and punishments” (Wilk 1996: 78). For this thesis the group which defined by Durkheim is social organization and the carrot and stick is institution. According to Cernea, anthropologists from Malinowski to Radcliff-Brown, from Raymond Firth (1969) to Fredrik Barth (1966, 1993)] had studied the forms and patterns of social organization within which societies use the natural resources on which they depend (Cernea 1996).

<sup>12</sup> Another factor determines the success or failure of IDA is the consistency of concept on what target people wants and needs from development among all four actors (donor, recipient government, NGOs and community) in the development. However this factor is not included in this thesis discussion as this issue “could be another PhD dissertation topic” (Conway-Cambodian World Bank poverty expert, pers. comm. on 04 Aug 2004) and I also agreed with him.

<sup>13</sup> In this thesis, I refer to less affluent countries that receive IDA as “developing,” and the more affluent countries that donate development assistance as “developed.” See Hope 1996: 4-5.

## 1.1 Importance of Research

The importance of this research is, based on my own work experience, the need to have an effectiveness of international development assistance, my theoretical position and the role of grassroots community as shown hereafter.

I have chosen to study Cambodia's rural communities and the impact of IDA on rural development for three reasons. The first is my work experience with the UNDP (United Nation Development Program) and as a lecturer at a state-run agricultural university- Royal University of Agriculture (RUA)<sup>14</sup>. The second is the large amount of IDA given to Cambodia since 1992<sup>15</sup>. The third reason is the lack of research on rural Cambodia.

Today, IDA can be described as a multi-million dollar global industry<sup>16</sup>. As the amount of IDA channeled from developed countries to developing countries increases every year, the need for research and evaluation becomes more important<sup>17</sup>. However, often important issues related to urbanization and agricultural developments are not considered in IDA planning, "simply because no journal essays on these subjects exist." Peou (2001: xii). Part of the reason for the lack of usable data on Cambodia's rural development is the focus of development professionals on economics. It is difficult to quantify development in an underdeveloped, rural community where cash is scarce, savings non-existent, credit is a novelty, and most people must struggle to survive on a day-to-day basis. For successful (and sustainable) development to have any meaning in such an environment, each member of the community must be able to participate. However, even the recently developed Human Development Index (HDI) is unable to measure the capacity of individuals to "participate in the decisions that affect one's life and to enjoy the respect of others in the community" (Human Development Index 2005 website).

In the development studies listed below according to their historical emergence (post-modernism,<sup>18</sup> post-development<sup>19</sup> and now deconstructionist<sup>20</sup>) the problems associated with development will be

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<sup>14</sup> See also Chay Navuth- 2003, Culture and Society in a village central Cambodia- a seek for sustainable agricultural development, Master thesis, Graduate School of Asia Pacific Studies (GSAPS), Waseda Univ., Tokyo.

<sup>15</sup> ADB (website: [no date]: 2-3). The agricultural sector is traditionally assigned six roles in the development process: as a producer of foodstuffs, as a generator of foreign exchange, as a provider of labor to other sectors, as a contributor to capital formation, as a producer of inputs for other sectors and finally as a generator of income for rural population, see Lundahl (1997: 2) and Conway (1999).

<sup>16</sup> See for example Klein *et al.* (2005)

<sup>17</sup> IDA to developing countries increased to USD 78.6 billion in 2004, its highest level ever. Taking into account inflation and the fall in the U.S. dollar, this represents a 4.6% rise in real terms from 2003 to 2004 and follows a 4.3% increase from 2002 to 2003 (OECD web site 2005).

<sup>18</sup> Post-modern thought has emerged in response to some of the perceived problems of modernity. Post-modernism is characterized by an extreme relativism, approaching nihilism. But clearly modernity has posed a number of problems, most obviously the prevalence of meta-narratives, as well as the over-determined subject, and foundationalism, all of which mutually reinforce tendencies towards repression and the exclusion of others.

<sup>19</sup> The central characteristic of post-development thought is its analysis of development as a form of discourse. Escobar makes it explicit that his analysis is based on the discourse theory of Michel Foucault. The knowledge that is presented to us through a discourse such as development is not to be seen as a neutral representation or account of reality, but as the product of power relations. This means that development is a discourse does not originate as an analysis of, and response to, a real world problem of the existence of poor countries that need development. Development is to be seen 'not [as] a natural



discussed, and several key terms, such as “participation of community” will be defined. Like Parfitt, I propose to combine deconstructionist and ethical theories to achieve the “least violent development” and to assist “local communities in the pursuit of their own projects.” (Parfitt 2002: 164)

Cernea, an anthropologist conducting research on social organization, presents a useful perspective on development that is different from that of the economists.

taking social organization as the starting points for analyzing, thinking through, and conceptualizing specific practical problems in very diverse cultural contexts, turned every time to provide precisely the unexpected and original frame of reference that was absent in my economist or technical colleagues’ perspective. (Cernea 1996: 21)

Giving several examples from his fieldwork experiences and focusing on social organization, Cernea argues that an anthropologist can:

- Reveal encoded knowledge and meanings and help identify all possible social actors, local and distant, with a stake in the problem under analysis.
- Working at whatever social level (in large social bodies, in remote rural communities, in inner city quarters, or even in small street corner societies) and regardless of whatever the problem (environmental pollution, or irrigation water supply systems) (Cernea 1996).

While the latest research points to the importance of the role of the community for development, the existence of a community is not in itself sufficient to ensure the success of IDA. The community has to meet some basic conditions, namely: participation must be voluntary, the participation is not because of the incentives such as a DSA (Daily Support Allowance) or daily supporting wage; decisions must be made by the majority of the target community; the mobilization and management of resources has to be as realistic and practicable as possible; communication and coordination must always come from “the bottom-up” and from the wider community; and conflict resolution must be managed with transparency and fairness.

I have just described the importance of the research; in the next section the contribution made by this thesis will be signified.

## **1.2 Expected Contribution of Research**

It is expected that the contribution of this research will be threefold. First, it will contribute to the ethnographic literature about rural Cambodia. Second, it will assist the Cambodian government, donors and

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process of knowledge that gradually uncovered problems and dealt with them” but rather “as a historical construct that provides a space in which poor countries are known, specified and intervened upon” (Escobar, 1995: 44-5).

<sup>20</sup>Deconstructionist theories of development, based on Jacques Derrida’s deconstruction theory and Emmanuel Levinas’ ethics theory, propose an alternative strategy to IDA: “the relativist stance embraced by many of the post-development analysts leaves them unable to determine whether or not particular groups and project are emancipatory ... their relativism left them unable to explain why the projects of some groups might be deemed objectionable whilst others were acceptable” (Parfitt 2002: 163).

NGOs to speed up the development process, and appropriately allocate development funds and resources. Third, it will help Cambodia's poor rural population receive development aid in a form that meets their needs. Besides that the research also shares to the IDA's study as it deals with all dimensions of the structure of IDA's support while the previous research was not.

The theory here was defined based on the former researcher's theories<sup>21</sup> but with modification. It opens an opportunity to go beyond the social capital theory of Putnam (1993, 1995a, 1995b). It strengthens the participatory theory of Chambers (1980, 1988, 1997, and 2005); the significance of study social organization which emphasized by Michael Cernea (1996) in, "*Social Organization and Development Anthropology: The 1995 Malinowski Award Lecture*", the Sachs's strategy of, "*The End of Poverty*" or the global village (2005); vernacular development of Dove M. R. (1988, 1992) and Dove et al. (2001) and also David Mosse (2005) of "*Cultivating Development- An Ethnography of Aid Policy and Practice*" where the key word is "policy produces practice and the practice produces policy". Finally the study is alliance with the "deconstruction theory<sup>22</sup>" which is looking for the alternative development strategy different from "A number of post-development theorists feel that the objectives of development have become hopelessly confused, obscured and corrupted, and that consequently the enterprise of development should be brought to a close" (Parfitt 2002: 160).

### 1.3 Scope of the Study

One of the assumptions made in this thesis is that to introduce IDA into Cambodia's rural communities, an effective mechanism is needed to support and facilitate the process so that "nobody misses the official aid" (Klein *et al.* 2005: 6). This mechanism composes of two dimensions: vertical and horizontal. To identify and harness this mechanism, the social infrastructure of the target community must be carefully analyzed, and its institutions, social organizations, ecological conditions, and technology must be documented. To this end, I use a modified type of social theory in which the essential components of society are divided into four ideal elements.<sup>23</sup> These four ideal elements or components of society (to repeat again) are:

- "Institution" here is a generic concept for the behaviors, rules, and expectations that "pattern social behavior: norms, folkways, custom, conventions, etiquette and law." Examples of institutions include religion, art, a kinship system, law, and family life" (online Anthropological Glossary

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<sup>21</sup> Those are the new institutionalism of Lecours (2005), institutional organization and social organization of Coward (1980, 1991).

<sup>22</sup> Deconstruction theory (see in Partiff 2001) is built base on two philosophers Derridian idea of deconstruction (Jacques Derrida) and Levinasian ethics (Emanuel Levinas) which rejects the post- development theory (which tends to reject development or/and IDA). Deconstruction theory has this reason to claim with the post-development theory "...development has no end. It is a project without a horizon" (Parfitt 2001: 161).

<sup>23</sup> The reason for utilizing this theory is to facilitate my study; I am not trying to make "ground-breaking discoveries, only to be told by their older peers that they have heard it all before." (Halpern 2005: 3).

website). Other scholars use the term “social fabric” or “social capital” (see Halpern 2005, and Putnam 1995<sup>24</sup>).

- “Social organization” here refers to a human group (Coward 1991: 48-49).
- “Essential conditions” refer to ecological and demographic conditions.
- “Technology or knowledge” refers to the technical/knowledge application that villagers develop or/and borrow or/and are imposed on them to survive.

These four elements have to work together in harmony. When any of the four elements is changed – when new kinds of technology are introduced, new types of organization are created, and new rules and social norms are imposed – the other three elements also have to be reshaped to continue to function smoothly (see Figure 5).<sup>25</sup>

Since 1992, IDA has brought new technology, built new infrastructure, and established many organizations and institutions in Cambodia. Often these changes are problematic as they are not suited to the institutions and social conditions (especially the kinship systems) found in rural Cambodian villages.<sup>26</sup>

There are four limitations which this thesis is not possible to cover: (a) The effectiveness of IDA or/and development is depending on two factors: the effective community and the consistency of the development actors’ concepts on what target people (at the grassroots level) want and need. While the first factor is studied by this research, the latter is not covered leaving another factor unstudies. This is because of the time limitation and the capacity of my research. The second factor can be another research PhD dissertation; (b) Sample size and sample frame are small: it was just 20 samples within 200 families sample frame; (c) Applicability of this research is only to the rural society or rural community; and (d) I did not

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<sup>24</sup> “Social capital” also refers to the intangible levels of trust that keep societies together, healthy, crime-free and livable. The World Bank uses “social capital” to refer to the institutions, relationships, and norms that shape the quality and quantity of a society’s social interactions. Increasing evidence shows that social cohesion is critical for societies to prosper economically and for development to be sustainable. “Social capital is not just the sum of the institutions which underpin a society – it is the glue that holds them together” (World Bank, website). Hence by social capital, it includes the social organization and institutional organization, which I defined in this thesis here.

<sup>25</sup> Here, my focus is not historical change, but on the changes that occur in response to “development.”

<sup>26</sup> Economists study institutions from two perspectives. Firstly, how do institutions survive and evolve? In this perspective, institutions arise from the “*Nash equilibria* of games.” [the Nash equilibrium (named after John Nash who proposed it) is a kind of optimal collective strategy in a game involving two or more players, where no player has anything to gain by changing only his or her own strategy. If each player has chosen a strategy and no player can benefit by changing his or her strategy while the other players keep theirs unchanged, then the current set of strategy choices and the corresponding payoffs constitute a Nash equilibrium.] For example, whenever people pass each other in a corridor or thoroughfare, there is a need for customs – such as keeping to their right (or left) to avoid collisions. Such a choice is arbitrary as long as it is uniform and consistent. Secondly, how do institutions affect behavior? Here, the focus is on the behavior arising from a given set of institutional rules. In these models, institutions determine the rules (i.e. strategy sets and utility functions) of games, rather than arising as *equilibria* out of games. For example, the Cournot duopoly model is based on an institution involving an auctioneer who sells all goods at the market-clearing price. While it is always possible to analyze behavior with the institutions as an *equilibria* approach instead, it is much more complicated. Sociologists traditionally analyzed social institutions in terms of interlocking social role [(sometimes spelled as *rôle*). Here, social roles are a set of connected behaviors, rights, and obligations as conceptualized by actors in a social situation. It is mostly defined as an expected behavior in a given individual social status and social position and expectations. Social institutions were created and composed of groups of roles, or expected behaviors. The social function of these institutions was served by the fulfillment of roles. Basic biological requirements, for reproduction and care of the young, are served by the institutions of marriage and family, by creating, elaborating and prescribing the behaviors expected for husband/father, wife/mother, child, etc (encyclopedia-online website).

include the private sector as a development or IDA's actor while the Cambodian World Bank office has one section working on small and medium enterprises (SMEs)<sup>27</sup>. I have two reasons (i) as I felt that in Cambodian rural the private sector is represented by SMEs with small employments or "a family type workshop or enterprise"- (pers comm.. with Ms. Naomi Hatsukano- a researcher at Institute of Developing Studies- Japan: IDE-JETRO who is researching on Cambodian SME- 4 Nov 2005); (ii) the SMEs could be also included in the community the bottom actor of IDA or development as they are grouping into association- then it is in there within the community.

Beside *Sambo* village I visited other villages (see the location of visited villages in Map 2) and other provincial level NGOs (Cambodian local NGOs) in an attempt to make implication of the results that I found in *Sambo* (the name of provincial NGOs can be found in table 34 of Appendices A).

The intention of this thesis is to provide information that will help development professionals avoid such clashes of culture at the grassroots-level of community. The following is the structure of the thesis.

#### **1.4 Structure of the Thesis**

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. Chapter One is introduction. Chapter Two consists of the literature review. Chapter Three contains the history of international development assistance (IDA), a review of trends of IDA, the impacts made by IDA inside the recipient countries, the key development measurements together with the general description of NGOs and community are given as the background for next chapter. Chapter Four provides detailed information about Cambodia's current development planning, which consists of Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP), Socio-Economic Development Plan (SEDP) and National Poverty Reduction Strategy (NPRS). As about 80% of Cambodians are agriculturists, I have also included policy statements made during the election campaign of 2003 by Cambodia's politicians concerning irrigation and agricultural development. Chapter Five starts by introducing some popular theory on development or IDA, and then continues with the discussion on two dimensions of IDA's supporting structure: vertical and horizontal dimensions. In Chapter Five- a theory of an ideal society is defined based on four ideal basic components – a). Institution- "refers to ideal behavior and role expectations and as a generic concept for the variety for rules that help pattern social behavior: norms, folkways, custom, conventions, etiquette and law. b). Social organization refers to a human group (Coward 1991: 48). c). Essential conditions refer to those ecological conditions (e.g. geographical condition of a society or village) and demographic conditions and others; d). While technology refers to the technical application that people (villagers) develop or/and borrow or/and imposed by others to the villagers to cope with the essential condition. People (villagers) in a society (village) develop, create, modify and keep changing from time to time to be able to survive those components.

Then in Chapter Six, for deeper understanding, a village name *Sambo* (locates in the central part of Cambodia- *Kampong Thom* Province) is used as a proxy to explain the detail of the four elements which I

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<sup>27</sup> This inclusion was also suggested by a World Bank Cambodian office- expert on poverty reduction while I consulted with.

described in previous chapter. Chapter Six is divided into two main sub-topics: the history of *Sambo* village and the description of four ideal components of the village. In history of the village, I have made a historical depiction of the human settlements in the area since the pre-historic period until the present day based on (i) result of my anthropological research; (ii) inscriptions (especially the inscription analysis made by Vickery (1998)- a well known historian researching on ancient history of Cambodia); (iii) Cambodian history; (iv) The history of world rice; (v) and aerial photo graph of the region with field verification. In the description of the four elements I took twenty samples (households) from the total 210 households of *Sambo* village to research with special focusing on four ideal components: (a) essential conditions: which is consisted of (i) ecological and demographic condition, (ii) social condition (kinship, house condition, education and health systems and gender), (iii) The village and family economic (income, expenditure, property, and others). (b) Institutional organization, in which it includes the religion and ritual activities (ceremonies) in the village. (c) the third component of the society is technology- as *Sambo* is a rural village of Cambodia (and the same case for other rural villages of other developing countries), the technology of which villagers possess are the agricultural knowledge. In here I show the knowledge of how the villagers are preserving the rice seed, the techniques of rice cultivation in all local ecological conditions. In final part of Chapter five, I intensively gave a detail of social organizations which existed in the village. Three types of social organizations were found in the village: nine modern organization or communities (or artificial type) which were set up and backed by the development agencies (NGOs); Seven traditional or indigenous communities which were emerged in the society, mostly it activities purposes are for the religious activities; and the third type is a vernacular community- which is practiced by the villagers for the modern development purpose.

Chapter Seven is reserved for the testing of an indigenous or traditional community to find out whether this community type can be used for to support IDA at the grassroots level or not? Hence in this chapter all detail of reciprocal labor exchange which is practiced in *Sambo* village is show.

In Chapter Eight, is the analysis chapter- in here the analysis is made into two major scales: (i) the comparison of the *Sambo* data with the national data, especially the popular meter which are used to measure the development grade of a country and a level of living of the people of a certain country- those are the GDP, HDI, and poverty line. (ii) the analysis on the social organization.

According to the data and the experience of collecting and generating the data together with the reviewing of the existing research- it is likely that the GDP, HDI, and poverty cannot be used for as the indicator or compass to allocate and to ensure to have an effectiveness of IDA. GDP seems can only be used for the country to country level comparison. HDI cannot covers all dimensions of the society as it is cover only three basic needs of the human (income, education and life expectancy) but in developing country as Cambodia, how to have income? How to evaluate a literate person? The previous question is tested in this dissertation, and finding that it is impossible to control the income of a household as stated here by the WFP here “Income is also a useful monetary measure, but in developing countries such as Cambodia many people earn their incomes in the unrecorded, informal sector. In such a context, income is unlikely to reflect real welfare very well. Consumption may be thought of as a good approximation of true

welfare, but it is by no means a perfect measure” (WFP 2003: 2)” and in *Sambo* the income and expenditure is not fixed and impossible to be converted into currency. The foods- wild vegetable and wild meat are used, and it is free of charge or on the exchanging basis. These food items are none circulated in market, leading not possible to be converted into currency. As HDI is based on income as one factors among other three, then how HDI can generated? Another factor is education, “HDI calculates on the average of year, children spend at school but not how much has been learn during those years” (Storey 2003: 33), and HDI is Eurocentrism as “average years’ schooling refers to Western-type classroom schooling, thus devaluing other forms of education” that take places in the rural area of Cambodia as well as in *Sambo*, where villagers are educated in the pagoda.

Then for the poverty line- this is not only for the Cambodia country, most of the developing countries use calories intake to generate the poverty line. In Cambodia 2,100 kcal is used for the measurement by converting this number into the currency, any person consuming less than that is poor. However, “...it is not appropriate for the reality as the calculation is based on the “caloric requirements to the basal metabolic rate, which broadly corresponds to a passive physical state without any undue expenditure of energy in work” (Saith 2005: 4602-4603). Assuming that amount is correct, but in reality especially in *Sambo* food such as wild vegetable and wild meat are not for sale but for free or for exchange. Those free and exchanged foods are hardly to calculate it into the currency as it is not marketing (no circulation in the local and regional market).

Then the analysis comes to the second part- the social organization. The modern social organization or community is artificially created by the outsider for the modern type activities- that is modern development activities<sup>28</sup>. Modern organization and indigenous organization were taken to compare in term of villagers participation, resource mobilization, transparency, and ownership. The latter was emerged for the indigenous purposes especially for the religious and ritual purposes and projects. After comparing it found that the latter is much more advance than the previous but except one- most of the present development activities are non indigenous and non- religious. A dike repair in *Sambo* is a good example to show that, at the present, neither the modern and traditional or indigenous cannot manage to reconstruct the dike. It is a mix type of the two communities. This type of community is called vernacular community.

For the starting I would like to turn your attention to the methodology which I used in this thesis research.

## **1.5 Research Methodology**

During the preliminary stages of my research, I completed a literature review to locate gaps in the research on Cambodian rural development, and I consulted extensively with my thesis advisors (Professor Yasushi Kikuchi, Professor Glenda Roberts, Professor Abe, and Professor Shiraishi Masaya) of Graduate School of Asia Pacific Studies and Professor Nishimura Masao of School of Literature at Waseda

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<sup>28</sup> I said it is modern because there society is changing- the changing is development. Development today which is made and imposed by the development agent, calls the modern, the others are indigenous. Modern development require modern activities or non-indigenous activities while the traditional or indigenous development requires indigenous activities.

University and other experts in the field of Cambodian development. The main goal of this consultation was to find out if my topic could be researched, and to avoid replicating similar research. Questions to answer included: what approaches were other researchers in IDA taking? What were current trends among development professionals? As an anthropologist it was essential that I was able to test evidence myself, and not rely on the reports of others.

My literature review was made using library archives and online archives (Waseda shares an extensive online library with universities in the USA, UK and Europe as well as Asia) in Cambodia, Japan and other countries. I worked in the library of Waseda University and online in the GSAPS students' PhD room (Building 12). Documents that proved particularly useful were from the Institute of Development Studies (IDS-UK), one of the world's leading institutions for research, teaching and communication on international development. Another useful publication was Robert Chambers (1980, 1988, 1997, and 2005) whose methodology – the “participatory approach – is popular today with development professionals. A subscription to an online link on development “think tank” (development gateway web site) publication was also useful<sup>29</sup>. The results of the literature review were written up and presented at a group seminar. The comments and advice from other graduate students and my advisors was used to reconfigure my research until I came up with a draft research proposal: “Toward Effective International Development Assistance: Grassroots-Level Community in Cambodia, Case of *Sambo* village, *Kampong Thom* Province.” After formulating this draft research proposal, I finalized the details of my research methodology and the objectives of my research, and prepared to go to Cambodia to do fieldwork. The location of fieldwork was specified using a sketch map, and I established a schedule for interviews. At this stage of my research, there were two major questions to be asked:

- Does any effective grassroots level community exist in Cambodia, which successfully transmits IDA to the target community?
- How can this grassroots-level community be replicated elsewhere in Cambodia?

From these two main questions, a series of sub-questions were formulated:

- Does an effective community exist in *Sambo* village?
- What factors formed this effective community?
- Is this community traditional or indigenous, modern or vernacular?
- Can this community be used for IDA?

Additional questions to be asked concern the technology, social organization, institutional organization and essential conditions in the community:

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<sup>29</sup> Beside the above, when I went to do field research, I always checked the library in Cambodia, especially the Cambodian Development Resource Institute (CDRI), Japan Volunteer Center (JVC) and other NGOs and development program libraries to browse out the documents, which are related to my research topic.

- How do these components support and complement each other?
- What is an effective community based on?
- How can the data collected in *Sambo* village be generalized for other areas of Cambodia and other developing countries?

### 1.5.1 Data Collection

To collect data<sup>30</sup>, I designed questionnaires based on the above research questions and on my preliminary field research (August 2003). During the preliminary research I gathered information about relevant topics: special terminology, techniques, events, locations and names were noted for future usage. My preliminary research was essential for designing questionnaires suitable for the villagers. Moreover, this preliminary research provided information about the annual calendar of the village, and assisted me in scheduling my fieldwork. Even after I prepared questionnaires based on information gathered during preliminary research, I had to remain flexible in the field. For example, when I asked: “how many tons of rice do you get?” I found villagers were unable to answer because they still used traditional measurements such as *thang* (one *thang* is equivalent to twenty-eight kilograms of rice).<sup>31</sup>

In addition to the data collected in questionnaires. I also made use of open-ended, unstructured interviews with key informants, direct participation, and observation to collect qualitative and quantitative data.<sup>32</sup> The data I collected consisted of:

- The history of the village: human settlement in the area, differences between the present and the past (working capacity, rice production and rice cultivation techniques).
- The essential conditions of the village: ecological, demographical, social and economical condition. (The ecological and demographical conditions consist of topographical features, population, precipitation, temperature and soils type of the village. Social conditions refer to the type of house (especially the roof), education, health systems and gender.)
- The village economic conditions: a) means of production (the land possessing by each household, labor force, and irrigation systems), (b) production systems (transportation, rice seeds, other crops, forest products, fishing, and home production and craft), (c) other activities (animal husbandry, selling food at the ancient monument sites, working for development and/or conservation projects or programs), (d) the family economy; income (income per person, income per household, family rice production, cashew nuts, watermelon, and other income sources), consumption and

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<sup>30</sup> Some data which were used in this dissertation were collected since I was in the MA course.

<sup>31</sup> Another example is the way villagers measure their rice fields. Rather than calculating the size by hectare or square meters, the villagers express size by the amount of rice seed needed to sow the field.

<sup>32</sup>Quantitative data is anything that can be expressed as a number, or quantified. This data can be represented by ordinal, interval or ratio scales, and lends itself to most statistical manipulation. Qualitative data cannot be expressed as a number. Data that represents nominal scales such as gender, socio-economic status, and religious preference is usually considered to be qualitative data.



expenditure, savings, barter, cash systems and public places and markets and common rice bank of the village.

- Institutional organization: religious and ritual activities; religious conversion, and permission for migration and business travel.
- Technology or knowledge systems: rice varieties used in the village, characteristics of each rice variety, techniques for rice cultivation (transplantation, planting, broadcasting).
- Social organization: modern organization (NGO-backed organization, government-backed organization and NGO and Government-backed organization); traditional or indigenous organization, and vernacular organization.

While data collection and analysis is useful,<sup>33</sup> most ethnographers (whether sociology or anthropology is their primary discipline) recognize that the collective representation of social life is a complex task. Equally, they recognize the fundamentally constitutive nature of language. That is, language use creates and constructs social reality. Interpretative anthropologists, for instance, are committed to the ideals of 'thick description', while symbolic interactionists equally endorse an interpretative sociology that places language at the heart of an essentially constructivist view of reality and representation. Said's (1978) sustained commentary on the *orientalism* of western observation has served to strengthen the case that traditional ethnographic texts have a privileging effect: that is, the cultures that have been represented have been reduced to the subjugated and muted objects of a dominating discourse.

### 1.5.2 Methods

In my research, I have used qualitative, quantitative and ethnographical methods. In order to pay attention to the validity, reliability and accuracy of the raw data, I applied rigid discipline to the data construction process. The four main types of data construction used in cultural anthropology are: (1) relatively open-ended, unstructured interviews with key informants, (2) structured interview of respondents who in the case of surveys, (3) direct observation of behavior and environmental features and (4) extraction of information from existing records.

In this thesis, data was collected using both non-sampling and sampling method. Non-sampling was used to collect qualitative data, while sampling was used to collect quantitative data through qualitative method. I aimed to produce social explanations to intellectual puzzle and generalizable explanations. The sampling frame is a village composed of 210 families; out of this frame 20 families were randomly selected for detailed data collection and analysis.

My research methods include:

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<sup>33</sup> As Bernard *et al.*, (1986: 389) wrote: "different research goals will imply collecting data of varying detail, depending on the level of analysis for which they are intended."

- Use of documentary data: in using this data I carefully consider how, why, under what conditions and by whom the materials were collected.
- Unstructured interviewing<sup>34</sup>. This method consisted of four types: (i) open-ended conversation<sup>35</sup>; (ii) eliciting data from informants in culturally predefined chunks (here, those informants concerned with development. (Data used can include notebooks belonging to the village chief, head monk or *achar* or training records kept by NGO staff) (iii) unstructured interviews combined with the direct observation of behavior (sometimes called opportunistic or on-the spot interview or grass-hut interview); (iv) semi-structured interviews, in which the questions follow predetermined patterns, but the focus shifts according to the responses of the informants. This method is used for the elicitation of taxonomies.
- Structured interviewing. This technique elicits information by systematically asking the same question of every individual in a sample of informants. I used structured interviewing for sampling informants.
- Direct observation. This is an ideal instrument for social science. Here the observer is supposed to be unobtrusive and omniscient, describing without omission or distortion the environmental conditions of a particular field site, all the behavior of the participants, and all their utterances. I applied this technique when observing religious festivals, public gathering, and reciprocal labor exchange in rice cultivation. This method helps to verify what it is that people are actually describing when I ask them to recall events. The method can be subdivided into five categories: (i) Direct measurement of the environment (rainfall, soils, plants, material cultural features such as houses...); (ii) Non-reactive measurements. These are used to observing the residual effects or consequences of the behavior of individuals and other, indirect measures that may be very intrusive but still claim to give accurate indicators of behavior (e.g., this method is used in measuring food usage. If I watch food being prepared in a particular household I can collect accurate data on how much food is used, what kind of utensils, such as gourds, baskets, pots are used, and so on; (iii) Time allocation studies. This method is used to make spot checks (instantaneous scan) of randomly chosen individuals at randomly chosen times, each observation being like a snapshot or “instantaneous slice” of stream of behavior. Based on direct observation of an activity at the moment it occurs, make it possible to describe the division of labor by sex, age and social or economic status, patterns of social interaction as seen in neighborhood relation, gift or rice seed exchange. This is useful in situations when informants are busy working, or do not want to be interviewed; (iv) Time frame studies. It is often essential to do research – especially research on agricultural matters – during the appropriate time frame. In Cambodia, rice is

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<sup>34</sup>Unstructured interviewing is a technique often used by ethnographers. The principle weakness of unstructured interviewing is that data is usually not comparable across informants and is incomplete because systematic coverage of all topics is impossible. (Bernard *et al.* 1986: 384) To counteract this weakness, I used other methods as well.

<sup>35</sup> “this [allows]... key informant or informant to have great freedom to express themselves using their own cultural constructs independently of the presuppositions of the ethnographer. In order words, its strength is the trustworthiness or validity of the data collected” (Bernard *et al.*, 1986: 384).

cultivated during the rainy season and harvested in the dry season. Festivals and religious ceremonies take place at specific times of the year. I found that time frame studies allowed me to make an annual calendar for specific households; (v) Participation observation. This method requires anything related to the central of focus of research to be written down in a field notebook<sup>36</sup>.

### 1.5.3 Field Research

During my field research, I followed the Code of Ethics of the American Anthropological Association<sup>37</sup>.

Most of my field research took place in *Sambo* village. However, I also visited several other villages in different locations to verify and support my field research in *Sambo* village<sup>38</sup>. I also visited urban areas (mainly Phnom Penh and Kampong Thom provincial town) to meet with donors, government officials and NGOs where I conducted (1) relatively open-ended, unstructured interviews with key informants, (2) structured interviews of respondents during surveys; (3) direct observation of behavior and environmental features and (4) extraction of information from archives and records. I participated in the provincial level workshops<sup>39</sup> to observe the activities and the participation of the people within the process of development.

The donors, government institutions and NGOs I visited included the JICA, UNDP office, World Food Program, Food and Agricultural Organization, World Bank, ADB, Canada International Development Agency (CIDA) and others], the Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Water Resource, Ministry of Land Management, Ministry of Planning, Department of Geography and Department of Fishery, National Mekong River Commission, and CEDAC (Centre d'Etude et de Development Agricole Cambodgien). Wherever there was a library available, I reviewed and photocopied relevant documents and interviewed staff and senior officers. In rural areas, I interviewed provincial, district and commune authorities.

Because I lived<sup>40</sup> in *Sambo* village for several years before I started my thesis research, I had a wide network of contacts and had no difficulty carrying out non –structured interviews and participant observation, It was important to choose the correct time and place to ask questions, for example, after harvest was complete or during religious festivals, when people do not have to work and can relax together.

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<sup>36</sup> For example, when I observed a reciprocal labor exchange, I noted all the details relating to this event: time, participants, and location...). This method can also be called the omniscient observer method: informants cannot hide from the omniscient observer, who describes all behavior (of course, achieving this ideal is impractical- nevertheless at least I have to maximize it)

<sup>37</sup> “The AAA ethics committee has developed guidelines for fieldwork which in essence state that an anthropologist should do no harm to a study population.

<sup>38</sup> Those villages are: (i) Kandal prov., Kouk Romiet village (10 Sep 2003); (ii) Kratie prov., Preaek and Srea Khoean villages (5-9 Feb 2004); (iii) Kampong Chhnang prov., Khla Krohuem and Toap Srov villages (24-25 Feb 2004); (iv) Siem Reap prov., Kouk Doung village (27 July 2004); (v) Svay Rieng prov., Prey Praeus and Thmei villages (23 Dec 2004 and 16 Jan 2005) and; (vi) Pursat prov., Doung Chuor and Baoh Puoy villages (20-21 Feb 2005); (vii) Prey Veng prov., Kansaom Ak and Tong Neak villages (14-15 March 2005); and Kampong Cham province (prov.), Kdei Boeng village (15 April 2005)

<sup>39</sup> Land Law Workshop in *Kampong Cham* province 12 Sep 2004; Public Forum on Understanding People’s Fundamental Livelihood Right and the Law 14-15 Dec 2004, in *Svay Rieng* province, Workshop on the Advocacy Strategy 21-23 Dec 2004 in *Svay Rieng* Provincial town.

<sup>40</sup> I should repeat again, I’ve been researching in this village since 2001 while I was in MA course.

The sampling was made from the sampling frame of 210 households. Out of these frames, twenty households were randomly taken to be the sample size. Here as I already mentioned the sampling method is conducted as it facilitates to take some quantitative data.

For each samples a list of research questions was compiled and then printed out in a pocket-sized form for easy access (see research question in the appendix).

#### **1.5.4 Key informants**

Since 2002, I have had a key informant who worked for me as an assistant, tutor and guide as well as an informant. This key informant 'A' put me in contact with a group of key informants consisting of monks, *achar*, and village elders (male and female), village chiefs and the local schoolteacher. I found all of these key informants to be invaluable sources of information. They guided me around *Sambo* village, translated the local dialect, and explained local ways of thinking, measuring, and expressing concepts. They identified topics of potential interest and concern, and most importantly, helped me to produce effective questionnaires.

#### **1.5.5 Equipment Used**

I used a tape recorder at the beginning of my fieldwork, but found it unhelpful and soon stopped taping interviews. I found a notebook and pen more useful while collecting quantitative data. I took notes during interviews and wrote up notes at the end of each day. I constantly reviewed my field notes to see what I had already done, and what I needed to accomplish. I sometime used a digital camera and found that photographs I took of each sample household helped me remember the location and the informants when I returned to Japan.

#### **1.5.6 Other**

While doing fieldwork in *Sambo* village, I stayed in the villagers' houses. This allowed me to participate and observe the villagers' daily routines from early morning until they went to bed at night. This is an advantage for me (I dare to declare) comparing with some development agents and some researchers while they arrive there at the earliest 9am and leave the village at the latest 16 pm the same day. To stay there, to eat what villagers have and to make friendship is useful in information gathering. Villagers feel that I share their hardiness, their thought and I am part of their families. Here the sense of almost-affiliation and consanguinity was made up.

### **1.6 Data Entry**

All field notes and taped interviews were typed into a computer and classified into different date by the informant's name.

Data was computerized into the following category:

C:\...\2000 data from the field conducted in 2000  
 -----\2001 data from the field conducted in 2001  
 -----\2001\Jan\ data from the field conducted in 2001 January  
 -----\2001\Jan\25 data from the field conducted in 2001 January 25  
 -----\2001\Jan\25\tape data from the field conducted in 2001 January 25, from tape  
 -----\2001\Jan\25\notebook data from the field conducted in 2001 January 25, from notebook

For individual informants:

-----\2001\Jan\25\tape \Mr X data from the field conducted in 2001 January 25, from tape and informant's name is Mr.X  
 -----\2001\Jan\25\notebook\Ms.Y data from the field conducted in 2001 January 25, from note book and informant's name is Ms. Y

For group informants:

-----\2001\Jan\25\tape \event A data from the field conducted in 2001 January 25, from tape and from a group of villagers while celebrating or joining an event names A  
 -----\2001\Jan\25\notebook\event A data from the field conducted in 2001 January 25, from notebook and from a group of villagers while celebrating or joining an event names A

For observation notes and interpretations:

-----\2001\Jan\25\notebook\event H data from the field conducted in 2001 January 25, from notebook while observing a ceremony or gathering or a scene names H

*Sampling data: (field notebook only)*

-----\2001\Jan\25\notebook\sample 1 data from the field conducted in 2001 January 25, from notebook and from sample number 1 (code number).

## 1.7 Data Analysis

Although my original research proposal called for SPSS, this proved unnecessary. I was able to enter my data into Microsoft EXCEL<sup>41</sup>, and use my field notebooks for backup and clarification.

The data was analyzed in two phases. First, the statistical data from *Sambo* village (income, HDI, expenses and rice production) was compared to other available data (including the national data). The goal of this analysis was to show any differences between *Sambo* village and the rest of the country<sup>42</sup>.

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<sup>41</sup> This Microsoft software provides some basic functions that also similar to the SPSS, such as to calculate mean, median and mode.

<sup>42</sup> Although it is inconsistent to compare one village with the national figures, I believe that the differences provide useful information.

The goal of the second step of analysis is to answer the two main questions: (i) Does an effective grassroots-level community (GLC) exist in Cambodia which can be served as a bridge to successfully transfer IDA? (ii) If so, can this GLC be replicated elsewhere in Cambodian society? To answer these two main questions, I first determined the characteristics of effective community: transparency, ownership, participation, resource mobilization, and transparency. These criteria are realized whenever the community (which is an effective one) is optimizing its characters to match with the other three ideal components of society- the horizontal dimension of IDA (as I referred in the beginning of this introduction: there are the four ideal components of society<sup>43</sup>). At the same time, vertically, to be an effective community, it has to be supported and recognized by the other three actors of development- donor, recipient government and NGOs. If a community (whether it is modern, indigenous or vernacular) has characteristics that correspond to match all two dimensions of supporting structure of IDA, it can be considered effective.

As other research, before coming into the core of the research, it needs to review the archival documents in order to make a jump in and for such reason the coming Chapter is reserved for this work- the literature review.

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<sup>43</sup> The other three ideal components of society are the community's institutions, technology or knowledge, and essential conditions.

## **CHAPTER 2 Literature Review and Major Development Theories**

### **2.1 Literature Review**

Looking at the available literatures relevant to this topic, at the international level, it is clear that there is short of integrated approaches in research concerning with development focusing on involved actors of development were fragmented<sup>44</sup> and can be divided into four categories respectively listed here according to available degree from its richness to rareness. Category one, those were focused on people or peasants or the local institution alone and as country's case (on the recipient's side and at country level- very macro level while the target of development are those local poor people), Japan- Beardsley (1980), South India and Sri Lanka -Chambers (1980), Thailand- Tanabe (1994), Pakistan- Mohsin (1999) and Taiwan- Lam (2001). Category two, the documents focus on recipient government with special highlight on especially the bureaucracy of development policy and management department of the recipient government as the concerned issues (Coward 1980, Sampath et al. 1990, Uphoff et al. 1991, Cernea 1991, Abernethy et al. 1998). Category three, the study about the involvement of NGOs in on development and according to the author, the water user groups are NGOs in Vietnam (Sinh 2002) and farmers' organizations promoted by World Bank are the NGOs involved in irrigation development in Pakistan (Latif et.al. 2003). Category four, are the documents about donor or loan agencies with the main issue of how to efficiently allocate the fund, aid or managing a large scale development project (Carruthers 1983, Small 1990, Uphoff 1990, Klein et al. 2005). There is another additional category, with a combination approach that explores, either donor and recipient government attitude toward or objectives on development (Chambers 1988, Vincent 1994), the donor and recipient views on development assistance in general (McCawley 1998), the guideline produced by World Bank (Plusquellec 1994, World Bank 1998) and by the Netherlands Development Assistance (NEDA 1998), and the relationship between governments, state's agencies and farmers in the governance and management of large-scale agricultural development (Johnson et al. 2003).

As previously mentioned, the institution and social organization (the key terms, I borrowed from Coward 1995) more or less has some relationships with another key term "social capital". Then a short literature review was also made aiming to find out the meaning and usage of social capital term. According to my preliminary documents research, social capital is used in different meanings: (i) social capital as a soft part of social network (social network here refers to the human group) social fabric (Halpern 2005), the intangible levels of trust that keep societies together, healthy, crime-free and livable (Putnam 1995- bowling alone); "Social capital refers to the institutions, relationships, and norms that shape the quality and quantity of a society's social interactions. Increasing evidence shows that social cohesion is critical for societies to prosper economically and for development to be sustainable. Social capital is not just the sum of the institutions which underpin a society – it is the glue that holds them together" (World Bank), (ii)

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<sup>44</sup> As rural development involve with four actors: donor or loan agencies, recipient government, NGOs, and peasants, so any attempt to explore the performance of development should cover all four actors. But as literature review, researchers or scholar were fragmentally selected their focus of studies on one or two actors for their analysis and approaches, e.g. peasant, or recipient government.

Social capital as a human group (people join in a group) based on ethnicity (Brettell 2005)<sup>45</sup>; (iii) social capital is a synergy which shape or complement to strengthen and define the solution between two institutions such as in Evans (1996) “state and society synergy”.

It is also found that a research tendency uses a key term “social capital” which serves as a factor of effectiveness of community and regional and governance and economic development in Italy (Puttnam 1993) and the factors of effectiveness of regional government of United States (Puttnam 1995a & b). However, the unlimited of social capital meaning gives a great wide analysis opportunity to the scholar and also leads to have a barrier for scholars make further identification and analysis the ideal elements which constitute a society. Here are some distinguished research on social capital:

At Cambodian level, document for grassroots level community in Cambodia is scant<sup>46</sup>. Most of the available literatures were more or less are focusing on peasant and rural society of Cambodia (Delvert 1960, Ebihara 1968, Ovesen et al. 1996, Krishnamurthy 1999); on purely agricultural development with rice cultivation as their main topic of discussion (Mak 1997, Nesbitt 1997, Cox et al. 2000); on social structure for development of Cambodian society (Ledgerwood 1995, Vijghen et al. 1996, Sri 1997a & b, Kazuki 1999, Kyoko 2002); and the other group was strongly on archaeological discovery (as I mentioned early, Groslier 1979, van Liere 1980, Dumarcay, 1994 & 1997).

Then, my literature review was not stopped, I went further to broaden my literature’s enquiry, as I want to know whether anyone deals with a Cambodian development or aid assistance with approaching to find the matching concept of development among the IDA’s actors, I have found that a group of scholars (Nachmias 1999, Rita 2000, Gollogly 2002) were dealing with this subject, but they appeared to judge that there are only two actors involved in Cambodian development, international community and local authority (according to authors, they are the donor and the recipient government) so the participation of local community and the NGOs were overlooked. The other group’s authors (Godfrey et al. 2002) provide a great study on technical assistance and capacity building in Cambodia using an empirical research on three actors, donor, Cambodian governments (government institutions) and NGOs. However, their approach was missing out one main actor- that is the local people or grassroots level community or peasant and deals only with the assistance on capacity building. Conway (1999) came up with another approach in his Ph.D dissertation by exploring the international aid to Cambodia at national and provincial levels through the study of activities of one NGO. Chong (2002) has written about the model of aid in a failed state using UNTAC in Cambodia as a case, both of them are leaving the other three actors out of their frame of analysis. A group of Japanese experts on Cambodia with the support from JICA has made a very fresh study on Cambodia and covering almost all subjects counting from politics to history, but the grassroots community issue was not included (see JICA 2002).

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<sup>45</sup> Brettell researched on social capital emerged inside the Indian ethnic immigrant into US which composed of Indian with different religious Hindu. They come together to set up “Pan-ethnicity institutions [or organization]” and “Pan-ethnicity can yield competitive advantage because it fosters a unified voice and creates effective community capital” (Brettell 2005: 876).

<sup>46</sup> I am not alone who stated this, I found a confirmation in a thick volume of newly printed (2001) “Cambodia” which provides a selection of journal essays on Cambodia and divided into 5 parts but “...important issues related to urbanization and agricultural development are not included, simply because no journal essays on these subjects exist” Peou (2001: xii).



Stephen C. Smith, an economist and director of George Washington University's Research Program on Poverty, Development and Globalization, recently produced a straightforward and accessible book on the causes of poverty, and some successful programs for reducing it. (Smith 2005), Smith writes that pockets of intense poverty can persist even within growing economies because of self-reinforcing "traps" such as illiteracy, overpopulation and a lack of working capital. Smith reports on a number of successful programs that have helped desperately poor communities overcome those traps. He emphasizes micro-projects that rely on the commitment, ingenuity and hard work of poor people themselves. The book is part of a growing literature that questions the top-down approach taken by the United Nations, World Bank and regional development banks to alleviate poverty through major infrastructure projects, deregulation and reform of national economic institutions. Smith advocates a bottom-up approach that focuses on community efforts and relies on the generosity and involvement of individuals and "non-government organizations". Here he suggested using NGOs channel, however it is not efficient enough, and it needs to be channel directly to the community which this is the focus of this thesis

Reviewing was also made in the irrigation development studies and found two types of documents; one is the work of Mr. Than (1980) that was a good one with a review and an inventory list of Cambodian traditional irrigation tools. Second type is the studies with the support of international communities- World Bank, FAO and UNDP, which call to evaluate and to make inventory on the government capacity and existed physical irrigation systems of the country (Sir William Halcrow & Partners 1994, FAO 1994, Himel 1995). ADB Cambodian office, had hired a consultant firm to review the farmer water user communities, but it is found that the focus is on the formal community leaving those traditional and/or people self organization types out of the scope (Macdonald & partner 2001). In late 2003 a new trend was appeared, it was the popular of water issues studies as saw a conference on research on Asia water for agriculture was held in Cambodia. However, most of the scholars raised the issues of shortage of water for rice and solving that by proposing a improving of rice germplasm, field level (Nesbitt et.al. 2003, Fukai et.al. 2003, Bui 2003) as this conference held at a rice research institute and sponsored by IRRI (International Rice Research Institute). Beside this I did a research for MA thesis about Cambodian culture and society in a village with an attempt to explore the present situation of Cambodian rural society as a starting point to seek the sustainable agricultural development (Chay 2003a) and from that thesis, two papers were developed and published, one is about the irrigation systems using in a village with titling "traditional water usage" (Chay et. al. 2003) and the other is aimed to explore the traditional cooperation organization and its role in agricultural activities (Chay 2003b).

Newly collected lists of my literature which deal with the community and society or village level in Cambodia are Recharadson (2001)- an inventory of NGOs in Cambodia in which the NGOs were classified into four groups: (i) community-based organization; (ii) Membership groups/Associations; (iii) Cambodian NGOs; (iv) networks. Addition to Richardson, Kusakabe et al. (2002) has made a broader research covering not only NGOs but including as well the association, and religious associations. Seven classifications were made up by Kusakabe; those are (i) mutual helps associations; (ii) resource management association; (iii) Occupation associations; (iv) Advocacy associations; (v) Business

associations; (vi) Ethnic associations; (vii) religious and recreational associations. An outstanding attempt by a working group on social organization to make a review on all French literature on Cambodian society to find out the meaning of community in Cambodia, has ended with an unsure conclusion that “we have not started with a definition of community in this article, but the importance of bitterly understanding this notion is self-evident” (Brown 1999: 20).

Regarding the previous research on Cambodian Society and International Development Assistance toward development policy making could be divided into two groups which are supported each others. The two protagonist schools of understanding about Cambodian society: one is the group who supports the understanding that Cambodian society is “lack of community cohesion and is shattered by the civil war” and the other school argues the other way round. For those whose stance in the first group has been dominant and nowadays this argument has effectively been used in Cambodian development practices, resulting in the creation of artificial grassroots-level community such as VDCs (Village Development Committees), PBCs (Planning and budgeting Committees) and others.

The second school of thought is the minority. It is the minority because as long as I know, there are only three anthropologists and one sociologist who are standing in this position. A sociologist made his empirical assessment in a *Kandal*- southern part of Cambodia. He found that Cambodian villagers were entangled in a variety of networks, through which they can acquire several kinds of scarce resources (Giuseppe2000: 57), and he rejected the idea of the first school. Among three anthropologists, Ebihara studied Cambodian society with special attention to kinship systems since 1950s and 1960s with occasional visits in the 1990s, who did not elaborate further how to make use of Cambodian kinship into the contemporary (international) development assistance of Cambodia (Ebihara 1968, 1993, and Ebihara et. al. 1994). The second person is Ebihara’s successor- Ledgerwood – who continues the quest of her previous generation. She kept her focus on Cambodian kinship (1995). The only one of her research documentation relates to the development of Cambodia, i.e. “Rural Development in Cambodia: the view from the village” (Ledgerwood 1998). She nonetheless described that Cambodian society, before and after the war had not been or is lack of community cohesion or has not been shattered. Rather, she goes on to suggest how to make use of this social system for development. The only anthropologist, who has explored further, as far as I know, is Collins William. His research was published in 1998 (Collins 1998): it covered the experimentation of rural development during 1995-1998 made by two large projects, the CAREERE<sup>47</sup> (Cambodia Area Rehabilitation and Regeneration) supported by UNDP and UNOPS (United Nation Office for Project Support) covered five provinces and Rural Development project supported by GTZ<sup>48</sup> covered two provinces. The former created VDCs (as I described in the previous part) and the latter based on traditional systems – *wat* (monastery or pagoda) to be acted as grassroots-level community. After examining other provinces (besides GTZ’s target provinces) especially the CAREERE’s target provinces,

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<sup>47</sup> it was this project “CAREERE” that led to create SEILA program. At the beginning the project covered only 5 provinces of Cambodia (among 24 provinces) for experiment, of which I was a staff.

<sup>48</sup> GTZ project covered only two provinces: Kampong Thom and Kampot in the south. It is still there, covering the same provinces.

Collins suggested that development in Cambodia should be based on the community which GTZ used and found<sup>49</sup> because according to his research he confirmed that:

What is relevant to us in this German effort is their documentation of the extremely lively and diverse Civil Society activity that they found in the villages of Kampong Thom [a province in the central of Cambodia]. There is no reason to think that this province is unique in its preservation of traditional Cambodian social and cultural organizations, associations and activities. And indeed, our own research in Siem Reap and Battambang confirms that the same internally supported civic activities found by GTZ can be found elsewhere in Cambodia. Contrary to the agonized lament so often heard in Phnom Penh, that Pol Pot's regime [Khmer Rouge] of three years eight months and twenty days had destroyed Cambodian culture, indigenous Civil Society in, in fact, alive and flourishing in the countryside (Collins 1998: 10).

But nowadays no one follows his suggestion even the GTZ themselves. GTZ still now has rural development projects in the two provinces where their team suggested and confirmed by Collins that GTZ has become subordinate to and follows the majority school. VDCs were also created in their areas. Why? Two reasons: the intention of GTZ to use traditional systems was interrupted by the slowdown of German funding due to the internal political conflicts,<sup>50</sup> and the other may be, as Collins pointed out about the creation of VDCs, that “sociological terms, we recognize this policies experiment as an attempt to move away from traditional patterns of authority and particularistic loyalties and connections towards a legal-rational pattern for authority and a bureaucratic model for relationships typical of complex Western organization” (Collins 1998: 7).

Before getting started, next section will briefly discuss about major development theorist (academically<sup>51</sup>).

## **2.2 Major Development Theories**

In this part reviews on the development theory starting from modernization to dependency theory and post development and finish with deconstruction.

### **2.2.1 Modernization**

It roots in nineteenth and early twentieth century and its influences were in 1950s and 1960s and it is “lasting at least two millennia” (Parfitt 2002: 13)<sup>52</sup>, This theory still dominates the development practice today as Gardner et al. (1996: 12) wrote “Many technicians and administrators involved in project planning are still essentially modernizers, even if their jargon is more sophisticated than that of their predecessors in the 1960s.” Perhaps it is true that “it [modernization theory] was constructed by sociologists and political scientists involved in the rapidly expanding research and teaching programmes established by the US

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<sup>49</sup> In one of the two provinces (Kampong Thom province), three levels of grassroots organizations were identified by the GTZ's team: the first was at the pagoda level, which could include a consistency of parishioners from several villages. The second was the village level and the third was the sub-village level comprised of several families (Collins 1998:10)

<sup>50</sup> GTZ had intended to make a long term commitment to an experiment in development in the province of Kampong Thom [a province central Cambodia]. Unfortunately, the events of July 1997 brought about a slowdown in Germany funding which has curtailed the project (Collins 1998:9). In July 1997 there was a fighting inside the coalition Cambodian governments; some person names this event as a coup d'etat and many International Development Assistances were cut off or disturb by this event.

<sup>51</sup> I said academia as I know that there are other theory which is practical theory.

<sup>52</sup> Modernization sometime was called as “a post World War II phenomenon” (Mead 2005: 301)

government to equip the country with the regional expertise it needed to exercise its new role as a superpower” (Leys 2005: 111).

Theory of modernization assumes that local cultures and ‘peasant’ traditionalism are obstacle to development...Modernization also ignores the political implications of growth on the micro level. Premised on the notion of ‘trickle down’, it assumes that once economic growth has been attained, the whole population will reap the rewards.” (Gardner et al. 1996: 15)

The key goal of modernization is industrialization. A process of modernization is the transition from subsistence agriculture to cash-crop and urbanization. The concept of modernization can be counted to “Durkheim’s model of an industrialized “organic” society, Simmel’s thoughts on money economy and Weber’s discussion of the relationship between Protestantism and industrial capitalism...More recently the work of economist W.W. Rostow...” (Gardner et al. 1996: 12). Here is the notion of stages of growth: (i) traditional society; (ii) preconditions for take off; (iii) take off; (iv) Drive to maturity; (v) Age of high mass consumption (quoted from Storey 2003:26).

Development for modernization theory “was inseparably bound to the goal of achieving ‘take off’ into sustained economic growth; growth was, in turn linked to notions of political democracy, order, and integration, as well as to concepts of evolution, progress, and ‘modernization’ based on the Western experience of industrialization, urbanization,, technological change, and general social transformation” (M. Halib, 1992: 1-3, 172-8, quoted by King 1999: 54).

The modernization as a set strategies and theory was critic by many and most of the fundamental criticism of theories is “modernization theory does not distinguish between different groups within society, either because it assumes these to be homogenous...[Modernization] completely neglects historical and political factors which have made the playing field very far from level” (Gardner et al. 1996: 15). Through out the history of modernization many tragedies were emerged: deterioration; deculturation; and fragmentation of social relations. As quoted here by Nash (2005: 178):

(i) the ‘deterioration’ of peoples, communities, and industries forced to migrate either because of land seizure, pollution, or the search for wage work (Appadurai 1991, Gupta and Ferguson 1997); (ii) the ‘deculturation’ or homogenization of cultures with the loss of the symbolic and material reference points to cultural identity (Garcia Canclini 1999); and (iii) the fragmentation of social relations promoted by the commodification of social exchange (Nash 1993)” (Nash 2005: 178)

Facing with this, a development school of thought was emerged- a dependency theory which will be elaborated in the following section. Based on the right sort of assistance any human society could advance up the ladder of progress: on each successive rung, industrialization and democratization would proceeded hand-in-hand.

### **2.2.2 Dependency Theory**

As previously mentioned a new school was emerged to fill the gap of neglecting and “one of the first groups to explain development in terms of political and historical structures was the Economic Commission of Latin America (ECLA)” (Gardner et al. 1996: 16). This school based on the Marxist concepts of capitalism came up with a short conclusion “development is an essentially un-equalizing process: while the

rich nations get richer, the rest inevitably get poorer” (Gardner et al. 1996: 16). The theories which fall within this group include: the periphery and center of ‘world systems’ of Immanuel Wallerstein (1974) where the center is the Northern countries and the periphery are the southern countries. Notion of ‘one world’ of Worsley (1984) is also included in this group too. From these theories, the notions of ‘Third World’ and ‘First World’ have developed, recognizing the way in which the world is divided into different but interdependent.

Moreover the argument of dependency is also repeated internally inside the country (within a country) as “...[the] local elite, who, through their links with the center, spend considerable time taking profit out of the country (by investing, for example, in costly education abroad)...They [local elites] also exploit surrounding rural areas, through unequal exchange, for example in terms of trade between rural farmers and urban markets” (Gardner et al. 1996; 17).

The dependency theory found that the poverty or “underdevelopment” is embedded within particular political structure that’s why the theory or solution made by the modernization theorists does not work as it missed the root of the problem. From this position dependency theory suggest a solution- structural change, “..the only solution possible is radical, structural change”. (Gardner et al. 1996: 17). Internal restructures were seen in China and Cuba while these countries became communism and later on China tries to return. In Cambodia, if applying dependency theory, the Khmer Rouge regime maestro<sup>53</sup> might find Cambodia needed to be “restructured” then a mass removal is necessary, and gradually a killing field was created.

Return to the dependency theory, in fact this theory “failed to understand the nature of imperialism and capitalist development in the previously colonized South” (quoted Warren, 1998 by Gardner et al. 1996: 18). Even the dependency theory is a junior generation of modernization however it has some common pattern with modernization theory. More than this the theory missed the target as writing here “while modernization and dependency theory are politically polar opposites (one liberal and the other radical), “they have a surprising amount in common...Both assume that change comes ‘top-down’ from state...Most crucially for those at the receiving end of underdevelopment, neither offers a realistic solution.” (Gardner et al. 1996: 19). However, the theory still exists and used by the development agencies such as in World Banks as describing here “Notions of modernization survive in much contemporary developmental thought...agency such as the World Bank remain committed first and foremost to promoting economic growth....[and] dependency theory also continues to influence thought and practice.” (Gardner et al. 1996: 19).

As the modernization and dependency approaches have problematical concepts both within the academic and practical arena, as Escobar coins “modernization and dependency theories were the paradigms of the day. Little by little this consensus started to erode because of a number of factors, both social (increasing inability of development to fulfill its promises, the rise of movements that questioned the its very rationality) and intellectual (availability of new tools of analysis, chiefly post structuralism)” (Escoba 2000: 11) then the new theory is coming- the post-modernity.

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<sup>53</sup> Pol Pot- a top leader to Khmer Rouge regime and other leaders were living in French during the peak clash of theory of modernization and dependency theory.

### 2.2.3 Post-Modernism

“Toward the end of the 1980s a crisis emerged in development theory. Initially, this was referred to as the ‘impasse’. Most of the traditional theories that were used to examine and delineate development were regarded as having falling into doubt, (e.g. modernization theory)” (Parfitt 2002: 1). Post-modernism is any of a wide-ranging set of developments in critical theory, philosophy, architecture, art, literature, history, and culture, which are generally characterized as either emerging from, in reaction to, or superseding modernism. Post modern can be understood by its term- after modern (post means after), it is different from modern or contradict with modern, while “[M]odernism held that there was a concrete reality and progress that could be described with scientific and rational approaches of Western society. Post modernism responded that other cultures were equally valid and that scientific/linear thought was not the only way to trust, because no single trust exist” (Roberts et al. 2000: 18). This group sees development discourse as nothing more than an apparatus of control and surveillance (Cooper et al. 2005: 127).

### 2.2.4 Post Development

“In a reversal of modernization theory’s assumption that ‘traditional’ communities pose obstacle to change, some scholars and activists celebrate community as a valuable source of local or indigenous knowledge” (Agrawal 1999, quoted in Edelman et al. 2005: 49).

Arturo Escobar might be a good representative of post development theorist according to the protection he made in his publication 2000, “*Beyond the Search for Paradigm? Post-Development and Beyond*” (in *Society for Development, Development: Vol. 43: (4) 11-14, Palgrave Macmillan*) Cultural relativism is one of the post development theory “cultural relativism, one of the discipline’s central tenets, insists upon recognizing the inner logic of different societies” (Gardner et al. 1996: 23).

“A central characteristic of post-development thought is its analysis of development as a form of discourse” (Parfitt 2002: 28).

Arturo Escobar (1995) had preferred to refer development as a discourse<sup>54</sup> and he is very pessimistic about development as found in his book (Escobar 1995) he has put forward many coin terms and phrases to inform the readers about the danger and affect of development. To him development is a new type of colonization as he wrote:

...the development discourse is governed by the same principle [colonization principle]; it has created an extremely efficient apparatus for producing knowledge about, and exercise of power over, the Third World...In sum, it has successfully deployed a regime of government over the Third World, a ‘space for subject people’ that ensures certain control over it.” (Escobar 1995: 9).

Post development theorists were combined of the people geographically from the South and North with diverse academic background and rich of experiences and gender equity- this is according to

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<sup>54</sup> Based on the ideas of Michel Foucault [(October 15, 1926 – June 26, 1984) was a French philosopher who held a chair at the Collège de France, which he gave the title "The History of Systems of Thought." His writings have had an enormous impact on other scholarly work: his influence extends across the humanities and social sciences, and across many applied and professional areas of study- (Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia)], discourse theory refers to the idea that the terms in which we speak, write and think about the world are a reflection of wider relations of power and, since they are also linked to practice, are themselves important in maintaining that power structure (Gardner et al. 1996: xiv)

what Escobar claimed. By definition he tended to say that it represents the southern as well as the northern unlike others that most of the scholars are northern and male

...almost without exception the anti-postdevelopment critics are white male academics in the North.

The post-development movement was at least more diverse at this level, including men and women from both the North and the South, living and working in both the North and the South..." (Escobar 2000: 13).

Maybury-Lewis is another distinguish anthropologist who in the post development school. He has made great comments in his work "*Millennium*" (Maybury-Lewis 1992). According to his book modernization made problems and to solve this problem, indigenous traditions can be served as "the resource to tap, in order to solve contemporary problems cause by modernization and development-problems such as environmental destruction and loss of community" (Schech et al. 2000: 124).

### 2.2.5 Deconstruction

Coping with the impossibility of post development, a newly group was emerged giving the solution on how to pass the obstacle met by post development- those are the deconstruction development theorists. In fact deconstruction cannot be a theory (according to it position) or cannot be compared with or stances side by side on the same level as a theory as modernization or post modernization as Escobar "...[I] do not want to suggest that new set of works constitutes a unified position or even a trend"(Escobar 2000: 11). In fact deconstruction is just a part of post-structuralism or the development strategy put forward by post structuralists and this term was coined by French philosopher Jaques Derrida and also a post-structuralist.

However it was brought in use in development or international development study (especially by Parfitt 2001). Hence as it originality, it could be group with post structuralism.

Deconstruction is a theory that counters attack the two main branches of philosophy: "ontology" and "metaphysic"<sup>55</sup>. Deconstruction theory (see in Parfitt 2001) is built base on two philosophers Derridian idea of deconstruction (Jacques Derrida) and Levinasian ethics (Emanuel Levinas) which rejects the post-development theory (which tends to reject development or/and IDA).

Deconstruction idea of Derrida can be explained as following. Post development said it needs to support the diversity of local people and to include those who were excluded or has to be "relativism". Based on post development theory, to decide give assistance to a project or a program, it needs to judge on it types-whether it is a Southern initiatives or it should be rooted in local demands and perceived needs. This implies that an ethical dimension is required to the consideration. Here a question can be put forward "what may or may not be given the assistance?" from here a universal ethical systems which characterized what should and what should not or it can be said in other way 'what is good and what is bad' which is representing ontology of thinking. Deconstruction theorist says, "in this sense they marginalize and exclude" (Parfitt 2002: 80). In Parfitt (2002) explanation the ways of thought which made by most of the

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<sup>55</sup> Parfitt explained as following: "Ontology and metaphysics attempt to explain reality by means of classifying things into categories and hierarchies...ontology entails examining reality in terms of categorical schemes, in which concepts are organized into a hierarchy, some of which will be fundamental (constituting, grounding, or foundational principles), whilst others come lower in the hierarchy, often defined as being some way derivative from the foundational concepts" (Parfitt 2002: 77).

development theorists (especially those who are post-developments) were based on ontology and metaphysic and these were not enough "...the South must be allowed to development their own various conceptions of what is to represent development...the Northern interests such as development agencies and non-governmental organizations, must be to support and assist [these= Southern] indigenously rooted forces in their diverse projects of empowerment and progress...(Parfitt 2002: 79).

Now turn to Levinas ethics. Levinasian ethics is different from the code of moral rules that claims to be universally valid. He explained that "the origin of ethics is coming from the individual. While some one meets other one, s/he realizes that there is an other prompts the ethical response to take unlimited responsibility for the other. This response to be for the other is not prompted by any request, order, or activity from the other, but simply a response to the existence of the other, or to the other's face." (Parfitt 2002: 80-81)- this is the meaning of Lavinasian ethics<sup>56</sup>.

Old monolithic views of development must give way to a plurality of different project. Deconstruction theory has this reason to claim with the post-development theory "...development has no end. It is a project without a horizon" (Parfitt 2001: 161). This theory is far preferable to the post-modernity embraced by post-development analysts by providing a much better way of dealing with the dilemma of how to avoid the totalizing and exclusory tendencies.

This literature review has found that scholars and development professionals prefer to deal with separate issues rather than the interactive whole. Much is known about the germplasm of Cambodian rice, about Cambodian history and archaeology, and a little is known about Cambodian social at the village level. However, very little is known about how rural communities interact with the government, NGOs and donors during the development process, and to what extent the development being offered meets their needs and expectations. Without this information, we cannot make an effective use of rural cooperatives and community organizations for development purposes.

Upon reviewing the previous theories, I came with the conclusion as following: I prefer post development but I much prefer the deconstruction which everything has to be self-independent. Development not necessary has to come through all stages of Rostow or development has no frontier, "no horizon" same as to be modernized is not the target of development. Post development is good but if it totally rejects the development or the IDA then I rather drop it. I like deconstruction even though it is hard to understand and hard to realize as deconstruction is a mixture of modernization and the relativism of post-development. Although Partiff claimed that Darrida's deconstruction is not falling into the relativism trap of post development. This is my academic position. I also have my practical position as well. As I described in the introduction chapter and also in this chapter, there are two dimensions of mechanism supporting to IDA and development. However the existing research or strategies were based mostly on the vertical dimension. The horizontal dimension was not received much attentions in the research or study. If

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<sup>56</sup> The "traditional" ethics (traditional ethics is the ethics used by most of post-development theorist and perhaps by the majority of development experts) is defined based on "...our ability to acquire knowledge in our self-aware, intentional activity of reasoning through which we 'grasp' the unknown in the real world, render it comprehensible to ourselves, and thus reaffirm our own being in (and control of) the world." (Parfitt 2002: 81).



there is, that research is dealing with individual one (as it has four components) but not altogether at the same time. As I already informed, at the horizontal level it involved by not only the target community (which is a social organization) but others three are also involved: the institutional organization, technology and essential condition.

The reason of having such two positions as (i) I am writing a thesis and the topic is about IDA or development which concerned by both academia and practical forums; (ii) my research approach is both to contribute to the academic and practical arena.

After reviewing the literature, and as this thesis is about development and IDA then next task is to review on general knowledge of development and IDA with special attention will paid to the vertical dimension of IDA and development supporting structure- the donor, recipient country (here special attention will be paid to the case of Cambodia as an IDA's recipient country), NGO and community.

## **CHAPTER 3      Development and International Development Assistance in Cambodia**

### **3.1      Development in Cambodia**

This chapter is concerned with Cambodia's development, and the four actors involved in this development: international donors (bilateral and multilateral), NGOs (both international and local non-governmental organization), the Royal Cambodian Government (RGC), and the Cambodian people especially the poor. The first section is a discussion of international donors and international development assistance.

#### **3.1.1      International Development Assistance (IDA)**

At present, much of Cambodia's development depends on assistance given by a multitude of countries and organizations. This assistance comes in the form of "hard loans" (non-concession), "soft" loans (concession) and grants (bilateral and multilateral)<sup>57</sup>. Bilateral grants or loans flow to the developing countries from individual donor countries. Multilateral grants or loans flow to the developing countries from multilateral development institutions such as regional development banks, UNDP, WFP, the EU and various NGOs. International development assistance is provided in a variety of forms: foreign exchange (U.S. dollars, Japanese yen, or euro) that can be used for the recipient's foreign exchange requirements or converted into local currency and "tied aid" which the recipient must spend in the donor's own market. IDA can also consist of food donations, equipment and technical assistance. The short-term credit provided by the IMF, foreign direct investment (FDI), migrant workers' remittances and portfolio equity flows military assistance and official export credits are outside of the scope of this thesis. Although often called foreign aid, such assistance is provided for reasons other than development of rural communities and rural infrastructure.

#### **3.1.2      History of IDA**

IDA is usually understood to be twentieth century phenomenon.<sup>58</sup> Multilateral aid organizations such as the IMF and the World Bank were established to provide reconstruction assistance to countries devastated during World War II<sup>59</sup>. During the late 1950s and the 1960s, the focus of these organizations shifted from reconstruction to redevelopment, and multilateral organizations such as the Inter-American Bank, the first regional bank (1959) and the IDA, the concession affiliate of the World Bank (1960) and the African Development Bank, the Caribbean Development Bank and the Asian Development Bank (1966) were created to promote economic development in undeveloped regions of the world.

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<sup>57</sup> The names and acronyms used for "foreign aid" vary from country to country; Japanese foreign aid is called "Official Development Assistance" or ODA, while Australia uses AUSaid, United State of America uses USaid and so on.

<sup>58</sup> The history of IDA has roots, like democracy, in Greek political theory, but this fascinating topic is beyond the scope of this thesis.

<sup>59</sup> The "World Bank" refers to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), and its affiliate, the International Development Agency (IDA). The IBRD also includes the International Finance Corporation (IFC) and the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA). These financial institutions, known collectively as the World Bank, or the Bretton Woods Institutions (BWI), were founded by delegates of forty-four nations at a meeting in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, in July 1944. Since then, the World Bank Group and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have dominated the world's economic and financial order. (See [www.brettonwoodsproject.org](http://www.brettonwoodsproject.org))

The United States played a leading role in the provision of bilateral aid starting with The Marshall Plan, enacted in 1948, followed by the establishment of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in 1961 and the British Overseas Development Ministry in 1964. The United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands and Belgium provided increasing amounts of assistance to their former colonial territories. During the 1960s, the list of bilateral donors expanded to include most members of the OECD.

To summarize, since the second half of the twentieth century, the key players in international aid have been the USA, Great Britain and other European nations. Today these countries, with their well-established aid organizations and trained aid professionals, still dominate the international development arena. In the next section, I will discuss how academics trained in these countries have influenced trends in international development theory.

### **3.1.3 Review of trends in IDA**

During late 1950s and the 1960s, academics working at two institutions in the USA, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Center for International Studies (MIT-CENIS) and the National Planning Association and the University of Chicago (NPA-Chicago)<sup>60</sup> developed theories about how to make international aid more effective through structural adjustment policies (SAP) and by increasing the level of capital transfer to underdeveloped countries (Krueger *et al.* 1989: 17). These policies, known as the ‘Washington Consensus,’ are based on a three-pronged solution of macroeconomic stabilization, external and internal liberalization. Despite the implementation in many countries of such policies at great expense over several decades, there has been an increase in world poverty. The apparent ineffectiveness of IDA has led to theoretical innovations such as the poverty reduction strategy (PRSP); however the old paradigm of structural adjustment has been retained (Cling *et al.* 2002: 3-5).

Many of the famous development strategists of the twentieth century have been economists working in the USA. One example is Professor Jeffrey D. Sachs, the director to the Earth Institute at Columbia University in New York, the director of UN Millennium project, and a special advisor to UN Secretary General Kofi Annan. Sachs is a proponent of the UN Millennium Project, a movement to “end poverty in our lifetime” (Sachs 2005). The main focus of the UN Millennium Project is to convince donor nations to increase aid to developing countries such as Cambodia by using a “bottom-up” strategy that channels funds and resources to rural villages rather than urban areas<sup>61</sup>.

### **3.1.4 Current academic approaches to IDA**

At present there are three schools of IDA. The first school – traditionalists – promotes the creation of projects and programs by international aid organizations and supports “desirable change” in impoverished countries. The second school – moderates – recognize that traditional forms of international aid have failed,

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<sup>60</sup> During the mid-1950s, another proposal from Theodore W. Schultz, of the University of Chicago; focused on the policy and administrative reforms needed by recipients and donors to make technical assistance more effective. These two proposals still have it effects on the policy of the development assistance as seen just recently switch off structure adjustment program of World Bank and the likes and a new theme which is just coming up, it is the poverty reduction strategy (PRSP).

<sup>61</sup> Millennium Villages have been established in Sauri in Kenya and Koraro in Ethiopia. Sachs has a particular interest in Cambodia and visited there in August 2005.

and are concerned with analyzing the reasons for the failure in an attempt to provide alternatives. The third school – post-development deconstructionists – totally rejects IDA, and even the concept of development. These post-development theorists consider IDA to be a new type of colonization, a way for prosperous northern nations to dominate and exploit developing nations in the south: “aid from the North to the South was without doubt a continuation of the colonial relations, rather than a radical break from them.” (Gardner 1996:8) While recognizing that the spirit of giving advocated by traditional international aid groups “is a worthy nostrum,” post-development deconstructionists argue that generosity “tells us precisely nothing about how to help those who are in need of it” (Parfitt 2002:158).

### **3.1.5 Ensuring the effectiveness of IDA**

Despite many theoretical disagreements about IDA, most development experts agree that (a) to be effective, aid should go to poor countries; (b) countries with good policies or good institutions are more able to make effective use of aid; and (c) program aid (aid given to support government budgets) is effective when governments are strong and benign, but if governments are weak and corrupt, project aid (aid given in support of particular programs and projects) is more effective. (Klein *et al.* 2005: 36-37).

To ensure that international aid is effective, its delivery must be carefully managed. When poorly managed, aid can 1) lead to inflation and boom-and-bust cycles in government spending, 2) produce foreign currency earnings that, if not neutralized by the appropriate monetary policy, can raise the real exchange rate, 3) undermine government and the legal system both indirectly (by removing incentives to reform, improve infrastructure, and establish a well-functioning tax bureaucracy) as well as directly (by provoking fights within government departments over the control of resources). According to Klein *et al.* (2005: 56) econometric analysis research shows that the third effect is the most problematic: “On average, countries with above average aid receipts relative to GDP promptly show a political deterioration ... a country receiving more foreign aid than three quarters of the countries [GDP] ... over a period of five years, would to see a decline in the index of democracy by 0.6 – 1 point on a scale of – 10” (Klein *et al.* 2005: 57).

Klein argues that for IDA to be effective, it must follow the strategy of foreign direct investment (FDI): “foreign investors are mercilessly unforgiving of poorly governed countries and partners ... FDI often creates projects dependent on rapid technology transfer. Everyone involved has a strong incentive to learn or to teach as appropriate, and a stern market test weeds out those who do not.”<sup>62</sup> (Klein *et al.* 2005: 78).

### **3.1.6 Development: its definition and measurement**

To assess the effectiveness or failure of IDA, development must be measured. For development to be measured, it must first be defined. This section will look at definitions of development, and at several methods used to measure economic development: GNP (Gross National Product) and GDP (Gross

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<sup>62</sup> Klein has not shown the full picture here. One of the main differences between FDI and IDA is that while FDI has a specific partner – the local entrepreneur – IDA does not have a clearly defined partner. Theoretically the partner of IDA should be the community (the impoverished people who need aid in order to develop) however, since the aftermath of WWII, the partner of IDA has most often been the government. This means that in effect, IDA is often in partnership with the elites who hold power in underdeveloped countries.

Domestic Product) which relies solely on economic criteria, and the Human Development Index (HDI) which relies upon multiple criteria.

For most economists and policy analysts, development is understood to be equivalent to economic growth. GNP (Gross National Product) serves as the main indicator of this growth. GNP is usually expressed in this way: a country's annual gross national product is divided by its population; the resulting figure represents the country's average level of economic development per capita. The comparison of GNP per capita from year to year provides a measurement of economic growth relative to population size; in this way, development can be measured. [GDP (Gross Domestic Product) is calculated the same way]

For many years, GDP and GNP have been used to gauge not only growth in the economy but also sector growth (primary goods such as agricultural products and raw materials, manufacturing and services activities). However, for some time development professionals have known that these measurements are not able to indicate the situation on the ground. For example, Brazil boasted an impressive GNP per capita growth while poverty increased among the poor, or as a Brazilian politician remarked at the time, "Brazil is doing well, but its people are not" (Storey 2003: 27).

Another gauge used for allocating IDA is the amount of people living below the poverty line. Saith (2005: 4602) classifies six categories used to measure poverty which I summarize here: (i) the biological, or "basic needs" approach, in which the intake or consumption necessary for the basic survival of a human being determines the poverty level, (ii) specification of basic needs approach; (iii) the "inductive empiricist" approach, where the level is derived from observed consumer behavior, (iv) when the subjects themselves define poverty through their living experience, (v) the "politico-administrative" definition, where the poverty line is related to political and budgetary implications and finally, (vi) a "mindless" approach (Saith's term), that sets an arbitrary universal level such as USD\$1 per day for the poverty line.

In Cambodia, the first approach – the biological, or "basic needs" approach – in which the intake or consumption necessary for the basic survival of a human being determines where the poverty line is drawn, is used by major donors, such as World Bank, ADB and the government of Cambodia, while the second or the "norm" approach, in which basic needs are specified, is used by some smaller donors and NGOs such as the German GTZ.

Since 1990, the United Nation Development Program (UNDP) has started to rank development performance based on the Human Development Index (HDI). The HDI conceives of development as a process of increasing an individual's opportunities to live longer, to acquire knowledge, and so on as well as the opportunity for economic gain. HDI is a mixture of three variables for each country: a) per capita income or output; b) life expectancy and c) educational attainment (determined by a country's adult literacy rate and the average number of years spent at school). According to Storey (2003: 32) these three "variables are converted into a ranking index (where 0 is the lowest and 1 the highest), which facilitates the calculation of an aggregate measure of human development for each country." According to this classification:

- Low human development has an index of 0.0 to 0.5
- Medium human development has an index of 0.51 to 0.79

- High human development has an index of 0.8 to 1.0

Cambodia is ranked 130<sup>th</sup> among 177 countries, in the 2005 Human Development Report, with an HDI value of 0.571 and its GDP is 133<sup>rd</sup>, with a GDP per capita value of USD\$2,078 (exchange rate, 2003). (Human Development Report 2005).

### **3.2 IDA: a questionable mechanism for eradicating poverty**

The mechanism to counter poverty are the policy and the social institutions which introduced by the economists in World Bank Institutions (WBIs). As seen in part “history of IDA” and “review the trend of IDA”, the policy has changed but the approach is not changed that is toward the growth. Although the basic goal – growth at all costs – has remained the same since the inception of the WBIs, development policies have changed. The structural adjustment policies (SAP) initiated by the WBIs in the aftermath of WWII were widely adopted around the world, in the expectation that such policies would generate growth. When SAP had no measurable effect in decreasing world poverty, PRSP (poverty reduction strategy paper) were introduced. In a set of essays, Cling *et al.* (2003) concluded that there is a real risk that current PRSP are also ineffective. Currently, policy makers and economists are trying to develop new strategies for providing IDA while post-development rejects IDA and/or development and deconstructionists appealed for an alternative.

While there are many problems with IDA, this form of development assistance is a reality for Cambodia at the present time, and will probably continue for some time in the future. Rather than simply condemning IDA out of hand, my concern here is to use an anthropological approach to critique, improve and suggest alternative directions for Cambodia’s future development.

### **3.3 Development aid and non-governmental organizations (NGOs)**

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are an important source for development aid in Cambodia. After the 1993 elections, the aid embargo to Cambodia was lifted, opening the way for western organizations to set up humanitarian relief programs in the country for the first time since 1975<sup>63</sup>. At first, these relief programs were operated by about fifteen international NGOs and UN agencies that acted as a bridge between international donors and the Cambodian population. During this period, most NGOs worked out of Phnom Penh. Some NGOs were located in *Battambang* city because of the presence of UN peacekeeping forces in northwestern Cambodia, and because *Battambang* city is only a few hours by car from Thailand, where the head offices of many NGOs were located<sup>64</sup>. Between 1995 and 1997, the number of international and local NGOs active in Cambodia boomed. In general, international NGOs tend to be involved with large-scale, expensive projects such as building roads and bridges while local NGOs focus on small-scale infrastructure reconstruction: training, health care, rice banks, cattle banks, and rural credit.

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<sup>63</sup> From 1979 to 1993 “[t]he Western bloc placed the Phnom Penh government [as a communist country] under embargo...” (Yonekura 1999: 46). However some unique assistances were made through international governmental agencies “United National Children’s Fund (Unicef), the United Nation High Commissioner for Refugee (UNHCR) and World Food Program (WFP) were presented in Cambodia during 1980s” (Yonekura 1999: 47)

<sup>64</sup> Thailand has historically been the favorite center for western expatriates working in mainland Southeast Asia.

In late 1997<sup>65</sup>, many international NGOs were replaced by local NGOs run by Cambodian people and the focus changed from humanitarian emergency relief to intensive development assistance. Between 1997–2000 NGOs spread out from Phnom Penh into the provinces where they supported a range of activities from rural development to micro-finance and capacity building.

### 3.3.1 NGOs and Cambodia's legal system

There is no mention of NGOs in the Cambodian Constitution, and laws regulating both international and national NGOs had to be drafted to deal with the proliferation of these organizations since 1996 (Richardson 2001: 5). However, the law is still in the form of draft and has not been approved yet. Even though, all NGOs must submit registration documents to the proper government authorities. If the NGO's registration is approved with fee paid a receipt will be issued acknowledging the registration; only then can the NGO operate legally in Cambodia<sup>66</sup>. At present, according to the publication by the British Embassy (Cambodia), there are 522 local NGOs registered with the Ministry of the Interior, 183 local NGOs registered with the Council of Ministers, 554 local Associations registered at Ministry of the Interior, and 267 international NGOs registered at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation.<sup>67</sup>

The registration of NGOs is a recent government requirement; there are countless organizations active in Cambodia that have never been registered, or are registered only with provincial authorities.

### 3.3.2 International NGOs in Cambodia

Since 1993, an unknown number of international NGOs, many of which are sponsored by religious organizations, have provided humanitarian aid, resources and staff training to Cambodia. The influence of these international NGOs extends beyond their organizations: most of the present managers of Cambodia's local NGOs and many of Cambodia's government officials were once staff members of international NGOs. Below is a list of some International NGOs extracted from the CCC (Cooperation Committee for Cambodia) Directory of International Development Assistance in Cambodia (2003-2004):

- The World Conservation Union (IUCN): started in 1948. Main headquarters in Switzerland. Total personnel: 7 (expatriates: 3, locals: 4)
- Japan International Volunteer Center (JVC): started in 1980. Main headquarters: Higashi Ueno Taito-ku, Tokyo. Total personnel: 16 (expatriates 3, locals 13). 2003 Budget: USD\$136,855.
- The Japan Overseas Christian Medical Cooperative Service (JOCS): started in 1989. Main headquarters in Nishiwaseda, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo. Personnel: 6 (expatriate 1, locals 5). budget: USD\$91, 618.

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<sup>65</sup> In July 1997, there was an eruption of conflict or a "Coup d'état" (as other scholars said). This resulting the changing in NGOs patterns, it is a crucial turning point as wrote here: "A further blow to the demonstration process was the July 1997 coup d'état, which exceeded the scale of any previous violations of democratic principles" (Yonekura 1999: 71).

<sup>66</sup> Here is the detail procedure to register (where in [ ] are my ads): "In order to register, each organization or association must fill in an application form (provided by the MoI, [in fact this form has to pay for]). The completed form has to be approved by the commune/*Sangkat*, district/*Khan* and province/city governor [where the organization or association is stationed]. In addition to the completed form, a proposal must include details of the organizational structure, activities/programs, profile of leaders, list of members, and bylaws of association/organization. After completing this process, the document will be submitted to the Council of Minister through the MoI. This process can take from one week to several years." (Kusakabe et al. 2002: 4, footnote 2)

<sup>67</sup> See Gotaro (2001) for information on the twenty Japanese NGOs operating in Cambodia.

- Lutheran World Federation (LWF): started in 1979, Main headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland, Personnel: 264 (expatriates 3, locals 261). 2003 budget: USD\$3,410,178.
- Medecins Sans Frontieres Belgium (MSF-B): started in 1989. Main headquarters: Brussels. Personnel: 111 (expatriates 9, locals 102).
- Mennonite Central Committee (MCC): Established 1920s, started work in Cambodia in 1981. Main headquarters: Akron, Ohio, USA. Personnel: 39 (expatriate 10, local 29). 2003-2004 budget: USD\$379,280.
- NEW HUMANITY (NH): started in 1992. Main headquarters in Rome, Italy. Personnel: 68 (expatriates 8, locals 60). Budget: USD\$200,000.

### **3.3.3 Local NGOs**

Local NGOs can be directed by either Cambodian nationals or/and foreigners, but are managed and operated within Cambodia. Local NGOs can be found in Phnom Penh and the provincial capitals, the districts, communes and villages (please see in Appendices A, table 34 the list of provincial level NGOs I visited). Returned refugees, who became familiar with western ideas about development and humanitarian aid policies while they were living outside of Cambodia, established many local NGOs during the early 1990s such as Mr. Meas Nee the founder of Krom Akphiwat Phum (village development group) (personal comm. with Dr. Yonekura Feb 2004). Some local NGOs were created to manage the business of departing international NGOs. The majority of local NGOs receive some overseas funding, but a second wave of local NGOs independent of overseas funding has emerged since 1997. When local NGOs have access to international funding, they can become quite powerful, but local NGOs with no access to international funding are typically understaffed and under-resourced, and must struggle to survive.

In addition to ensuring that IDA is delivered effectively, local NGOs also provide services and support to the local people that the government is unable to provide such as micro-credit, cow banks, rice banks, etc. During my research between 2000-2005, I found that international donors and international NGOs are eager to provide funding and support to local NGOs engaged in “capacity building,” especially management (office management, financial management, and natural resource management), advocacy (how to resolve conflicts using legal means, for example during land disputes) and training in such topics as democracy, human rights, gender equality, and so on. Two examples of local NGOs include:

- Cambodian Researchers for Development (CRD) Established in April 1994 by a Dutch anthropologist and two Cambodian nationals. CRD has no regular source of international funding, and relies on research contracts. Between 1994-2003, staffing levels have fluctuated between three and twenty-five people.
- Saboras Organization (Saboras) Established in March 1993 in Battambang province. There is an annual budget of USD\$162,719. There are 24 staff members.

### **3.3.4 Coordination**

This section will describe the cooperation and networking between local and international NGOs. As mentioned above, the numbers of local NGOs increased drastically during late 1990s. To facilitate



cooperation between these organizations, “communities” of NGOs were formed. The first NGO community, Cooperation Committee for Cambodia (CCC), was formed in Phnom Penh in 1990. By late 1999, NGO networks began to appear in the provinces. Today approximately 70% of Cambodian provinces have at least one NGO network. Membership in these networks is not compulsory. NGO networks include:

- Cooperation Committee for Cambodia (CCC) was founded in 1990. Based in Phnom Penh, the goal of the CCC is to facilitate communication and cooperation for forty-two local and international NGOs involved in health, education, community development, advocacy, capacity building, women in development, etc.
- NGO Forum on Cambodia was established in Europe in 1986 to address international political issues that hindered humanitarian and reconstruction efforts. In 1994, the Forum moved to Phnom Penh (ADB 1999: 14). The significant role of the forum is coordination aid, and environment advocacy.
- Open Forum of Cambodia was created in 1995. Its role is to provide the Cambodian people with access to worldwide information and facilitate information dissemination. In April 1997, Open Forum began to publish a weekly journal called *The Mirror*.
- MEDICAM. This network of medical NGOs was created in 1990. At first, activities consisted of a monthly meeting of NGOs involved in medical care. Later, MEDICAM evolved into a more structured form.
- EDUCAM: a network of groups interested in the development sector to facilitate information exchange and coordination.
- Social Research Forum: initiated in mid-1996 by two research institutes to bring together organizations interested in socio-cultural and economic research in Cambodia. It is an informal group.
- Cambodian NGO Support Network (CNSN): an informal group established in mid 1995 to bring together organizations interested in the needs and difficulties faced by local groups.
- Federation of Ponleu Khmer (FPK): established in December 1993 to communicate with the government on issues of common interest of local NGOs. FPK serves as a platform to disseminate information, and build capacity among the members.
- The Cambodian NGO Alliance for Cooperation: a split-off from FPK established by a local NGO called ADHOC. This alliance of thirty-three local NGOs focuses on the issues of human rights advocacy.

Recently, several international donors have chosen not to use local NGOs to deliver IDA. Instead, these donors have set up a special fund modeled on the Japanese *kusanone*, or “grass roots fund” which is directly available to the community without the intermediary of an NGO. This trend seems to be increasing.

This next section will look at concepts of community and the effectiveness of communities in promoting development.

### 3.4 Community

The word “community” has many meanings and usages. Usually community means a place where people live (village, town and city) but it can also refer to an animal or human population group with similar characteristics or a group of people who share some belief in common. Community can also refer to social relations characterized by personal intimacy, emotional depth, social cohesion, and continuity in time. A community can be a place of residence where people living in some proximity join together to protect and advance shared interests. A “community” is more heterogeneous than a “group level,” though as Uphoff notes, the “bonds of kinship are likely to give greater strength to the association among community members” (Uphoff 2005: 14).

Community is both either created and self emerged and it is also traditional or indigenous, modern and vernacular types. Community uses in this dissertation refers to group of people who share common - intangible and intangible interests and difficulties. For local and international NGOs, their position is situated not the same level as community.

The vehicle through which the international development assistance is exercised for the beneficiary of the target people (poor) is the community at the grassroots level. Why is it the vehicle for international development assistance (IDA)? Why not individual or household? Why community is a subject of this dissertation? The answer is that the efforts of IDA to assist the poor that only consider individuals or households as separate units of analysis and action will miss opportunities to benefit the poor, because collective action is not part of the strategy, and will also have less sustainability because there is no reinforcement of the efforts made by individuals and households. Many of the things needed to meet the needs and wants of the poor require collective action, example: construction and maintenance of a dike in a village.

#### 3.4.1 Examples of research on grassroots-level communities

Most of the development needs of rural populations, for example, the construction and maintenance of an irrigation dike, require collective action on the part of the grassroots-level community. Without this collective action, even well-funded development projects are likely to fail. The potential contribution of grassroots-level communities to the effectiveness of IDA has been considered by Grootert *et al.* (2002) who views grassroots-level community as “social capital,” a key factor for economic development. As for social capital I had mentioned this research in the literature review chapter. It was taken into the academic discussion by Putnam (Putnam 1995a & b).

Khlok *et al.* uses the term “grassroots community” to refer to community-based organizations (CBO). For these development practitioners, grassroots-level communities are an essential part of civil society. (Khlok *et al.* 2003: 7). A third group of sociologists defines grassroots-level community as “social organizations and institutional organizations” (Coward 1995: 45-57)<sup>68</sup>. While Grootert, Khlok, Coward and others believe that support at grassroots-level is essential for the success of development, they do not

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<sup>68</sup> According to Coward, “institution” refers to ideal behavior and role expectations and as a generic concept for the variety for rules that help pattern social behavior: norms, folkways, custom, conventions, etiquette and law. Social organization refers to a human group (Coward 1995: 48).

explain how to achieve this support. In the next section, I will explore ways of creating grassroots-level community support, using an anthropological approach based on kinship systems.

### **3.4.2 Development, development actors and community structures**

As noted before, IDA involves at least four “actors:” donors, government, NGOs and the poor people (see Graph 1). Each actor plays a role in the development process. The donor assists with funding and advising, while the government makes it possible for international assistance to flow to the target population<sup>69</sup>. NGOs have multiple roles: they serve as advocates, advisors or as a bridge or channel between aid donors and aid recipients. Although poor individuals are the reason for IDA, IDA is rarely provided directly to individuals or families. Instead, IDA targets the grassroots-level community, located one level above family or household (see Graph 1).

This section illustrates the relationship between development, development actors and community structures. Graphs 1 and 2 illustrate six types of development. Four are funded by international donors, one by private donors or investor working with farmers, and one by farmers alone. In Graph 1, the different types of development actors are the result of the preferences of and negotiations between the donor and the recipient government. Type a) involves three actors: donors, NGOs and farmers. Type b) involves four actors: donors, NGOs, the government and the farmers. Type c) involves three actors: donor, government and farmers. Type d) involves two actors: donors and farmers. This type of IDA – *kusanone* (grassroots funds), which does not involve NGOs or the government – is a feature of Japanese ODA.

Graph 2, Case A, is an example of a new type of development aid for Cambodia, in which an individual invests his or her capital in a relatively small development project, such as repairing an irrigation canal. After the repairs are completed, the investor has the right to charge farmers a fee for the use of the water. Graph 2, Case B is an example of collective action, in which members of a community join together to repair a village road, bridge, or irrigation canal.

In all of the above examples, the intended recipients of IDA are individuals: poor farmers and their families living in rural areas, but the aid is actually delivered to the grassroots-level community, rather than individuals. We can see here in the examples illustrated in Graphs 1 and 2, that only when this grassroots-level community is owned and managed by all members of the community, and has the freedom to “elect their leaders and to express their demands” (Kikuchi: 1997: 201), is IDA delivered effectively.

According to current development discourse, there are two ways to create a grassroots-level community: by formulating a new community and by adopting the existing community. In the following section, I will discuss effective grassroots-level communities from three different countries.

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<sup>69</sup> Aid projects/programs are shaped by regulations imposed by the recipient government (some developing countries have little experience in receiving IDA so that there may be no regulations or laws on international development. geographic and demographic limitations), the regulations imposed by the donor upon the recipient government, funding limits and the availability of services to support the assistance of the donor. Officially their role is assisting through funding, but their unofficial role goes further such as initiator, pusher, etc.

### **3.4.3 Examples of grassroots-level communities and IDA**

Wood (1999) describes an experimental project in Ogata Village conducted by the Japanese government to increase agricultural production. The area was emptied of its original inhabitants, and volunteers agreed to move to the village and work for government co-operatives. The government co-operatives were not effective in increasing agricultural production, and were unpopular with the farmers. Several years after their establishment, the co-operatives collapsed, and were replaced by several independent co-operatives. After some initial controversy, the government decided to allow these independent co-operatives to continue. They proved to be successful, and a new community began to emerge.

In the Philippines, a group of squatters with a mixture of race and religion (4 ethnic groups) lived near Manila in an area where an electrical project was initiated by the Japanese Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC). These squatters were poor immigrants who had lost their identity and their sense of locality. While the electrical project was being carried out, a man of mixed race who had a Christian father and Muslim mother became a leader of the squatters, and was able to create a sense of solidarity among the group. According to Kikuchi (2004: 180), the JBIC's electrical project was successful because it was supported by this community of squatters.

In western Laos, an irrigation project was sponsored by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The project relied on a modified form of a local irrigation organization. (Coward 1980). As Coward wrote in his conclusion:

In areas where the project serves local users with previous irrigation experience, one solution ... is the adaptation of indigenous irrigation leadership roles to link bureaucracy and local users (Coward 1980: 342).

All three cases show that for a development project to be successful it has to have input from the grassroots-level community. Despite the support and funding from the Japanese government, the farmers' cooperatives in Ogata Village were unsustainable until a local community emerged and could take them over. In the Philippines, a multi-faith and multi-ethnic group of squatters were able to unite under a local leader to support an electrical project. In Laos, the continuity between pre-existing water-use organizations and a new irrigation project ensured its success. A community cannot be given or created, but must evolve through a continuous process of negotiation based on culture and locality. In a society (community), where people have lived from generation to generation, the sense of culture and in particular, kinship is the backbone for having an effective grassroots-level community.

Now I will briefly analyze international development trends in Cambodia since the 1990s.

## **3.5 Donors**

Between 1992 to 2003, nearly 5.2 billion US dollars in IDA was donated to Cambodia. USD\$1,951.4 million (37.6 percent) was donated by non-EU member countries; USD\$1,448.1 million (27.9 percent) was donated by UN System Agencies and the International Financial Institutions; and USD\$1,363.1 million (26.2 percent) by EU and EC member countries; and USD\$430.4 million (8.3 percent) by NGOs (CDC 2004: 11). Since 1992, Japan has provided 21.6 percent of all external assistance received by Cambodia.

The volume of Japan's assistance to Cambodia increased from USD\$450.2 million over the period of 1994-1998 to USD\$500.8 million between 1999-2003.

The second largest contributor of IDA to Cambodia is the UN System Agencies; between 1992 to 2003 a total of 467.6 million US\$, representing 9.0 percent of all assistance was provided from their "own resources." The Asian Development Bank is the third largest contributor (USD\$445.1 million). Other major donors include: the World Bank (USD\$381.0 million), the European Commission (USD\$369.6 million), France USD\$365.5 million, United States (\$USD356.7 million),<sup>70</sup> Australia (USD\$241.6 million), Sweden (USD\$180.0 million US\$; and the IMF (USD\$154.4 million). (CDC 2004: 11).

According to a survey report made by Council for the Development of Cambodia (CDC),<sup>71</sup> in 2002 and 2003, the city of Phnom Penh received 16 percent of all IDA (see in Appendices A, Table 25). The province of Siem Reap (where the famous temple *Angkor Wat* is located) received 5.4 percent of total IDA disbursed in 2002 and 5.9 percent of the IDA disbursed in 2003. Cambodia's poorest provinces received less than 5 percent of IDA (see in Appendices A, Table 26)<sup>72</sup>.

### 3.5.1 Multilateral Institutions

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) is the United Nations' largest provider of grant assistance for development, and the main body for coordinating UN development assistance. The overall aim of the UNDP is to build national capacity to achieve sustainable human development, which includes poverty reduction, good governance, gender sensitivity and sound management of natural resources. The United Nations Capital Development Fund (UNCDF) is a specialized fund within UNDP that was established in 1966 to provide grant capital for poverty alleviation programs. It works exclusively in least developed countries through supporting government efforts to decentralized planning and financing systems, strengthening local government capacity and empowering local communities to request services from their elected officials. Cambodia has been a member of IMF since 1969 (IMF web page, and has been receiving loans from the IMF since 1990.

#### 3.5.1.1 The World Bank (WB)

WB policy is made by a board of governors drawn from the member countries.<sup>73</sup> This board delegates specific duties to twenty-four executive directors<sup>74</sup> who meet twice a week to oversee the bank's business (approving loans, loans, new policies, the administrative budget, country assistance strategies, and borrowing and financial decisions). Traditionally, the president of the World Bank is chosen from the

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<sup>70</sup> In recent years, the USA's IDA has been delivered through NGOs.

<sup>71</sup> The report may be incomplete as "it appears that some development partners have been having difficulties in providing this information"(CDC 2004: 31)

<sup>72</sup> According to WFP's Cambodia office, the poorest provinces of Cambodia are *Siem Reap*, *Kampong Thom* (where *Sambo* village, the case study used for this thesis, is located) and *Preah Vihear* in the far northwest of Cambodia (CDC 2002b).

<sup>73</sup> The United States is the largest single shareholder, with 16.41 percent of votes, followed by Japan (7.87 percent), Germany (4.49 percent), the United Kingdom (4.31 percent), and France (4.31 percent). The rest of the shares are divided among the other member countries ((World Bank Group in Cambodia [no date]: 8)

<sup>74</sup> The five largest shareholders—France, Germany, Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States—appoint an executive director, while other member countries are represented by nineteen executive directors (World Bank [no date]: 8).

country that has the largest shareholder; at present this is the USA<sup>75</sup>. The President of the World Bank chairs meetings of the Board of Directors, and is responsible for overall management of the Bank.

### ***Loans and the World Bank***

The World Bank offers two basic types of loans: investment loans for goods, works, and services in support of economic and social development projects in a broad range of sectors; and adjustment loans, which provide financing to support policy and institutional reforms. To receive loan approval, a project must be initiated by the country asking for the loan. During loan negotiations, the World Bank and the borrower agree on the development objective, components, outputs, performance indicators, and an implementation plan, and then the loan must be approved by the World Bank's board of executive directors. Once the loan is approved, the World Bank supervises its implementation, and evaluates its results. All loans are governed by the World Bank's operational policies, which help ensure that operations are economically, financially, socially, and environmentally sound (World Bank Group in Cambodia website [no date]: 13).

### ***The World Bank and Cambodia***

The World Bank reopened an office in Cambodia in 1992. Since then, the RGC has borrowed a total of USD\$567.20 million from the World Bank, and has received more than USD\$15 million in grants (World Bank Group in Cambodia website [no date]: 17).

The World Bank provides technical expertise and funding for poverty reduction programs in key areas such as health, nutrition, agriculture, and basic infrastructure according to an action plan called Country Assistance Strategy (CAS). The CAS strategy describes what type of support and how much could be provided to a country during a three-year period. According to the World Bank web page, now the bank is currently developing a new CAS for Cambodia for the year 2004 to 2007 (World Bank Cambodia, website).

So far, the World Bank has completed seven research studies on Cambodia: here are the titles of those research: (1) Source of Growth Study, (2) Private Sector Productivity and Growth Assessment, (3) Governance of Private Participation in Infrastructure and Service Delivery, (4) Source of Rural Growth Study, (5) Poverty and Social Impact Assessment (PSIA), (6) Social Land Concessions, and (7) Civil Society Assessment and Gender Assessment). Recent completed studies include: Cambodia Environmental Monitor 2003, Integrated Fiduciary Assessment and Public Expenditure Review (IFAPER), Poverty Assessment (1999), World Bank Financing Other 15 Projects in Cambodia (please see in Appendices A, Table 20).

#### **3.5.1.2 The International Fund for Agriculture Development (IFAD)**

IFAD was created to mobilize concessional resources for programs that alleviate rural poverty and improve nutrition. IFAD releases a loan to the Royal Government of Cambodia. The European

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<sup>75</sup> Elected for a five-year renewable term, the president of the World Bank chairs meetings of the Board of Directors and is responsible for overall management of the Bank. The current president of the World Bank Group is James D. Wolfensohn, who has been president since 1995 (World Bank Group in Cambodia website [no date]: 8).

Commission (EU) lent money for social investments (schools, health centers) and de-mining in Cambodia's four northwest provinces.

### **3.5.1.3 The Asian Development Bank- ADB**

ADB resumed its operations in Cambodia with a Technical Assistance Project in March 1992 followed by a loan in November 1992. The Cambodia Resident Mission (CARM), located in Phnom Penh, was established in December 1996 (CARM web page).

On 29 July 2002, the ADB and the RGC signed a poverty reduction partnership agreement consisting of three goals (ADB website [no date]). The long-term goal is to reduce by half the proportion of Cambodian people living in poverty by 2015, and to make substantial progress in human and social development. The medium-term goal is to realize the SEDPII, which "proposes a series of pro-poor policies to promote sustainable economic growth with equity" by 2007. (ADB website [no date]) In the short-term, the ADB and the RGC agreed to develop a program for 2002-2005 to (i) increase the quality of and to improve access to health, education, water and sanitation programs; (ii) promote agricultural and rural development (crop diversification, irrigation, improving the environment farmers and land titling); (iii) restore the transport network to promote commerce and strengthen regional links (primary road, rural road); (iv) Develop the financial sector and the private sector; (v) strengthen governance and the public administration (support to the governance action plan); and (vi) mainstream gender equality and ethnic minority rights (ADB website [no date]:5-6). The agreement also serves as a framework for Cambodia's future strategy and program (CSP- known as Country Strategy Paper). The CSP is an agreement between the ADB and government of Cambodia prepared once every five years and updated every year after "active consultation with developing member country stakeholders: the government, NGOs, civil society groups, the private sector and other development agencies" (ADB 2003).

#### Current ADB projects in Cambodia

According to ADB website ([no date] accessed on 6 July 2004) there are three types of ADB projects currently underway: (i) technical assistance (TA) USD\$71.5846 million (5 January 2004); (ii) loans worth USD\$775.28 million (12 January 2004); and the Japanese Fund for Poverty Reduction (JFPR) project worth USD\$9,800 million (12 January 2004).

### **3.5.2 Bilateral Donors**

The Swedish International Cooperation Agency (SIDA) is responsible for around two-thirds of Sweden's IDA. The overall goal of SIDA is to raise the standard of living of poor people through six objectives: economic growth, economic and social equality, democratic development, environmental protection, and gender equality.

The Royal Government of Netherlands has also been a major supporter. The initial focus of the Netherlands was on emergency assistance and infrastructure development. In 1998-99 they began to provide program support, including funds for local planning and local development funds.

The Department for International Development (DFID) is the British government department responsible for promoting development and the reduction of poverty. The DFID supports Cambodia's reconciliation project.

AusAID is an administratively autonomous agency within Australia's Foreign Affairs and Trade Portfolio. It is responsible for the management of the official Australian Government overseas aid program. AusAid supports Cambodia's reconciliation project.

The main financial instrument of France's IDA is the Agence Française de Développement (AFD). AFD supports agricultural training networks. The International Development Research Centre (IDRC) is a public corporation created by the Canadian government to help communities in the developing world, find solutions to social, economic, and environmental problems through research. IDRC supports research on and development of Cambodia's natural resource management.

Since 1992, Japan has been the largest donor of IDA to Cambodia. The volume of Japan's assistance to Cambodia increased from 450.2 million US\$ over the period of 1994-1998 to 500.8 million US\$ over the last five years, 1999-2003 (CDC 2004: 11)<sup>76</sup>. As seen in graph 4, Japanese ODA is distributed into three forms: Grand Aid (76 %), Technical Cooperation (19 %) and Loans (5 %) (JICA Website [no date]). Between 1994 to 2001, Japan ODA focused on *Rehabilitation and Democracy*, including agriculture, health care, energy, economic infrastructure, human resources development and security issues. Since 2002 on, Japanese ODA has concentrated on four major issues. Those are:

- Sustainable economic growth and stable society (support for reforms, basic economic infrastructure, poverty reduction through rural development)
- Support for socially vulnerable people (education and health care)
- Response to global issues (environmental conservation, anti-drug measures and so forth);
- Catching up with the other ASEAN Member Countries (Mekong Regional Development).

Japan has demonstrated an ongoing commitment to the ASEAN countries, and has recently increased the ODA support allocated to ASEAN. In 2001, the total ODA given to ASEAN countries reached USD\$2,108 million, which accounts for approximately 30 % of Japan's overall ODA spending. When compared with the other members of ASEAN, in 2001 Cambodia receives (5.7% of Japanese ODA (slightly more than Laos (3.6%) and Myanmar (3.3%)) (See in Graph 5). In Cambodia, Japan ODA has been used to repair and construct highways and bridges in an attempt to improve communication between Cambodia and its neighbors as well as create opportunities to increase the circulation within Cambodia of products and exports and imports. In the following section, the nature of the aid provided to Cambodia will be described.

### **3.5.3 Positive and negative results of IDA**

This section explores some of the positive and negative results associated with different kinds of IDA, and then draw some conclusions.

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<sup>76</sup> See Japan's ODA's Charter, revised in 1992 (Embassy of Japan in Cambodia website 2002: 2). Japan's ODA is generous and extends to over 160 countries and regions in the world.



### **3.5.3.1 Bilateral aid**

The procedure of applying for bilateral aid is relatively simple, something that is important for developing countries that may have a limited knowledge of IDA theory and project cycles. The preparation of the necessary documents is usually straightforward, and can be done quickly. Because there is usually only one donor (and one language and culture) to deal with, the aid recipient usually finds it simpler to communicate, and understand the donor's requirements and preconditions for funding.

However, sometimes the funds received from bilateral donors are inadequate for the project, are targeted to the wrong area and sector, or fail to reach the target because of a lack in monitoring. Small projects may fail to engage local communities because they are often administered from the top-down. Another problem is when a technical advisor is sent to a rural area. The technical advisor usually spends only a short time training local people, but his salary – usually 100 times larger than local people's incomes – is still counted as "IDA." Some consultants or technical advisors have limited knowledge of technical and/or local issues, but because of their educational qualifications and status as "foreign experts" are given the power to make important decisions. Often donors fund projects that impress their constituents back at home; such projects may be inappropriate, or even make trouble for the aid recipient. Some donors use the aid recipient as field research or experiment.

### **3.5.3.2 Multilateral aid**

Multilateral donors often require the recipient country to meet certain preconditions (financial transparency, human rights and democracy, environmental responsibility, cessation of military conflict and so on). While this can slow down the process of applying and receiving aid, it can also serve as a catalyst for change in developing countries. Multilateral aid has been a major force for national reconciliation and integration in Cambodia. Because multilateral aid is usually not given for defense and security, but given to the social sector (notably for education, health, agriculture and rural development) local communities benefit rather than the government, especially when the project is "nationalized," and responsibility for managing and continuing the project is transferred to the local people.

The involvement of many donors often means that plans for budget allocation are carefully thought through before funds are allocated. Many of the projects supported by multilateral donors are long-term, and cover all sectors of society, including Cambodia's rural areas. On the negative side, applications for multilateral aid are often complex and difficult to complete because of the many preconditions and requirements of the various donors. They usually take longer time to be approved, and the objective or situation may change before funding is disbursed. For example, if an infectious disease breaks out in an area, and a proposal for funding is made, because the proposal procedure is so time-consuming, the disease spreads, and a new strategy and more financial aid is necessary.

In conclusion, giving and receiving IDA is never a simple procedure. At present, most of Cambodia's bilateral and multilateral IDA is "hard sector" (for infrastructure such as highways, bridges, etc). Such aid projects are often for the purpose of tourism or increase the country's access to international trade, and can damage the local economic activities while failing to resolve more urgent problems. Rural populations who

rely on oxcarts do not need highways, and may be unable to afford to maintain them. In fact, highways may damage fragile local businesses by allowing unregulated access to local markets. However, it is difficult for an aid recipient to negotiate with the all-powerful aid donor. The double standard inherent in IDA must be acknowledged by both aid partners, or assistance will make the rich become richer and the poor become poorer.

For conclusion of this chapter, it depends on the aid's countries or/and aid's institutions. Some aids are given in the form of bilateral but attached with very tough condition giving the impossibility to follow. Some are given in the form of making more benefit to the recipient countries even bilateral or/and multilateral.

Presently most of the bilateral and multilateral assistances focus on the infrastructure. As the infrastructure is concerned, this discussion of negative and positive benefit of the foreign assistances, there is a very harmful point, which is most of the developer or people (probably they might know, but the influence of the broker), has not recognized yet. That is the totally damage of local economic activities of some receiving countries, especially the local small business because of the foreign assistance for infrastructure. Some receiving countries need just only a basic infrastructure for their ox cart (for sure ox cart is their Mercedes Benz) but not very smooth high ways such as Asian high way and or the bridge inter countries. The Asian High way or the bridge inter countries is mainly for the purpose of tourism. In this case the assistance does not offer the benefit to those receiving countries, but put death into those fragile local enterprises of that receiving countries and gives benefit to the third countries. It is very bitter for the receiving countries that have such kind of consequences.

Some forms of foreign assistance are also more focusing on their own set strategies without take into consideration on the realities needs of the recipient countries. For example the real need of country "A" is a soft sector requirement (social sector), but the assistance is set for the hard sector (a smooth high way). Whether the foreign assistance is given in the form of bilateral or multilateral, it is the matter of the benefit of the foreign aid countries or institutions and the benefit of the developing countries. In the name of the developing countries, they have to be clever enough to orient and set their goal, first on how to get that aid and how to use it to get a sustainable benefit for their own countries. Second, to satisfy and/or to fulfill of the requirement and conditions of the foreign aid countries or institutions. It is very clear that choosing a softer condition set by donor and manipulate it for the sustainability benefit is a best way for the developing countries.

It is the matter of double standard also. Double standard here is regarding to the policies of the assistance's owner (grant or lend in both form of money or technical assistance), in one those policies seem to be very pure and helpful for the receiving countries, but in another sense it is not as good as in their policies.

It is important to understand the diversities of economies, cultures and level of poverty of the receiving countries; otherwise the assistance will make the rich become richer and the poor become poorer. The coming Chapter will provide the review of Cambodian government development policies.

## **CHAPTER 4      The Royal Government of Cambodia and Development Policies**

This chapter is concerned with the development policies of the Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC), and in particular, the RGC's policies for agricultural development.<sup>77</sup> In addition to the published development policies of the RGC, I have included information from email interviews and material available on the Internet.

### **4.1      Cambodian development policies**

Over the past few years, the RGC has demonstrated considerable enthusiasm for international development. Cambodia joined ASEAN in 1999, and became a member of the WTO on 11 September 2003. However, these recent developments are beyond the scope of my thesis. Here I am more concerned with documenting Cambodia's national development plans and policies since 1979 (after the fall of the Khmer Rouge regime).

#### **4.1.1      Development plans during the Communist Period or People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK)**

The only document I have been able to locate from this period is the "First Plan, 1986-90: First Five Year Program of Socio-economic Restoration and Development."<sup>78</sup> This plan was drafted in February 1984 when the heads of the state planning commissions of Vietnam, Lao and Cambodia met in Ho Chi Minh City. The plan gave the highest priority to agricultural production, and set production targets for each agricultural sub-sector (rice, rubber, fishing and timber). Less emphasis was put on the development of the industrial sector. Production targets for the increased generation of electricity were set, attention was called to the need for the selective restoration of existing industrial production capabilities, and the progressive construction of a small and medium industrial base appropriate to the country's situation was proposed. The plan called for the creation and maintenance of trade organizations through the expansion of socialist trading networks in all localities. The motto describing the trade relationship between the state and the peasantry was: "For the peasantry, selling rice and agricultural products to the state is patriotism; for the state, selling goods and delivering them directly to the people is being responsible for the people". This plan also mentioned the need to improve infrastructure, particularly the reconstruction of transportation to serve the national economy and defense.

#### **4.1.2      Present development plans**

Over the past decade, the RGC has initiated a number of plans for the development of Cambodia. Those plans are listed below: Government Action Plan (GAP: February 2001) and I-PRSP, Socio-Economic Development Plan II (SEDP-II: 2001-2005).

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<sup>77</sup> There is a lack of official documentation on development, and the information reported here is very general. There is an urgent need for research into the RGC's development policies.

<sup>78</sup> This plan can be found at [www.memory.loc.gov/frd/cs/khtoc.html](http://www.memory.loc.gov/frd/cs/khtoc.html).

#### **4.1.2.1 SEDP-I (Socio-Economic Development Plan) 1997-2000**

This was the first development plan formulated after the national election in May 1993, and it was seen as symbolic of a new development process in Cambodia. SEDP-I was drafted in English between 1996-2000 by an ADB working group supporting of the Ministry of Planning [NGO forum (a)]. Its overall focus was to achieve the conditions for economic growth and poverty reduction. This was to be done through a process of economic liberalization that would enable a transition to a durable market economy, while maintaining a rural bias by allocating public investments that would promote rural development through the provision of infrastructure and services in rural areas. The rural sector was a priority, and targets were set for rural areas. However, a review of SEDP-I found that there was no consistent action or implementation of these plans by the RGC.

#### **4.1.2.2 Review of SEDP-I**

The Review of SEDP-I, found that it is divided into three sections <sup>79</sup>. The first section, “Economic Performance,” noted that between 1996 and 2000, the real growth rate averaged 4 percent during this period, well short of the SEDP-I target rate of 7.5 percent. This shortfall is attributed to the domestic political crisis and the Asian financial crisis (see Figure 2). Appendices A, Table 21 gives details of the three main economic activities (agriculture, industry and services) during the course of 1996-2000. The economic contribution of the agricultural sector fell to 37.6 percent of GDP in 2000 from an average of 41 percent in the previous year. Industry increased 19.2 percent in 1999 and 23.5 percent in 2000 due to the unanticipated growth of exported-oriented industries (garment export) and continued construction activity. The services sector remained at around 35 percent in both 1999 and 2000.

The second section of the Review, “Social Development,” found that although the social impact of SEDP-I could not be measured with any precision because of a lack of data, Cambodia’s economic growth has had a negligible impact on poverty reduction in rural areas due to an urban bias in the implementation of public policy.<sup>80</sup> Although SEDP-I projected that 65 percent of public investment would be channeled to projects in rural areas and 35 percent to projects in urban areas, almost the exact opposite result was achieved. The failure of the RGC to adhere to planned public investment priorities was due to (a) weak linkages between planning, multi-year investment programming, annual budgeting and the aid process; (b) insecurity in some rural areas that prevented planned implementation of some public investments; and (c) a slowdown in foreign financing in 1997 and 1998 due to domestic political problems.

The third section, “Key Lessons Learnt From SEDP-I,” concluded that weak governance meant that equitable economic growth was not achieved as not all sectors of the economy were able to participate in the economy.

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<sup>79</sup> A summary of the Review of SEDP- I can be found on the Ministry of Commerce web page.

<sup>80</sup> This conclusion was based on an unspecified source that showed a drop in levels of poverty from 39 percent to 36 percent between 1993 – 1997; the decline in poverty was limited to Phnom Penh and other urban areas; poverty remained the same in rural areas.

#### **4.1.2.3 I-PRSP (Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper)**

Governments seeking loans from the IMF and the World Bank are required to produce an “Interim PRSP.”<sup>81</sup> Cambodia’s I-PRSP was produced by the Ministry of Economy and Finance (MEF) in October 2000.

#### **4.1.2.4 SEDP-II (Socio-Economic Development Plan) 2001-2005**

SEDP-II is micro development plan sponsored by ADB. The SEDP-II was drafted with the facilitation of the Ministry of Planning (MOP) [NGO Forum (b)]. Like SEDP-I and I-PRSP, the key strategies for combating poverty identified in this document were: (i) the acceleration of long-term sustainable economic growth, (ii) ensuring equitable distribution of economic benefits, and (iii) the sustainable use and management of natural resources, and environmental protection. The primary development goal of SEDP-II is poverty reduction via economic growth, and the key for growth is private sector development, which will be achieved through sustained improvements in the governance environment. SEDP-II presented targets for various social development indicators, including a target to reduce the poverty headcount index from 36 to 31 percent.

#### **4.1.2.5 PRSP (Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper)**

PRSP is a macro-level plan sponsored by World Bank and IMF and facilitated and monitored by the inter-ministerial Council for Social Development (CSD).<sup>82</sup> The basis for the development of the PRSP was SEDP-II, but monitoring and evaluation mechanisms were improved, comprehensive performance indicators and targets were developed and improved, the linkages between public policies and programs and the national budget were strengthened and the overall poverty reduction strategy was linked to the macroeconomic framework.

#### **4.1.2.6 NPRS (National Poverty Reduction Strategy)**

No official documents regarding the NPRS seem to be available<sup>83</sup>. However, on the occasion of the Second East Asia and Pacific Regional Conference on “Poverty Reduction Strategies” the Prime Minister gave a speech in which he referred to the NPRS (Hun Sen 2003a). According to this speech, there have been at least five national workshops on NPRS, as well as many technical meetings and consultations. The key elements of NPRS are:

- (i) Strengthening peace, security, stability and social order through measures aimed at improving the rule of law and the protection of human rights and democracy, enabling a favorable political and security environment for long-term sustainable development;

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<sup>81</sup> PRSP replaced the IFI’s (International Financial Institutions) much-criticized Structural Adjustment Policies (SAP), which slashed government spending on health and education reduced, and required local economies to be “opened up” to competition, policies that hurt Cambodia’s poor most of all (Carmichael 2002: 8).

<sup>82</sup> The CSD, established in December 2000, is chaired by the Minister of Planning and has the participation of representatives from the Ministry of Planning; Economy and Finance; Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries; Rural Development; Health; Education, Youth and Sports; Women’s and Veterans’ Affairs; Social Affairs, Labor, Vocational Training and Youth Rehabilitation; Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction; Council of Minister and Council for the Development of Cambodia.

<sup>83</sup> According to Shiva Kuma, a Cambodian Development expert and consultant to the World Bank, the PRSP was “naturalized” as the NPRS, or “National Poverty Reduction Strategy, (Siva, email correspondence [date: 12 Sep 2004])

- (ii) Ensuring high, sustainable growth at six – seven per cent over the long run,
- (ii) The equitable distribution of the fruits of growth between the rich and the poor, between the urban and the rural and between males and females, and
- (iii) Ensuring the sustainable use and management of environment and natural resources.

## **4.2 ADP (Agricultural Development Plan)**

### **4.2.1 ADP 1996-2000**

In this section, I will summarize the first ADP report on the agronomy sub-sector.<sup>84</sup> It was noted that between 1996-2000, there were many problems: fluctuating climatic conditions (flood, drought and the invasion of insects), insecurity (the Khmer Rouge were not disarmed until 1998), and struggles between political parties. However, the agricultural sector achieved many successes:

- Between 1996-2000, food production increased eight per cent per annum. From 1996, the shortage of foodstuff was eliminated; in 1999-2000; there was a rice production surplus of 400,000 tons.
- The exploitation of natural products gradually increased, except for the exploitation of timber, which has declined since 1999.
- Problems of illegal logging and illegal land occupation have been prevented and reduced.

Finally, the ADP identified barriers to increased agricultural yield including Cambodia's lack of basic infrastructure (roads and irrigation facilities), a lack of scientific and technological research, and the need for improved marketing of agricultural products.

### **4.2.2 ADP 2001-2005**

This report was based on the findings of the previous ADP. The aims listed in this report were: (i) to improve food security and reduce the high rate of poverty in the agricultural sector by increasing food production, especially rice and subsidiary crops at the community and household level; (ii) to contribute to the growth of the national economy through the export of surplus agricultural products; (iii) to create new jobs for rural areas and improve the value and quality of agricultural products through the development of agri-industrial processing; (iv) to reduce poverty and increase family income through diversifying crop production, increasing yield, and reducing production cost; (v) to manage natural resources through regulation and technical measures for sustainable exploitation.

To summarize the material presented above, the I-PRSP was an interim plan required by IMF and World Bank and produced by the Ministry of Economy and Finance (MEF) in October 2000. SEDP-I (1996-2000) was produced by the Ministry of Planning with the support of the ADB. After a review of I-PRSP and SEDP-I, the SEDP-II (2000-2005) was developed with the support of the IMF and the World Bank. Next, a PRSP was developed with the assistance of the World Bank and the IMF. Although modeled after the SEDP-II, this PRSP was specifically adapted to Cambodian circumstances, and its name changed to NPRS. Other sector development plans created by individual ministries have been incorporated into the

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<sup>84</sup> There are nine target sub-sectors listed in the ADP: agronomy (rice production is one element of this sub-sector), rubber plantation, livestock production, fisheries, forest management and exploitation, international cooperation and foreign aid, staff management and human resource development, investment and reformation.

national development plan, such as the ADP for 2001-2005, which was developed based on the key lessons learnt from ADP 1996-2000.

### **4.3 The goals of the RGC and Cambodia's development**

According to the NPRS, the RGC wants to achieve (i) peace, security, stability and social order; (ii) sustainable growth of six to seven percent; (iii) economic growth with equity between rural and urban areas, poor and rich, male and female; (iv) the sustainable use and management of the environment and natural resources. The RGC has five specific strategies for attaining these goals:

1. Decentralization. By ensuring that democracy is firmly rooted at the grassroots levels, and local people are given a role in decision-making, including planning, resource mobilization, implementation and the equitable delivery of services, the quality of public services will improve and the task of poverty reduction can be fully and effectively tackled.

2. Investment in rural infrastructure. This will reduce poverty by creating opportunities, ensuring peace and security, and strengthening capacity and empowerment.

3. The promotion of trade and economic liberalization. This will generate employment and increase income for the poor.

4. Strengthening the development of the private sector. It is anticipated that a strong private sector will act as a catalyst for growth and employment.

5. The development of agriculture. If more of Cambodia's vast rural areas are brought under cultivation, the people will benefit from increased growth.

In this section, I have listed and discussed the development policies initiated by the RGC. In the next section, I will look at process of designing these policies.

### **4.4 The Design of PRSP, SEDP-I and II, NRSP and ADP**

Cambodia's development plans have been influenced by the policies of the CPP, the ruling party currently in the government (see Figure 4), as well as the policies of major financial donors such as the World Bank and IMF, and NGOs.

The official guidelines of the CPP, or the Party's "Political Platform" encompass both internal and foreign policy.<sup>85</sup> The Party's internal policy consists of a statement of the party's principles as well as its policies for restoration and socio-economic development. In general, the party has two main goals: (i) to put a total end to the war and establish full and lasting peace; (ii) to fight against people's poverty. In the fight against the people's poverty, all sectors must continue to practice free market economy and financial reform; education is a priority for the country's rehabilitation and development; culture is important for national development and must be protected; the mechanism and structure of economic management needs to be improved; and transportation must be rehabilitated to create favorable conditions for private investment. The Party has four priorities for development: agriculture, the physical infrastructure of the country including the increased generation of electricity, human resources and rural development. Rural development and the well-being of rural people is a particular priority for the CPP, and to this end, the

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<sup>85</sup> CPP's Political Platform is a political guideline resulting from the Party's Extraordinary Congress held on 27 Jan 1997.

Party promotes the construction of irrigation systems, rural roads, bridges, and exempts agricultural production and agricultural land from taxation.

While responding to my question “does the CPP congress policy have any relationship with RGC development plan or/and PRSP, SEDP and NPRS?” my informant, Shiva (email correspondence, [date: 12 Sep 2004] wrote: “of course. The party endorses most of the macro plan”. He also told me that PRSP is a macro strategy while SEDP is a detailed investment plan. In another message he wrote:

CPP leadership discusses some of the economic policies in their party forums and these are endorsed.

[The] Party also has many working groups on economy, border relations, ASEAN etc. These working groups provide support to NPRS. [SHIVA, EMAIL CORRESPONDENCE, date: 12 Sep 2004]

According to Shiva, the CPP has adopted the PRSP’s macro-strategy as a national strategy. In the recent Extraordinary Party Congress of the CPP held in 2003, it was noted that:

...since the party extraordinary congress which was held in January 1997...the party political platform was actively and fruitfully implemented in the interests of the whole nation...

The similarities between the policies stated in the CPP’s political platform and the development policies of the I-PRSP, SEDP, PRSP and NPRS indicate that many of development policies of the RGC originated from those of the CPP.<sup>86</sup>

The interest of NGOs in Cambodia’s development plans is well-documented: “NGOs Forum on Cambodia conducted extensive NGO/civil society consultation on the draft of I-PRSP...NGOs also attended a number of workshops/seminars related to the PRSP and the SEDP-II” and “RGC invited NGO comment on the draft I-PRSP, even though this was not required by World Bank” [NGO Forum (b): no date] In general, the recommendations of NGOs are not included in planning policy.

Although the RGC has retained some independence, over matters such as the decision to invite certain NGOs to participate, it has less independence when it comes to major donors such as the ADB, World Bank and IMF and must constantly adapt its policies to reflect the agendas and requirements of these organizations (Carmichael 2002:8-9). As noted above, the PRSP was developed to meet the lending requirements of the World Bank, in addition to requiring the PRSP, the World Bank provided World Bank staff and a budget of \$260,000 to the RGC to draft the plan. [NGO Forum (b): no date].

In this section I have briefly outlined Cambodia’s main development policies including its plans for agricultural development. I have shown that the RGC has accommodated the demands of many stakeholders when designing development plans. The policies of the CPP have had considerable influence on development planning. The World Bank, IMF and ADB have initiated a series of important development plans, and provided budget and staff for their preparation. NGOs have had some influence, but many of their recommendations have been ignored.

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<sup>86</sup> This is an important area for further field research.



The next section is concerned with the influence of national politics on Cambodia's agricultural development.

## **4.5 Cambodian politicians, agricultural development and the 2003 National Election Campaign**

The 2003 National Elections were held on July 27, 2003. The electoral campaign lasted for thirty-one days (June 26 – July 25). All campaign activities ended on 27 July, twenty-four hours before polling day. There are 12,826 polling centers in whole country. Each political party sends two representatives to observe the election process at each polling center. Two local NGOs and several foreign countries also observed the electoral process to ensure that this was a fair election.

Twenty-three political parties participated in the election. During the election campaign, politicians from these parties traveled around the country and tried their best to explain their policies and strategies to convince the people to vote for them. These campaign speeches are an excellent way to determine the interests, knowledge and priorities of politicians and the people at a particular moment in time. During the 2003 campaign, I documented many of the official speeches and statements made by Cambodian politicians about plans for agricultural development in Cambodia over the next five years.

### **4.5.1 Methods**

I selected the data presented here from campaign speeches and interviews available on Internet sites popular with Cambodian people such as Radio Free Asia (RFA) and Voice Of America (VOA).<sup>87</sup> A valuable source of information was a "Round Table" meeting organized by RFA. I recorded the meeting, and then selected the information that related to agriculture, development and poverty reduction, which is presented in the next section.

### **4.5.2 Analysis**

#### **4.5.2.1 Politicians and peasants**

Election campaigns are among the few occasions when peasants can ask questions of politicians, and politicians must answer. Although many of Cambodia's peasants suffer from poverty, drought and not enough food, I found that few politicians promoted agricultural and rural development in their campaign speeches. Instead, they incited anxiety about racial conflict and national sovereignty. When agriculture was discussed in campaign speeches, most politicians promised an increase in rice production through the use of high-yield crops, pesticide, fertilizer and irrigation equipment imported and bought with foreign aid (loans or development grants). These politicians ignored the fact that when peasants borrow to buy pesticides, fertilizer, and farming equipment, they fall into the trap of indebtedness and landlessness.

Some political parties took a different approach. The CPP promoted WTO membership, promising to bring Cambodia into a larger market for its product. But there was no specification of what products Cambodia could sell on this world market. FUNCINPEC promised to launch development projects such as "our village our freedom" which promoted economic self-reliance, but similar projects implemented by the

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<sup>87</sup> RFA and VOA are broadcasting services based in the USA with internet-based all-day programs.

UNDP and the CPP have proved impossible to implement, even with foreign assistance.<sup>88</sup> The Peasant Party proposed restrictions on imports of products that could be produced locally, but they did not have a realistic strategy to reach their goals. Some small parties have come up with totally impractical plans, such as the Enthabot Borei Party, which proposed taking alluvial soil from the bottom of the Tonle Sap to use as fertilizer for paddy fields. The issue of sustainable development was not a topic during the election campaign because this concept is not widely understood in Cambodia.

#### **4.5.2.2 National borders and immigration**

As mentioned above, nationalism was a hot topic during the election campaigning.<sup>89</sup> The CPP in particular focused their campaign on problems with illegal migrants and disputed national boundaries between Vietnam and Thailand, while claiming that they had rural and agricultural development under control.

#### **4.5.2.3 Others**

During the election campaign, King Sihanouk proposed that the newly elected government re-create the *Reach Sahakor*, or “Royal Cooperative” that was active during the 1960s. While this suggestion is possible, such a cooperative would need to be modified, because conditions in Cambodia are different today.

A Cambodian economist suggested that if the tax on imported products such as petroleum was removed, people would have enough money to stimulate the economy in other ways. But this idea would only benefit people in urban areas, as most Cambodian people live in rural areas and do not own cars or motorbikes.<sup>90</sup>

This section it has discussed that, despite the fact that most Cambodians live in rural areas, agriculture was a low priority for politicians during the Election Campaign of 2003. Instead of promising to resolve problems of drought and poverty, politicians preferred to harangue the people about corruption, disputes over national borders, migration, and tax on petroleum products. When politicians discussed agricultural problems, they usually proposed that farmers should increase production by buying imported agricultural technology (fertilizers, pesticides, and so on) even though this could lead to an increase in rural indebtedness and landlessness.

While most Cambodian politicians believe that Cambodia’s agriculture should be modernized (i.e. increased input of pesticides, fertilizer and mechanization), there is an increasing body of opinion among development experts and economists that agricultural development must use local resources and local means, and that any assistance provided by outsiders must be compatible with the local culture and ecology. As an old peasant observed: “elections are important, but water for rice is more important.” (a peasant spoke to the RFA).

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<sup>88</sup>An informant who has worked with the UNDP for many years commented that no organization has been able “logically and systematically demonstrate the strategy and objective they promised.” [Kung Munychan EMAIL COMMUNICATION, DATE: 5 Sep 2004]

<sup>89</sup> Thai and Vietnamese politicians talk very little about illegal migration and national borders. The contrast between these countries and Cambodia needs to be investigated.

<sup>90</sup> Chambers (1997, cited by Nolan, 2002) wrote “Some economists look for answers not in the dark areas where they are to be found, but under lamppost where they can see numbers in light. They too mark boundaries of professional specification, illuminated by the circularity of reductionism and measured.”

### 4.5.3 Irrigation and development

Agricultural irrigation systems have an ancient and important history in Cambodia due to the ecology, a shortage of water for much of the agricultural year, and the techniques of rice cultivation practiced in the region. During the pre-Angkorian and Angkorian periods, local chiefs and kings mobilized labor to build sophisticated irrigation systems. Evidence of these anthro-morphological structures are scattered everywhere inside the former territories of Cambodia.<sup>91</sup> (cf. Groslier 1979, van Lière 1980, Dumarçay, 1994 & 1997, Ledgerwood *et.al.*,1998). During the post-Angkorian period the country was constantly at war or under occupation by foreign countries, and it was impossible to mobilize people to work on large-scale systems. (Than 1982) However, stability returned during the French Protectorate, when a system of *colmatage* irrigation was developed<sup>92</sup> The construction of irrigation systems continued to be crucial to Cambodia's agricultural development throughout the twentieth century. After Independence in 1953, three large-scale irrigation projects were constructed. (Than 1980: 110-111) During the Khmer Rouge period, the government, under the guidance of Chinese experts, mobilized people to build canals which were aligned east-west and north-south one kilometer apart. (Pijpers 1989: 15) But in many instances these canals disrupted traditional water distribution and drainage patterns, performance was below expectations, and flooding caused much damage (FAO 1994).

The present government is still trying to solve the problem of water shortage for Cambodian peasants. Many irrigation and water management projects are being designed and implemented using foreign expertise as well as loans and donations from donors and NGOs. To date, several large irrigation projects have been developed as well as guidelines for community water use and agricultural use. (MAFF 2003).

## 4.6 Poverty

In the ongoing battle against world poverty, development practitioners and economists have attempted to define poverty, using different measurements and categories depending on their interests and background.

According to an assessment report made by the ADB (Cambodia Office), the most impoverished people have little or no land, and poor people have less than two hectares of land to grow food to feed themselves [(ADB 2001: 16) and see (Appendices A, Tables 9 and 15)]. These two categories (little or no land, and less than two hectares of land) form a reference point called “the poverty line.” This reference point is used by development agencies to formulate efficient and effective poverty reduction programs and policies and identify target areas.

Another reference point used by developers and economists is daily income. According to the NPRS Strategy 2003-2005 (CSD 2002: 15) 36 per cent of Cambodians live on USD\$0.46 (for rural people) and USD\$0.63 (for Phnom Penh people); these people are considered to be poor, or living beneath the poverty line.

The World Food Program (WFP) defines poverty based on consumption. Here, “consumption” refers to the monetary value of the food, other goods, and services that a person consumes. (WFP 2003: 2) A daily

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<sup>91</sup> Cambodia's irrigation systems seem to be indigenous; there is no evidence of foreign influence on Cambodia's ancient irrigation technology.

<sup>92</sup> A *colmatage* is a canal cut through the levee of a river that brings silt-laden floodwater to low-lying land

intake of 2,100 calories is an internationally recognized benchmark for the minimum amount of energy required to sustain an average adult. The WFP considers “a person “poor” if they are consuming less than 2,100 calories of food. To establish a poverty line for a country, the WFP estimates the amount of money required in local currency to purchase 2,100 calories worth of food plus a few non-food essentials. “The results, in terms of per capita per day consumption, are 1,629 Riels for Phnom Penh, 1,214 Riels for Other Urban Areas and 1,036 Riels for Rural Areas” (WFP 2003: 2).

This method of poverty calculation produces similar results to those calculated from the Cambodian Socio-Economic Survey of 1997. (WFP 2003: 3) Another recent publication of a well-known research institute in Cambodia, the CDRI (Cambodia Development Resource Institute), adopted the 1998 poverty line of 1,200 *riels* or USD\$0.30, rounded up to 1,500 *riels* or USD\$0.38.<sup>93</sup> According to a poverty map produced by WFP Cambodia office, the poorest provinces of Cambodia are *Siem Reap* (where Angkor Wat is located), *Kampong Thom* (where *Sambo* village is located) and *Preah Vihear* (a province at the far north of Cambodia bordering with Thailand) (CDC 2002b).

In this chapter the development policy of Cambodian government is illustrated. The chapter started with the development policy during communist period and came to the present development plan which were supported by international community (the World Bank and ADB). Then, it focused on agricultural development plan as it is one of the major economic activity of in rural Cambodia. Coincidentally while I started to write this thesis a new term of government election was conducted. I took the opportunity as a person staying in foreign country to observe the election process in order to find out the trend of concepts of Cambodian politician on development. Finally I made a short review about poverty in Cambodia is also included in this chapter.

In the following chapter, the theory to show my position and model of effective IDA and development will be shown.

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<sup>93</sup> I cannot find a reference or source document for the figure of a national poverty line of 1,200 *riels* or USD\$0.30 in 1998 quoted by CDRI (2005 April-June: 4). The CDRI’s data may be questionable as it was apparently arrived at after consultation with commune councilors rather than field research among villagers.

## CHAPTER 5 Theory of Effective Community

The previous parts provide the framework for our subsequent discussion of the role of an effective grassroots level community in development as a whole and particularly for IDA and its necessity for the success of development thereof.

As other people who are studying anthropology, my research here is also "...promotes an attitude and an outlook: a stance which encourages those working in development to listen to other people's stories, to pay attention to alternative points of view and to new ways of seeing and doing...Anthropologists exposes the limitations of so much which is done in the name of development- its ethnocentric assumptions, its expression of the imbalance of power, its self delusion, its economic biases- while at the same time offering ideas for challenging constructively the world of development and suggesting how this can be changed." (Gardner et al. 2005:359).

As I wrote in introduction chapter, the study will contribute to the development or IDA study in Cambodia as well as the IDA study, as I coordinate into this research the following aspect "...can see important roles for anthropologist in reconstruction ideas and practice in order to overcome poverty and improve the quality of life across the world." (Gardner et al. 2005:359)

In this chapter, first of all, I would like to invite the readers to review what was happening while many researchers seek for a strategy to strengthen or to promote effectiveness of International Development Assistance (IDA) or development by taking in this chapter some popular strategies. Then, the chapter will continue with a modified-strategy analysis the society and show my theoretical approach.

### 5.1 Some Popular Theories or Strategies to Have Effective Development

#### 5.1.1 Can PRA of Chambers realize success for IDA?

Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) of *Chambers* ((1980, 1988, 1997, and 2005) was given an alternative for effective development based on participation of target's people. This method was initially designed to encourage the target people to fully participate in the development process, as seen at the present this theory was intensively buy in to use for effective development purpose. However, the method as others have said and me too who have observed<sup>94</sup>, it is used just for the information gathering only, it cannot guarantee that people of the project's target are involved voluntarily in the entire project or program process or may be as Chambers wrote "RRA [and PRA] is about finding out. It is data collecting, with the analysis done mainly by 'us'. Good PRA/PLA, which evolved out of RRA, is in contrast empowering, a process of appraisal, analysis and action by local people themselves" (Chambers 2005: 3). As I observed in the field the way of those development practitioners handle PRA was just a tool for collecting data (by chance I have been to at least three PRA in 2004). And Chambers wrote this: "it is not easy to keep up-to-date. I keep on having to revise these notes, and do it sometimes twice a year. If you see them and they are more than six months old, please remember that. Much may have changed" (Chambers 2005: 2). Here a warning echo was made by the master of PRA- Dr. *Chambers*, the method is not qualified as a tool to

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<sup>94</sup> During 2004 I attended two PRA: one was in Svay Rieng province, Tourl Cham Bak village, 15 Jan 2004, and the second one was at Srekhoeun village, Sambo commune; Kratie province (09 Feb 2004).

ensure that the target people will fully participate and the only key is to have an effective grassroots community or organization for which I suggest and I am going to give the explanation later.

### **5.1.2 Theories and Policies are not an actual tool to realize IDA succeeds**

A scholar has claimed that there is a gap between the policy and the actual implementation of the development project even though the policy was greatly designed as several questions were posed here “what if development practice is not driven by policy?...what if the practice of development are in fact concealed rather than produced by policy?” (Mosse 2005: 2). Here it show a clear evident for my argument, it needs to have a change in development practice, it requires to adopt those practical or vernacular patterns (vernacular procedures) into the policies and by doing the development assistance can realize it expected success. The starting point in doing this is to have an effective community.

### **5.1.3 Is IDA always helpful to the recipient countries?**

*Jeffrey Sachs*: More aid has to be delivered to the recipient countries to eradicate poverty, Is it true? Another political study seems only meaningful oversight of the Cambodian government's management of the economy has come not from within Cambodia but from the international community (Tith 1998) and *Jeffrey Sachs* who is the pioneer of poverty strategist, has encouraged developed countries to increase aid to the developing countries, and promoted a model which he called a millennium development village (in Kenya- millennium village) (Sachs 2005). Sachs recently (August 2005) made a short visit to Cambodia, he suggested that the aid to Cambodia has to be double or triple, however, but one has to understand that too much international assistance is not good for a developing country as written here “a country receiving more foreign aid than three quarters of the countries [GDP]..., over a period of five years, would see a decline in the index of democracy by 0.6-1 point on a scale of -10” (Klein et al. 2005: 57) at the same time Cambodian have available resources which can be used for development. To say so, it does not mean that aid is rejected but Cambodia has to limit aid otherwise aid can make country into chaos as (I have to repeat again). For the negative aspect of aid, it is found that aid also made recipient countries go to more wrong direction too:

“One problem is that aid flows create volatility in government revenues that, if poorly managed, will lead to inflation and boom-and-bust cycles in government spending. Secondly, they produce foreign currency earnings that, if not neutralized by monetary policy, will raise the real exchange rate, undermining the competitiveness of other sectors. Third, they can damage institutions (including governance and the legal systems) indirectly- by removing incentives to reform, improve infrastructure, or even establish a well-functioning tax bureaucracy- as well as directly- by provoking a fight to control resource rents” (Klein et al. 2005: 56).

My position here is clear, it does not mean that all IDA either large or small have to be rejected but the effectiveness has to be considered, if large IDA makes recipient economy failed, then it is irrational to venture with it. So, the only way to prevent is to have effective Grassroots Level Community (GLC).

Different from *Sachs*, another famous scholars proposed another alternative which I briefly raise in the following section.

#### **5.1.4 Can Paraprojects as a New Mode of International Development Assistance of *Norman Uphoff* be a suitable model?**

Recognizing the constraints and inefficiencies associated with standard project modes of assistance. The Rural Development Committee (RDC) at Cornell University in September 1987 started an interdisciplinary working group on alternative modes of development assistance. In there, *Robert Chambers* initiated to have an alternative one- 'antiproject'. From this term and model, *Norman Uphoff* has developed another term and model 'paraproject'. "Paraprojects would differ from and relate to 'projects'...the former are not simply as a substitute for the latter, and indeed they often function as extenders of the latter. The former are not simply 'scale down' versions of the latter but rather have different responsibilities, essentially complementary" (Uphoff 1999: 1403). However the intended approach made by Uphoff is only focusing on the project managements and mechanism in the donor level, leaving the mechanism at the bottom level within the recipient countries unsolved. The effectiveness of IDA can be realized if the "paraproject" of *Uphoff* or "antiproject" of *Chambers* (Uphoff 1999) has to be integrated with the effective GLC. Because while Uphoff deals with the donor management parts, then my research here will deal with the GLC in the recipient's country, this will improve the IDA.

Is there other alternative way in order to make an effective IDA? Yes, in the following, another strategy "IDA has to adopt FDI (Foreign Direct Investment) in order to find it success" proposed by an economist (Klein et al. 2005) will be elaborated.

#### **5.1.5 Can IDA adopt the private investment strategy?**

Klein et al. 2005 has introduced a proposal after comparing the Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) with IDA. According to them, if IDA can adopt the way of FDI works in developing country then the IDA would be more effective. They said "FDI has more to teach IDA" as I summarized here: (i) foreign investors are mercilessly unforgiving of the poorly governed countries and partners; (ii) in FDI, everyone involved has a strong incentive to learn or to teach as appropriate, and a stern market test weeds out those who do not. While IDA are not subject to any such test. (iii) While aid is target to help the poorest with grant and free advice, this makes aid into a difficulty in maintaining the appropriate discipline (Klein et al. 2005: 78). Even it is hard to have IDA in the way as FDI, however, Klein et al. had encourage the donors to try to adapt these benefit from the FDI. For me it is possible only when a community at the grassroots level in developing country is strong and effective enough in handling the business as a company. As aid, there are many donors will to give to the recipient countries then the opportunity to choose is available. One donor is tightening the rule and other is not, this is the opportunity. And in the future foreseen; there is not sign that the donor's community is saying a unique voice.

### 5.1.6 Social Capital as the factor for social development and community strengthening

Another famous theory which was started to be popular in US during early 1990s is the theory of social capital which was shaken by Putnam.<sup>95</sup> As I wrote in the chapter of introduction, social capital is seen as a factor of effectiveness of community and regional and governance and economic development in Italy (Putnam 1993) and the factors of effectiveness of regional government of United States (Putnam 1995a & b). However, the unlimited meaning of social capital gives a great wide analysis opportunity to the scholar and also leads to have a barrier for scholars to make further identification and analysis of the ideal elements which constitute a society<sup>96</sup>. Here are some distinguish research on social capital: Evans Peter (1996) has referred social capital as a synergic factor to shape or complement to strengthen and define the solution between two institutions. Lemieux referred social capital as a factor that helps to have a weak or strong community as he wrote “when each actor’s (community members) social capital seems to be more limited, co-operation and mutual trust seem to be more limited as well” (2001:96). Gaag put social capital into two aspects one on the individual (micro) and other collective levels (Gaag et al. 2004: 199). Halpern [he is a former colleague of Robert Putnam (Putnam is known to be a first person who made social capital popular in US society and a well known scholar on social capital in US)] gave the meaning of social capital as “...I am attracted to a somewhat broader definition of social capital than Bob [Putnam]...For me, the everyday habit of walking on the left in the London underground is a form of social capital, but for many social capitalists this would not be” (Halpern 2005: ix). Social capital can be divided into two groups: bridging social capital and bonding social capital (Putnam 1995). The former refers to the relationship between persons who didn’t know each other and the latter refers to the social capital which is built based on kin related or neighborhoods. However, the social capital can explain only on a single element of the society.

Based on social capital, it is hard to make more further explanation about how to strengthen and promote the participation of the community members in a development process as Hobbs (2000) “In general, there is no one model for social capital formation or the creation or strengthening of local group”. And he quoted another authors to keep his statement firm: “Albee & Boyd (1997) argue that there is no single answer or model to promote participation...there are only frameworks and guiding principles”.

For the conclusion of this section, there are numerous proposal alternative strategies. But the key of effective of GLC is not dealt with. Those strategies are not imperfect or neither inappropriate but it does not fully cover the whole dimensions of the IDA or development. For this reason, I would like to introduce a modified version theory which focuses on the mechanism of development or IDA in the recipient countries. Before going into details, I would like to introduce the ideal components of the society in the following part.

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<sup>95</sup> In the academic world today Putnam is seen as a pioneer as mentioned “...one name has become almost synonymous with social capital...He is of course, Harvard professor Robert Putnam...” (Halpern 2005: 7).

<sup>96</sup> While everyone uses social capital as a final end of their analysis, then further in dept analysis was not made given social capital as a base bone from which community is strengthen or weaken.



## **5.2 Horizontal and Vertical Mechanism Support to International Development or/and Development**

There are two dimensions of mechanism which support IDA or/and development: horizontal and vertical (please see in Figure 7). As mentioned in the introduction and literature review chapters, the mechanisms supports IDA or/and development in a IDA recipient countries, vertically, can be classified into different types and involved by four actors: donors, recipient government, NGOs, and community (see graph 1). As the bottom structure or grassroots level of this assistant/development mechanism is grassroots level community. Horizontally speaking, this community represents social organization which is one among four ideal components of society (the four ideal elements of the society are: social organization, institutional organization, technology/knowledge and essential condition). The community has to be horizontally matched and fitted with other ideal components of local village or society and accepted and understood by the other three actors, if it is an effective community.

As shown in the literature review chapter and at the beginning of this chapter, the strategy and theory proposed by those popular researchers dealt with different segments of the IDA support structures- either donors or recipient governments or NGOs or community separately. Their theories are good and useful but they are not dealing directly with IDA and this giving a chance of missing gap. For such reason that this section will be based on those previous theories to reconstruct a modified one, which may be useful for the IDA and/or development of IDA's recipient countries.

This section will define the vertical and horizontal structures support to the IDA. Here it starts with the vertical structure.

### **5.2.1 Type of Structure Supporting International Development Assistance: Vertical Structures**

Vertically, as seen in Figure 7, International Development Assistance from developed countries to developing countries takes place in either type: bilateral or multilateral assistance through at least four simple supporting structures if it can be categorized by four actors involved: target people, recipient's government, NGOs (Non-Governmental Organization) in the recipient country and donor or funding agency<sup>97</sup> (see graph 1). The donor has a role in assisting both in funding and advising (according to the official statement)<sup>98</sup>; recipient government has a role as a receiver and makes and facilitates the flow of international assistance to the target people. NGOs have multiple roles: sometimes serve as the

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<sup>97</sup> As the aim of article is not to discuss how effective each type is, nor why there are such different types, I just make a brief mention here about why there are different types of projects/programs. It depends on four factors: i). the regulations of the recipient government (if government demands): the recipient government has to be involved (Some developing countries have little experience in receiving Official Development Assistance, so that there may be no regulations or laws on international development.) ii). geographic and demographic size and the target area of the international development project or program. iii). own decisions or regulations of the donor (imposed upon the recipient government). (Most donors have their own regulations in giving assistance to developing countries, which normally dictate the assistance to go through the recipient government.) iv). Limited funding, and v). the availability of services to support the assistance of the donor.

<sup>98</sup> Officially their role is assisting through funding, but their unofficial role goes further such as initiator, pusher, etc.

implementer or the advocator representing the people. Most of the time people or farmers are considered as the beneficiary (participation) actors.

As shown in the graphs (Graphs 1 and 2), there are four types of development which have donors (international assistance) involved and two other types: the private and farmers and the farmer alone. For Graph 1, different types of development actors involved are the result of the preferences of and negotiations between the donor and the recipient government. In Type a) some donors want the assistance goes directly to the farmer through NGOs without going through the recipient government. b) is the type of donor-recipient government – NGOs in the recipient countries – farmers; it is a kind of development process which is participated by all four actors. For example, this type of development project can be implemented by a NGO after the donor (who owns the budget and has received a request from the recipient country – as mentioned in usual official statements) discussed with the recipient government, and there is participation of local people (farmers). c) The third type is the development involving three actors, donor, government and farmers. The donors own the funds, and the recipient government is implementing the project, in which farmers are the beneficiary. d). the fourth type is the development involving the donor and farmers. The case is rare, but very popular now for the case of Japanese IDA- the *Kusanone* funds (grassroots fund), and there is no involvement of the recipient government or NGOs.

In Graph 2, Case A is a kind of an individually-rich person uses his/her own budget to invest for a relatively small development project, such as repairing infrastructure – irrigation canal, and after repairing, the farmers have to pay back to him/her for the use of water. It is a new type in Cambodia, which might also be found in other developed and developing countries. The other can be a small size of development; Case B, farmers are the only actors in a project, and most of the time farmers can join together to do something for their local benefits such as the repair of a village road, bridge, or canal rehabilitation.

In all cases of International Development Assistance: type a, b, c, d (and A and B) at the end of all the assistance are farmers or poor people. Then a question is, ‘Is it possible to design an individual or personal project or program for each individual farmer or individual family? It is hardly possible; International Development Assistance cannot target each individual person or family by creating an individual project or program. Hence, in order to ease or bridge the assistance to reach those individuals, the program or project has to be designed with its target to the group or community of the poor at the grassroots level. It needs a grassroots-level community, a community which is located in just one level above family or household (see Graph 1). The community is a key for success or failure of International Development Assistance because the assistance can be assessed from the viewpoints of transparency, ownership, or efficiency in reducing poverty. Coincidentally, after this part was published as an article (Chay 2005), I came across a poverty related article where author identified the causes of poverty hierarchically as “poverty pyramid” (see in graph 3) and in that pyramid, community involvement is a basic starting point to eradicate poverty (Remenyi 2004: 205).

Here as for IDA and development project/program, the question is how well it reaches out to the poor individual or family depends on this community. An effective community at grassroots level will lead to a success in International Development Assistance. What is then an effective community at grassroots level?

The community has to be participated, owned, managed, planned, and decided by the people who are the members of the community. To be participated is to be willing to do something for the sake of the whole public community, to have a capacity and willingness to voluntary work together and moreover “freedom of communities to elect their leaders and to express their demands, and social justice” (Kikuchi: 1997: 201).

### **5.2.2 Interaction Mechanism in a Society: Institutional Organization, Social Organization, Technology and Essential Conditions<sup>99</sup> - The Horizontal Structures**

In this section an analysis of the correlation of the four ideal components which exist in a given society will be made and then followed by another chapter where the evident of those components will be detailed. These four components are interrelated and connected each other to support to the IDA.

First of all the term society in this thesis can be a village, a local community. Society is changing from time to time,” as confirmed by Eriksen “...virtually no local community is completely self-sustaining and unchanging through time (Eriksen 2001: 58). But what is exactly changing? Why is it changed? Who make the change? This chapter will bring into this discussion the four ideal components of society and to analyze it movements of changing and finding the reasons of the causes of this changing. Beyond these intentions, it is going to make further discussion about if it is changing so how can we make this change into a harmonized direction. The changing of the society is not an accident but it happens with a long time efforts of the human hands and intellectual and based on essential of each society.

This chapter is made as I am aware that the society is moving especially those four ideal mechanisms were moving and changing In the ancient time when the world had yet not to be connected by the fast airplane and telecommunication as today, each society was rather isolated (except occasional trade via the ship or other land transportation) the change is not rapidly happened and not so fast as today and reasons of change were not so diverse as today.

Since ancient time each society has it own mechanism (elements or components) that people in those society has to cope with for their survival. Those mechanisms are, (I should repeat again) a). Institution- “refers to ideal behavior and role expectations and as a generic concept for the variety for rules that help pattern social behavior: norms, folkways, custom, conventions, etiquette and law<sup>100</sup>. b). Social organization refers to a human group (Coward 1995: 48) as Emile Durkheim pointed about human nature “human beings are social; they live in groups” (Wilk 1996: 77). c). Essential conditions refer to those ecological conditions (e.g. geographical condition of a society or village) and demographic conditions and others; d). While

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<sup>99</sup> Essential condition here is refers to the ecological and demographical conditions.

<sup>100</sup> Eriksen (2001: 41) termed this institution as “social conventions” as he wrote “In order for humans to exist at all, they depend on a number of shared social conventions or implicit rules for behavior”. Institution here is also similar to the social capital if the social capital means rules and regulations and belief [I said if because social capital has unlimited meaning (see more in previous section)].

technology refers to the technical application that people (villagers) develop or/and borrow or/and imposed to the villagers to cope with the essential condition. People (villagers) in a society (village) develop, create, modify and keep changing from time to time to be able to survive those components. The previous two (a) and (b) are the components of the social capital as used by a popular scholar Puttnam (1995).

## **5.3 Theory Analysis**

### **5.3.1 Factors of changing**

The factors that lead to have a change differ from time to time of the historical period. However, as this is not an historical record, then a summary of the factors is made. There are two categories: internal factors and external factors. The Internal factors are: Change in essential condition; Change in others components (one or two or three among four).

External factors are Trader; Religious Missionary; War (invasion war); Traveling (at least one of the community member traveled to outside community or someone from outside came into the community); and Development agents and Globalization (telecommunication).

#### **5.3.1.1 The Change of the past**

In the past (could be before 19<sup>th</sup> century- for Cambodian rural society), very often the change came from the change of the essential condition; religious conversion or religious influences (caused by missionary or others) and the civil war or invasion war. The other factors were rather found in making society change.

I would like to raise here a case of changing made by religious influence in the Cambodian history. The ancient Khmer king namely- Jayavarman VII (the re-founding of Khmer empire) cleverly made use of local condition and the global effects to reunite the ancient Khmer kingdom and made a change in ancient Khmer society without harms. As wrote here by a researcher:

Jayavarman VII had to link his rule to the kings of the past, while at the same time introducing a large enough new element to enable him to reduce the traumatic experience of the *Cham* victory...[t]his element was Mahayana Buddhism, similar enough to previous Hindu beliefs, that it would not put the whole worldview upside down, but different enough to allow for considerable changes. Hence two architectural themes, ancestral veneration and Mahayanist compassion express Jayavarman's concepts. (Haendel, 1999: 5)

According to this quoted, the local condition at that time was the ancestral veneration which was practiced by the *Khmer* while the outside element was the Mahayana Buddhism. This outside element was an element of globalization during then, as same as the internet or telecommunication of today. The point here is I would like to show a case of change which caused by religion in ancient time.

Now return to the change in the essential condition (e.g. ecological condition: rain) then people in the society from time to time are trying gradually to learn from the change. During learning the experiments were conducts (e.g. to try to cultivate a specific seeds in a specific condition which offered by the rain-essential condition). From experiments, the lesson and experiences were made and collected. Then if it fails an experiment has to be re-made with different method. If it succeed, then the experience is memorized and

will be used and shared as guidance for the living. Here a new or modified technology is created and/or modified. At the same if the workload is too much to be carried out by one person or one family, another solution is to be made, by gathering several neighborhood to work together- then a social organization is emerged. In order to control or to prevent free rider (someone to break the rule), the social or natural disorder and disasters or/and to cope with essential conditions a code is developed for the specific purposes (as the rule for the reciprocal labor exchange- I work for you, you have to work for me in return, or the ceremony to predict the rainfall pattern). Then find the codes for specific purpose.

One component of society connects with the others three components and vice versa. While there is a change in one component the others are also changed. But in the past the changes often came from the essential conditions (for inside factors) and with some occasions the change was made by the outside factors (trader, religious missionary and invasion war or internal country civil war). As the change in the past due to the change in essential conditions then these changes were gradually made and modified by the villagers and in a more proper way (without making much harm to the human who live in the society) so the question is why it was happened without making harm to the people and/or society? Before answering to this question, I would like to turn the attention to the changing of society in the contemporary time. Each change has its own reasons and it slowly and gradually happened.

The indigenous social, institutional organization and indigenous technology are the results of a long and enduring adaptations of the people (villagers). All of them were simultaneously emerged during a specific period and for the specific purpose, condition and needs and wants of the people (villagers) in the society (village).

#### **5.3.1.2 The Change of the society in the Contemporary Time**

In the contemporary time, the most affected influence to the change of a society is the globalization and the development agents. The 21st century- is the century of development with the popularity of the International Development Assistance (IDA) or period that the industry of aid now can be named as a Market for the Aid (as it can be seen the title of a book by Klein Michael et al. 2005). As for Cambodia rural society these two factors play a very crucial role in its change. Many new social organizations, technologies were introduced by the development agents (here I refer to government, donor, and NGOs). (But no one see the institutional organization in a positive way). Those development agents are reasonable (they are right- what they are doing now) because they have found that the society lacks technology, does not have social organizations for coping with the essential conditions. For example: for confronting with the drought, scientists based on their germplasm knowledge with their artificial man made ecological condition; they developed many new high yield variety seeds and applying to the society via the development agents together with extension training. Both of them scientist and development agents who are responsible for the task hope that it will be useful for the people in the rural area. However, the result comes with a very limited as they are choking on the imposition of the new technology and new social organization. They didn't recognize that it needs to be based on current available social organization, technology and institutional organization to help them to spread this new technology and succeed in their

development project/program. Be awoken by this loss, still new strategy was introduced in order to set up social organization, as nowadays find the farmer association or the extension farmers. However, still it is not as useful and effective as the social organization which is self-emerged and the institutional organization that co-existed with.

Current development in Cambodia is trying to make change in all four components of the foundation of the society but they are doing this work not together, not in the same time and not base on the existing components, resulting with less effective or for the most it has partial result. For example a social organization- forestry community was set up by a NGO namely *Mlob Baitong* in *Sambo* village, this community has very narrow role and activities and participated by a few villagers only. The consequence of this failure is the fact that poverty incident still remained the same or even increased.

In Cambodia, each rural society has no choice to avoid to cope with or to escape from the change imposed by those developments agents as well as the globalization wave itself. If an component-technology, institution and social organization was introduced by development agents, subsequently that component will be trial (not directly accept or take), learnt and modified and keep (sometime just keeping there without usage but people do not reject) by the people/villagers. Most of the imposed components have to be gotten through the experimental and modification process of the people/villagers before it can be functioned. This type can be named as vernacular type- if borrowing Dove's terminology (Dove 1992). The modified or vernacular types are the alternative types resulting from modern imposing change made by development agents and process of modification made by the people.

The social organizations are among the most impositions into the rural society of Cambodia. Each sector has created own social organization in the village and/or commune and by both the government and the NGOs. They are together creating their own communities for their own specific purposes. For the government, to count some for the readers notion- the forestry administration authority of Cambodia has forestry community, the department of fishery has fishery community, the water resources has water user group...for the NGOs there are water user groups community, forestry community, micro finance community, extension farmers community, rice and /or cow bank community...there are many, in one village, more than three communities which were created by the NGOs and/or government can be found.

With diverse community types in the village, villagers are sometime getting confuse and hardly to catch up with those community in term of recognizing (not even the chance to be participated). However, as the other imposed components, the community is functioned in some degree after it proceeds through the modification made by villagers (people). The processes of changes of the created/imposed community, result another component- something differs from the creative shape, that is an alternative one which is in here names as vernacular shape.

#### **5.3.1.3 Alternative change**

Alternative change results alternative or practical or vernacular type of components- it can be alternative/practical technology (originally it is the scientific produced technology), vernacular social organization or vernacular institutional organization. In short, those alternatives are unofficial types but

they are practical. Why does the imposed type not function? Because it does not fit with other components as it is partially purposed covered. It is not compatible with the other three components that is, why it has to be modified to enable to be functioned and manageable. Scientist or/and development agents are the outsiders equipped with ready-artificial facilities and plan for a just period of their job description and try hard toward their setting goal then finish as Chambers wrote what a scientist wants is “to seek peer approval and promotion” while the poor [people or farmer] wants is “to seek livelihoods and survival” (Chambers 1997: 180). The consequence is an incompatible result which needs people to make another experiment and/or modification before an alternative type is emerged and useable.

As long as the imposed components do not well function and the useful are those people-modified types then it is necessary for the scientists and development agents to take into their accounts those latter types for their development planning as well as for the implementations.

In conclusion this Chapter has shown two dimensions of structure or mechanism to support to IDA and/or development. Those are the vertical and horizontal dimensions. Each of these dimensions composes of different entities. The existing research or strategies or theories were based mostly on the vertical dimension. The horizontal dimension was not received much attentions in the research or study. If there is, that research is dealing with individual one (as it has four components) but not altogether at the same time. For the existing research, which focused on the vertical dimensions, they were mostly discussed at the recipient government levels or donor or NGOs level. For the horizontal dimension, the discus was just on the community alone. As I already informed, at the horizontal level it is involved by not only the target community (which is a social organization) but other three are also involved: the institutional organization, technology and essential condition.

By explaining as I made above was just a theory, it is doubtful, thereupon I would like to turn to next chapter for a case study in a village central of Cambodia which I will test my theory of the importance of horizontal dimension using a case study of a village in the central part of Cambodia.

## CHAPTER 6 *Sambo Village, Kampong Thom Province- Institutional Organization, Social Organization, Technology and Essential Conditions*

### 6.1 Introduction

Every society consists of four components: institutional organization, social organization, technology and essential condition<sup>101</sup> [the essential conditions of life]. In this chapter I will try to create, through empirical investigation, a multidimensional (-emic and -etic) view of the beliefs and culture (including religion) of contemporary rural society in Cambodia, using anthropological field methodology (field notes, interviews and site documents). The village I have selected for my research is called *Sambo*<sup>102</sup>. *Sambo* is located in the central part of Cambodia (see map 1), about 30 kilometers from Kampong Thom provincial town. Between 2000 and 2005 I spent period of time<sup>103</sup> in the villagers' houses, the Buddhist temple, the school, and the development center of the international NGO World Vision<sup>104</sup> collecting ethnographic data<sup>105</sup>. Research activities included participation in village life, observation of religious festivals and other rituals and unstructured conversations with local peasants including "focal persons" such as wisemen or village elders *or village elders*, ritual ceremony coordinators, and village elders. A tape recorder was used very sparingly, since I found it led to unrealistic information. The written field notes I compiled every evening after the long days of field research proved to be more useful.

### 6.2 Selection of the Village

My initial research proposal called for a research area with the following features: (1) a place where there are many older people who have been residents since their birth, (2) a village where traditional ways are still important, (3) an old village with a prosperous past, but where today inhabitants have difficulty in making a living, (4) a previously un-researched village, (5) a place where all three types of rice cultivation are practiced, namely: highland, lowland, and deep water rice cultivation, and (6) a place with both highland and lowland Cambodian peasants. During the initial stages of my research, I visited villages on National Road 1 in the southern provinces of *Takeo*, *Prey Veng* and *Svay Rieng*. But I decided against studying these villages because they have already been the subject of several scholarly studies<sup>106</sup>. I also

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<sup>101</sup> I found that I missed an element of essential condition that is language, it can be an essential condition, but I didn't include in this thesis.

<sup>102</sup> *Sambo* village is a very old village located thirty-five kilometers from Kampong Thom town and approximately 100 meters from *Sambo Prey Kuk* monuments. To the south of this village lies the Stoeung Sen River, the longest river in Cambodia. *Sambo* village contains 1002 villagers and has an average of five members in each household. The main source of income for the villagers is agriculture. Transplanted rice is the primary type of rice cultivation, direct planting, or shifting agriculture, which serves as a security type of food production, is secondary, and broadcasting is the third mode of rice cultivation.

<sup>103</sup> The research was taken since late 2000 while I re-started academic life as a student of Japanese University. Each year I visited the field (*Sambo* village) three times and each time I spent at least 1 month to 2 months. It had been happened so until August 2005.

<sup>104</sup> World Vision International (WVI) has a branch office located near *Sambo* village in Prasat *Sambo* district. Villagers call this office a "development center."

<sup>105</sup> I first investigated *Sambo* village during three years of postgraduate study, 2000-2003 (MA degree, Waseda University, Japan 2003). Between March 2003 - September 2005, *Sambo* village was the focus of my PhD research (PhD course, Waseda University).

<sup>106</sup> Ebihara (1968, 1993), Daubert (1996), Walter (2001), Ledgerwood (1995, 1998), Ledgerwood et al. (1999).



visited the villages located on National Road 5 in Cambodia's northern provinces of *Pursat* and *Kampong Chhnang*, but I found that this area was dominated by lowland rice cultivation. I visited at least six villages in the central part of Cambodia in Kampong Thom province<sup>107</sup>. From these villages I selected *Sambo* village because this village met most of my research criteria, in particular its use of the triple type of rice cultivation.<sup>108</sup> In addition, Professor Masao Nishimura and the Waseda Prasat *Sambo* Monuments Conservation and Preservation Team recommended that I work on this village.

*Sambo* village is located in Kampong Thom province, about 35 km from *Kampong Thom* town (see map 1)<sup>109</sup>. A famous group of Khmer ancient monuments, *Sambo Prey Kuk*, the site of an ancient Khmer city in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, is located near the village (Vickery, 1998). *Sambo* village is bordered by *Kampong Chheuteal* village in the south, *Samreth* village in the east, *Prasat Sambo Prey Kuk* monument in the west, and *Kok Kaek* in the far north. About two kilometers to the south of *Sambo* village, the longest tributary of the *Tonle Sap* named *Sen* river or *Stoeung Sen* flows from north to south into the *Tonle Sap* at *Veal Phork*. *Sambo* village is a center for religious ceremonies or holy days, which are observed at an old and famous temple named *Vat Sambo*<sup>110</sup>. It is also a center for market exchange among the peasants coming from nearby villages. The road to *Sambo* runs along the edge of deciduous forest and rice fields. The road surface is deeply rutted, indicating laterisation. During the dry season, vehicular traffic raises clouds of dust, and in the rainy season, the thick muddy surface obstructs ox-carts (*roteh ko*) and motor traffic. Because of recent improvements to transportation, villagers living near the ancient monuments at the far south and east can travel by bus to the larger markets in *Kampong Thom* town, a journey taking an hour and a half.

### 6.3 History of *Sambo* village

I have reconstructed a history of *Sambo* village based on: (i) inscriptions; (ii) Cambodian history; (iii) the history of rice cultivation in the area; (iv) aerial photography of the region, in conjunction with field verification, and (v) contemporary anthropological research.

#### 6.3.1 Human Settlement and Agricultural Practice

As noted above, this area used to be the ancient capital of a Khmer kingdom:

By the early 7<sup>th</sup> century the centers of political power... had shifted away from coastal; an agricultural economy, rather than maritime trade economy, predominated. (Vickery 1998: 20)

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<sup>107</sup> *Kampong Thom* province is located in the central part of the *Tonle Sap* region, and according to the Ministry of Planning Census 1998 has a population of 569,060 (272,8444 males and 296,216 female).

<sup>108</sup> See ecological profile of *Sambo* village in Map 4

<sup>109</sup> In this thesis, I have followed the spelling of Khmer names used by local government and development agencies, hence "*Sambo*." It should be noted that this spelling differs from that found in the General Population Census of Cambodia, 1998 and on topographic maps, in particular those printed before 1970s, reflecting historical differences in the way that Cambodian words have been Romanized.

<sup>110</sup> A *vat* is a Buddhist temple complex or monastery. As well as a center for religious worship, a *vat* is also a place where community members gather to relax and visit with each other, hence the common phrase *tao leng Vat*: "go to visit/enjoy[oneself] at the temple."

Vickery describes two typical chiefdom leaders in the pre-Angkor period of Cambodian history, *pŎn* and *mratãñ*. Both were titles of a chief or leader in a different period; *pŎn* was the title of leader sometime before the 8th century, and *mratãñ* was the title used after the 8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>111</sup> *PŎn* was a position inherited matrilineally through the sister's sons, and *mratãñ* was inherited through patrilineal kinship (Vickery 1998: 19 and 23). Both of them were leaders of a village or a community.

“A *pŎn* was chief of a settlement, and the typical *pŎn*-dom was a large village, or a supravillage of several hundred or a thousand or more villagers living around or near a pond, sometimes one artificially constructed, and growing at least enough rice for self-sufficiency.” (Vickery 1998:19)

The chiefs had authority to assign their subjects to work duties for the benefit of the clan or community, or eventually for the chief themselves. These low-ranking persons were called *kñum* (Vickery 1998: 27)<sup>112</sup>. Inscriptions such as K.155 (Vickery 1998: 303) describing donations of people, cattle, buffalos, rice fields and clothes to temples, as well as the ancient monuments, also testify to the rich cultural history of the area.

Another source for the reconstruction of the history of *Sambo* is the history of rice cultivation in the region. As stated by Huke (1990):

The earliest settlements of those persons responsible for domestication undoubtedly were in areas offering a wide range of plant and animal associations within a limited geographical area. Such sites offered a variety of food sources over a span of seasons to societies dependent on hunting and gathering for their food supply. These earliest settlements might well have been near the edge of the uplands, but on gently rolling topography and close to small rivers that provided a reliable water supply...The earliest agriculture, a simple form of swidden... (Huke, 1990).

*Sambo* village has many of the characteristics of Huke's description of a typical early settlement: there is a river running nearby and the topography is gently lower from the north to toward river at the south (see also Chay *et.al.*, 2003: 210). There is also evidence of an ancient anthro-morphological landscape, confirmed by aerial photography and field surveys. Many ancient ponds have been found in the northern part of the area, and traces of ancient canals and embankments have been found near a natural river (see aerial photo of *Sambo* village).

The earliest form of agriculture was probably a simple form of swidden, a form of rice cultivation that does not require leveling the field (Huke, 1990). As van Lière (1980:267) argued, “early farmers tried to avoid the strenuous labour of clearing densely overgrown lands; they appreciated the value of farm systems that required little or no labour.” While the people of nearby *Kampong Chheuteal* village practice flood recession rice cultivation, the peasants of *Sambo* village seem to have always preferred shifting rice cultivation, and may never have practiced the technique of flood recession rice cultivation until after the Khmer Rouge period. During my ethnographical field research, an 87 year-old woman reported being told by her great-grandfather that:

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<sup>111</sup> The title *pŎn* disappeared from the inscriptions by the eighth century and was replaced by terms based on the title *mratãñ* (Vickery 1998: 23).

<sup>112</sup> *Kñum* for this term, some scholars translated as slave, as they referred to modern Khmer terminology. The other meaning of *kñum*, are: I or Me or My.

Our grandparents never practiced dry-season flood recession rice...to cultivate rice, it was very easy, while the raining season comes...plough and then broadcast finally harvest. The production was very huge...at that time we did not need to add any fertilizer to the rice field and we did not need to work hard as today!)<sup>113</sup>

Shifting agriculture, like flood rice, does not require the leveling of the field, and involves a dry harvest, which is easier than the wet harvest of flood rice. Reciprocal labor systems are needed to plant rain-fed rice, and a joint work force is needed to harvest on time in the rainy season.

These clues, when brought together with other evidence, allow for a tentative reconstruction of the history of the *Sambo* region. Initially, the inhabitants lived in groups, and food was gathered using reciprocal labor systems under the supervision of a chief. This “chieftdom” evolved into a “*pŎn*-dom” sometime before the sixth century. Shifting agriculture — in which peasants clear the land, burn it and then plant or broadcast seed rice (techniques still practiced today in *Sambo* village) — was practiced. Peasants would have been familiar with shifting agriculture because they were of “wild” origins, and “le Cambodgien est un homme de la forêt” (Ovesen *et. al.* 1996: 24). Epigraphical and archeological evidence shows social units scattered to the north of the present day *Sambo* village in an area where there are many ancient ponds (see aerial photo of *Sambo* village). The peasants planted rice somewhere near their households, and drew water from the ponds for irrigation and domestic uses.<sup>114</sup>

Sometime in the late sixth century, peasants in the *Sambo* region began practicing both shifting and flood rice agriculture. This is perhaps the period when the region began to be influenced by what is now the southern part of Cambodia, a region where flood rice and trade dominated. However, shifting remained the predominant form of agriculture in the *Sambo* region, and reciprocal labor systems were led by *pŎn*. Reciprocal labor systems were promoted for agricultural purposes, and for purposes of religion, trade and the institution of kingship. The causeway (see aerial photo of *Sambo* village) that extended out from the main temple to the east, connected by a large stairway that can be seen to this day, was the result of one of these reciprocal labor systems organized by *mratañ*, and some *pŎn*. By the eighth century, during the time of *Sambo Prey Kuk*’s prosperity, the social organization of *pŎn* had been completely replaced by *mratañ*, peasants practiced recession rice, and reciprocal labor systems were almost completely controlled by the state. (Vickery 1998:23).

From the ninth to the fourteenth centuries, even after the centers of political power moved to Angkor, the *Sambo* region continued to experience development in agricultural techniques. As ecological and socio-economical systems changed as a result of demographic increase and over-exploitation of forest, support from reciprocal labor systems was required. At this time people’s livelihoods were based on shifting, broadcasting<sup>115</sup> (both rain-fed and flood-fed) agriculture, and perhaps also transplantation. Reciprocal labor systems played a role with all three types, mostly for the first and third type, as these two types require

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<sup>113</sup> Personal communication with a group of old people- 65-87 years old, at Wat *Sambo*, September 2002.

<sup>114</sup> Hanks (1972) argues that shifting agriculture requires more labor than lowland broadcasting or transplanting, but his calculations may have been based on broadcast shifting agriculture

<sup>115</sup> Broadcasting rice can be watered either by floodwater (“flood-fed rice”) or by rainwater (“rain-fed rice”). Even in the highlands, where floodwater does not reach, people broadcast rice, which is fed by rainwater.

more labor participation: transplanting and harvesting require precise timing and are difficult for a small group or family labor to carry out. The second type, flood-fed agriculture, may have been practiced inside the family unit. As at Angkor, political leaders used reciprocal labor systems for religious and trade reasons as well as political legitimacy. This means that two labor systems co-existed side by side: reciprocal labor systems (practiced among peasants) and labor service (a client serves patron without payment). The reciprocal labor systems were more decentralized in nature, while the latter was more centralized.

It is necessary to note here that in some inscriptions, there was mention of the movement of people from south to north in order to make a new kingdom in northern Cambodia. Jayavarman II the first of the Angkorian kings brought both officials and ordinary people from the south to settle in the new capital (Vickery 1991a: 3). In some of the first Angkorian inscriptions, there are records of the list of districts from which these people came (Vickery 1991b: 4) including Bhimapura (located in present day Battambang province), Sresthapura (modern-day Kampong Thom and Kampong Cham provinces) and Isanapura (*Sambo* Prey Kuk region). Fox and Ledgerwood (1999) assert that recession rice was important at Angkor Borei (believed by historians to be the first Khmer kingdom). This may be true, but other forms of rice cultivation doubtlessly existed as well.

Between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, Angkor was abandoned as the capital, and the basis of the economy reverted to river trade in forest products. New capitals emerged in the south near Phnom Penh. The great hydraulic works of Angkor were never repeated. (Chandler 1993, Helmers 1997: 1). In the *Sambo* region, peasants cultivated rainy season rice using three different types of cultivation techniques: shifting agriculture, flood rice, and some transplanting. Recession rice was abandoned as forest product trading provided enough surplus income for subsistence. At that time, reciprocal labor systems were used mainly for shifting agriculture.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, rural life and rice production were dominated by war, as Thai, Vietnamese and Khmer forces fought throughout Cambodian territory, destroying villages, and killing and displacing the inhabitants. (Chandler 1993, Helmers 1997: 2) During this period, peasants in the *Sambo* area had to live in the forest to avoid capture and destruction by foreign enemies. Instead of cultivating lowland rice, they practiced shifting agriculture. Fields of smaller size were used, and reciprocal labor systems had fewer participants to avoid discovery by enemies.

In 1863, the French established a Protectorate in Cambodia, which would eventually be incorporated into the French Indochina Union. The French colonial presence would last for the next 90 years. One of the French policies toward rice exportation from Cambodia was to create a higher per capita rate of tax on rice than anywhere else in French Indochina (Helmers: 1997: 3). This meant that the more surplus rice peasants produced, the more tax would have to be paid. In *Sambo* village, peasants repeat the stories of their grandparents about the difficulties of rice cultivation during the French period. Their grandparents had to hide some products in the forest and underground to escape from taxation. Labor was also taxed, in the

form of head taxes. Each family had the duty of sending a member to join colonial-run *corvée* (labor force mobilizing) projects such as road construction.

Since peasants were heavily taxed, they had no motivation to increase production by using variant types of rice cultivation, such as transplantation. (Mak 1998: 32) They used reciprocal labor systems only for shifting agriculture and for plowing rice fields for broadcasting on some occasions. Elderly peasants who are now 70-87 years old told me about the richness of natural resources and fertile soil which favored rice cultivation: “We just plowed the field and then broadcast, and didn’t care about water, fertilizer and pesticides.”

After Cambodia’s independence, between 1953 and 1970, rice production was controlled by the state via two governmental institutions: the Office of the Royal Cooperative (OROC) and the Société nationale d’exportation et d’importation (SONEXIM). At the rural level a state convention model cooperative *Reach Sahakkor* (Royal Cooperative), was created. The existing OROC parastatal became responsible for the purchase and processing of the rice export crop, which was then sold through SONEXIM (Helmers 1997:4). During my fieldwork in *Sambo* village, the *Reach Sahakkor* was never mentioned. Instead, peasants described rice cultivation activities carried out by the head of the family, using broadcasting techniques of rain-fed lowland rice. During this period, the use of reciprocal labor systems was very rare, perhaps only used by peasants for shifting cultivation.

Between 1970-1975, there was a civil war between the Khmer Rouge resistance and the United States-backed Lon Nol government. During most of the civil war, the *Sambo* region, like many remote areas, was under Khmer Rouge control. Informants reported no change in rice cultivation practices or the use of reciprocal labor systems during this period, but the constant warfare meant that peasants all over the country found it difficult to cultivate and harvest rice, and Cambodia suffered a food shortage. In 1974, 282,000 tons of rice had to be imported by a US “food for peace” program (Mak 1997: 38).

When the Khmer Rouge held power between 1975-1979, “southern” *kraom*, or “below”<sup>116</sup> techniques of flood recession rice cultivation and the use of the irrigation tool “pedaling *noria*” (*rohat theak*) were imported into the *Sambo* region<sup>117</sup>. Villagers complained to me about the hard work involved in operating *norias* during the Khmer Rouge time. They told me that they were forced to dig a canal (which has now been refilled; no trace remains) and attempted to build a dam across an ancient canal. During this period, there were no reciprocal labor systems; everyone belonged to the state-designated *Sahakkor* (“co-operative”).

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<sup>116</sup> “southern” *kraom*, or “below”, the usage of these terms depends on the geographical position where the speakers are located within the Cambodian territory. People of the most northern part of Cambodia, such as in *Ratanakiri*, *Mondulakiri* people uses these terms to refer to the people of lower part of the Cambodia, and for them “*Kraom*” is located in *Kampong Cham* province or others. For people of *Preach Vihear* province, they used *Kraom* refer to people from *Kampong Cham* or *Kampong Thom* provinces. The people of *Kampong Thom* used these terms to call the people or location in *Takeo* or *Kandal* provinces. The people of *Phnom Penh* use these words to call the people from the *Kampuchea Kraom* (the former territory of Cambodia, which is now day is the southern part of Vietnam).

<sup>117</sup> I would like to reiterate my argument here that *Sambo* villagers have never used dry-season recession rice.

After the Khmer Rouges were forced out of power in 1979, a Vietnamese-backed, socialist government held power between 1979-1989. Solidarity groups known as *krom samaki*, consisting of 20-25 families, constituted the basic unit of production, and were organized under village and commune administration. (Helmert 1997: 6). As reported by Ovesen *et.al.* (1997:19) and Frings (1994:49) the *krom samaki* “not only aimed at organizing the peasants in order to increase production, but also doctrinated them to serve the political objectives of the government and fight enemies”. Mak (1997: 49-50) lists three types of *krom samaki*:

Type one involved the greatest level of collectivization of means of production such as land, farm tools, work force and farm work. Type two was approached in two ways. The first way was that, after all rice land had been transplanted by collective work, the fields were distributed to each family to look after and harvest individually. The second way was that, land and farm tools were distributed to groups of families (10-15) within the village; the land was farmed on a family basis but they help each other in ploughing, uprooting, transplanting and/or harvesting as in *pravas dai* (exchange labour) that used to be done traditionally. Type three involved division of land among families, and all production was organized individually.

As we see from this, type two was mixed with the traditional reciprocal labor systems, and it was the dominant type, due to the advantages it provided in organizing production and for purchasing subsidized farms inputs. (Mak 1997:50) But this is not the whole picture. The reality was that peasants themselves initiated these reciprocal labor systems because they suited the local situation (in terms of agricultural technique, ecology, socio-economy and religion) more than the state-promoted *krom samaki*.

The state-sponsored *krom samaki* systems were not instituted in the *Sambo* region due to political insecurity in the area. Even though the area was nominally under government control, between 1979-1992 Khmer Rouge forces were active in the area, moving from place to place and disturbing the government. Today, large areas of secondary forests (especially inside the ancient monument area), abandonment of dry-season recession rice cultivation and discarded irrigation tools (which had been imported during the Khmer Rouge regime) demonstrate that the peasants have rejected the *krom samaki* system<sup>118</sup>. Instead, they took the land allotted to them by the state (based on the number of family members) and resumed shifting rice, wet rice, lowland broadcasting, and transplantation rice cultivation. Peasants also returned to traditional reciprocal labor systems to support shifting and wet rice lowland cultivation.

In 1989-1992, Vietnamese troops were withdrawn from Cambodia, and in 1992- 1993 the government was under the supervision of the United Nation Transitional Authority of Cambodia (UNTAC). Despite the presence of UNTAC forces, the area was still insecure, with a Khmer Rouge presence inside the forest; UNTAC staff were attacked and a civilian Japanese UN volunteer was killed in a village near *Sambo*.<sup>119</sup> During this period, a free market economic system began to officially replace the *krom samaki* system across Cambodia. However, this change did not affect the *Sambo* region where the *krom samaki* system had never been applied.

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<sup>118</sup> “Secondary forest” here means vegetation regrowth in an area formerly used for shifting agriculture.

<sup>119</sup> In memory of this event, *Atsu* village has adopted the name of that Japanese volunteer, *Atsu*.

## 6.3.2 Some Differences between the Past and the Present

### 6.3.2.1 People and Working Capacity

Elderly informants recollected that in the past, people worked with great speed, patience and skill in the rice fields. Ten people, using a *chroueng* (dibble stick) and followed by three or four people to put the plants in the hole, could plant one hectare of a *chamkar* (garden plot) with rice. Today, between fifteen to twenty people are needed to cover the same area. In the past, seven or eight people could transplant a rice field 600 square meters (15m x 40m) in one day, but the present generation needs at least ten people to do the same work. The older generation was able to transplant five “clumps” of rice seedlings in front of them, but the present generation can transplant only two or three clumps. Informants blamed this inefficiency on the fact that the younger generation arrives at work late, plays around too much, and does not concentrate on the task at hand. While today informants stated that it takes the labor of fifteen to twenty people to produce the same amount of rice as ten people could produce in the past, a decrease in the fertility of the soil and the availability of water in the region may have also been a factor.

### 6.3.2.2 Changes in Agricultural Technology

Informants told me that in the past, they never had to use cow manure for fertilizer as the soil was very fertile. Farmers were able to produce adequate crops by simply plowing the fields and then broadcasting rice seed. There was sufficient water, and nursery beds could be watered using a simple water scoop. Until it was introduced during the Khmer Rouge regime, the use of the *noria* (the pedaled waterwheel used in farm irrigation), was unknown.<sup>120</sup> There have also been changes in other farming equipment, such as the ox-cart (*roteh ko*). Today, some of the parts of the ox cart, such as the axle, are made of iron. In the past, a type of wood from the *phloang* tree was used for the axle. This wood was prized because of its springiness. The springy quality meant that the axle, the main supporter of the ox-cart, was flexible, and the radius and hub of the wheel was less likely to break. Even if the axle broke while on the road, the farmers could easily cut some of this wood from the nearby forest, build a new axle, and continue their journey. In addition, the oxen find that a flexible cart is easier to drag. Nowadays farmers complained that the iron parts make the cart more rigid and more liable to break, and when the cart breaks, they must spend cash to buy a replacement at the marketplace.

### 6.3.2.3 Rice Fields in the Past

The appearance of rice fields in the past was different from today. In the past there were many bushes in the rice fields- this is called “companion planting”. Older farmers in *Sambo* believed that these bushes increased the productivity and fertility of the soil. In the area north of the *Sambo* village, the rice fields used to be bordered by a heavily forested area. Those high trees have now been cut down, and it is easy to get lost in the de-forested landscape, where all directions look the same.

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<sup>120</sup> The *noria* is still unpopular with *Sambo*'s farmers today.

#### 6.3.2.4 Prasat *Sambo Prey Kuk*

A book written about Kampong Thom by a French medical doctor and published in 1918 tells us that during the Protectorate, this area was called “*Sambo ruins*” or “*Krou ke ruins*.” “les ruines des Sambuor sont encore appelées ruines de Krou Ker du nom d’un affluent du Stung Sen qui passé à côté et va de là se jeter près de Kampong Prek.” (Dufusse 1918: 67) The name “Krou Ker” refers to a branch of Sen river — “O’Krouker”— which lies near the ancient monuments, and flows into the Sen near Kampong Prek village. In the past, Prasat *Sambo Prey Kuk* was covered in thick forest. Dufusse (1918: 67) remarked that “Aucun chemin ne mène aux ruines de Sambuor...” and the monuments could only be accessed by small walking trails. There were many wild animals in the forests, and herds of deer and cattle lived around the *Sambo* village and inside the *Prasat Sambo Prey Kuk* monuments.

In the past, parent used to take their children to see the ruins and taught them the name of each temple. Except for the name of *Prasat Tao*, renamed as *Prasat Khla*, these names are still use today. Some festivals are still celebrated at *Prasat Sambo Prey Kuk*. At one time there was a big skull and tibia of the human displayed in *Prasat Tāo*; eventually the French took them away. An elderly informant told me that when he was 12 years old, his father told him that the bones belonged to ancient humans.

### 6.4 Selection of Sample from the Village

#### 6.4.1 Procedures

In this section I will explain the procedures I used for my research, and the some of the problems I met in the field. In 2001, I found that *Sambo* village had 198 houses with 202 families, located along the village road (MAP 3). When I returned to Tokyo, I used my 2001 household census to select the samples for my research. When I revisited *Sambo* village again in May 2005, I found that there had been some changes. According to Mr. *Lao*, the village chief (newly elected in early 2005), *Sambo* village had increased to 210 families, constituting of 1,067 persons (560 persons female) living in 207 houses. Most of these were newly built houses along a path that had been upgraded into a road in 2003 using a commune development fund. One example of a new household is that of Mr. *Lai*, built next to Mr. *Ly* (18) sometime after 2003. Another example was *Neak*’s new house built next to her son-in-law *Poch*’s house (17) after her daughter married *Poch*. These small changes in population are, I believe, unimportant for the results of my research.

A random selection method was used so each household had a fair and equal opportunity to be selected as a sample: (Madrigal 1998)

First, I drew a sketch map of *Sambo* village.

- I identified each household location with the name of the head of the family;
- Beginning from the southwestern side of the village road, I counted from one to ten, and selected the tenth household as a sample.
- I continued counting households by tens until I reached the last household.
- I visited each sample household.



As I mentioned earlier, there were changes when new houses were built. Also, when I entered my data, I found that there was some confusion between households caused by starting from the southern side of the village's road, and numbering all the houses from west to east (see *Prem's* and *Nub's* houses).

#### **6.4.2 Data collected from each sample**

Each sample household was visited at least three times over the research period in order to verify the data. The data obtained from each household can be summarized in following step:

- The surrounding environments and the house itself were observed, with special attentions paid to trees, vegetables, animals, ring well or pumping well, approximate size of the household land, other products such as timber and logs around the property, as well as the condition of the house (roof and walls);
- The inside of house was observed, and number of rooms, beds, kitchen equipment etc. was noted;
- I asked the head of the household (except for sample 20, whose husband was always away working in the neighboring village) about general information about their families' members, their job, property (land, cattle, equipment, leisure activities...)
- Informants gave information about their income and expenses, as well as their activities during the year.
- This data was recorded, typed up and then analyzed. This material can be seen in the following section.

#### **6.4.3 General Characteristics of Samples**

Twenty samples were selected, and the name of the head of the household recorded (See Appendices A, Table 1). These twenty samples consist of thirteen males and seven females. The oldest was aged eighty-three years old and the youngest was twenty-six years old. Out of these twenty heads of household, four persons were illiterate, five persons had been ordained as Buddhist monks (from three—five years, and can be assumed to be literate) and nine persons were literate. (A greater proportion of males were literate; eleven females were illiterate).

This next section describes the “essential conditions” of the village, with reference to the recorded data.

### **6.5 Essential Conditions of the village**

#### **6.5.1 Ecological and Demographic Conditions**

##### **6.5.1.1 Topography**

*Sambo* village can be divided into three parts. First is the highland, located in the north, where highland rice cultivation takes place. Forest and countless small ponds cover this area. The second part is the lowland, where there are many houses and paddy fields of lowland rice. The third is the area of the floodwater paddy fields located at the very far south of the village, near the river (*Stoeung*).

During the rainy season, the rainwater flows from the north of the village and passes through the trenches, ditches, grooves and ox-cart tracks, creating a very complicated irrigation system. On its way downhill, this rainwater mixes with decaying vegetation before flowing into the south part of *Sambo* village, providing a completely natural fertilizer for the lowland paddy fields. Household wastes are also

used as fertilizer resources for the lowland paddy fields. All of these opportunities are naturally created by the topography of the village, which slopes gently from the north to the south (see Map 4: the ecological profile of the village).

#### **6.5.1.2 Population**

From the analysis of my data, I found that the maximum number of household members is eleven persons, and the minimum was one person (sample no. 3 whose children have all married and moved away). The average household has slightly more than five family members (see in Appendices A, Table 2)

#### **6.5.1.3 Precipitation**

Cambodia's topography influences its rainfall distribution. Situated in the subtropical zone Cambodia experiences a monsoon climate (Nesbitt 1997: 16). In 1918 the total volume of rainfall in Kampong Thom province was recorded as 1200-1500 mm (Dufosse, 1918: 24). In 1999, the total volume of rainwater in Kampong Thom Province was 1743.8 mm (Ministry of Agriculture, 2000: 81)<sup>121</sup>.

#### **6.5.1.4 Temperature**

Dufosse, a Frenchman who lived in Kampong Thom between 1917-1918, reported a minimum temperature of 14 °C on 8 December 1917 and a maximum temperature of 41 °C in the month of June 1917 (Dufosse 1918). Today, the temperature of the Kampong Thom province, at the peak of the hot season (April-May) reaches Celsius temperatures in the mid-40s, with the evening cooling off by approximately 10 °C. Daytime temperatures are coolest in the month of October through January. A temperature range of 20 to 37.7 °C is required throughout the life period of rice crops (Chatterjee *et al.*, 1979: 7). As Nesbitt described:

Warm dry days are required by rice farmers for grain drying while cool conditions are necessary for setting of some fruit and cultivation of many vegetables...cooler temperatures at the end of the year are welcomed as farmers harvest and hand-thresh their rice during the day...(1997:17).

#### **6.5.1.5 Soil Types**

According to the Cambodian soil map produced by the Cambodia-IRRI-Australia Project (CIAP) in 1997, soils of the lowland and deepwater paddy fields in *Sambo* village are the *kbal po* type. But according to an officer of the soil unit at the Ministry of Agriculture, who had worked with the CIAP in classifying soil, the soil around *Sambo* village should be classified as the *pra tah lang* type because of its color and other physical characteristics. The guide *Land Use for Rice Production in Cambodia*, published for soil identification and management (White *et al.* 1999) suggests that both classifications are right, and the soil varies from *kbal po* to *prah tah lang*, depending on location and proximity to the Sen River.

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<sup>121</sup> It is difficult to make a comment on these rainfall figures as both the French statistics and the statistics of the Ministry of Agriculture can be erroneous.

In the south part of the village the rice paddies are divided into two types, lowland paddy field and deepwater paddy field. The soil of deepwater paddy is the *kbal po* type, because the fields are located very near to the river providing the opportunity for an accumulation of alluvial soil when there is flooding (White *et al.*, 1999:55). But the upper layer of the soil accumulated by the rainwater in the lowland paddy fields, which flows from the northern side of the village, is probably the *pra tah lang* type identified by the officer at the ministry of agriculture. The soil types at the highland rice fields are still unidentified.

## 6.5.2 Social Conditions

### 6.5.2.1 Kinship Systems and Marriage<sup>122</sup>

The primary kin unit of *Sambo* village is the nuclear family. There are a few stem families, but extended families are rare. Monogamy is predominant; polygamy is permitted but actually rare. Families are bilateral, and divorce is allowed. The features of kinship in *Sambo* village are the consistent with Murdock's kinship characterizations, cited in Ebihara (1968: 95), with the exception of the third characterization:

- (1) The primary kin unit is the small domestic unit of a nuclear family or some sort of extended family.
- (2) Monogamy is predominant; polygamy is legally permitted but actually rare.
- (3) Marriage with any degree of cousin is permitted.
- (4) Residence is neolocal<sup>123</sup> or (in Murdock's terms) ambilocal; there is a strong tendency toward, but no firm rule dictating, uxorilocality<sup>124</sup>.
- (5) There are no rules concerning community exogamy or endogamy.
- (6) Beyond the family there is only a bilaterally extended "personal kindred".
- (7) Cousin terminology is Eskimo in terms of reference (although Hawaiian in terms of address), and avuncular terminology is lineal.

In *Sambo* village, marriage to the first cousin is traditionally forbidden. Marriage to the second and third cousin is permitted (but rarely practiced).

To me this seems clear. Slightly different wording could be: Out of twenty families interviewed; thirteen had children already married who lived separately from the parents. There were three cases of parents living with their married daughters (see Appendices A, Table 2).

In *Sambo* village, most men marry between eighteen and twenty years of age, and women between fifteen and seventeen years of age. In rural Cambodia, young men often travel from one village to another and find marriage partners outside of their natal village. But this is rare in *Sambo* village, where most families in are linked to each other by blood or marriage. In similar cases described by Ebihara, this was because villagers tend to mistrust "outsiders," and are reluctant to marry their daughters to strangers. (Ebihara 1968: 93-94). But during my fieldwork I learned that in *Sambo* village, a prospective bridegroom was not required to pay a bride price or dowry. Instead, he must demonstrate his knowledge and skill at rice cultivation before being allowed to marry into a family. It is difficult for an outsider to meet the high standards of the villagers, because the *chamkar* rice cultivation techniques favored in *Sambo* village are

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<sup>122</sup> Kinship can be a part of institutional organization as well as it is defined as social capital by those social capital theorists

<sup>123</sup> A married couple establishes a new home separate from the families of either spouse (Ebihara, 1968: 108).

<sup>124</sup> A couple lives with the wife's family (Ebihara, 1968: 108).

from the lowland and deepwater techniques of rice cultivations practiced in other regions. This, I believe, is the reason why *Sambo* village has few example of exogamy, and it is rare to find intermarriage even among neighboring villages.

Traditionally, marriages do not take place during the rainy season retreat, or *Vassa*, which lasts from mid-July to mid-October, when Buddhist monks go into retreat in the monastery.<sup>125</sup> This rule is not followed as strictly today, and it is possible to set an engagement during this time period, but this is very rare. Such customs can be called “traditional laws” and most people obey them, although their transgression is not met with punishment because they are based in everyday reality. It is difficult to perform important ceremonies such as weddings during the rainy season when everyone is engaged in rice cultivation. People must work in the *chamkar* and the rice field from dawn to very late in the evenings, and no one has free time to participate in a celebration. Also this is a hard time of the year for the farmer. Supplies of rice become less and less every day, and meat and vegetables also become scarce. Goods in the market are priced higher than in other parts of the year. October, when monks finish the *vassa* retreat and the pace of agricultural life slows down, is the time for marriage.

In an agricultural society, marriage rituals are often closely connected with agriculture, and agricultural metaphors abound. An example is the prenuptial ceremony called “exchanging rice seeds” (*do pouch*-Cambodian translation). A man and woman respected for their wisdom and experience are appointed by the parents of the bridegroom to go to the bride’s house and ask to “exchange rice seeds.” Here are some phrases that people have customarily used during the engagement for marriage:

Bridegroom’s representative (A): “Has anyone exchanged rice seeds with your child yet?”

Parent of the bride (B): “Oh! Not yet.”

A: “Are your rice seeds pure?”

B: “I am not sure; I just cultivate the rice seeds. I don’t have any idea whether they are pure or not, it depends on the neighbors, who have the right to judge.”

A: “We would like to exchange rice seeds with you. What do you think?”

B: “If you want to exchange, I don’t mind. But whether these seeds are pure or not is up to the judgment of the neighbors. I am just responsible for cultivation.”<sup>126</sup>

After preliminary agreement to the match is reached, the bridegroom’s representatives return to the bridegroom’s house with the news. The bride’s parents then call a meeting of their relatives to ask for agreement. Each relative is asked to express their opinion about the bridegroom’s character and his

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<sup>125</sup>A description of some of the rituals associated with *Vassa* will be seen in the next section.

<sup>126</sup> Today, the agricultural metaphor of seed exchange is very rarely used. Instead, the representative of the bridegroom asks: “*toeu men no na srash roborng kon srey nak ru nov?*” or “Had anyone make the fence around your daughter yet?”

behavior in the community. If the majority of the relatives disapprove of the bridegroom, then representatives of the bride's family are sent to the representatives of the bridegroom's family to reject the proposal. If the bride's relatives agree, then the representatives of the bride's family take the final confirmation to the representatives of the bridegroom, and a meeting of the parents is arranged in the house of the bride. The purpose of meeting is to select the date for the marriage. The date is decided with the supervision of an *achar* (non-ordained ritual specialist). The busiest months for marriage celebrations in *Sambo* village are in January or correspond to traditional Cambodian calendar; it is "*Miek thom*" and February "*Boh*".

### **6.5.2.2 House Conditions**

The houses of *Sambo* village can be classified by their roof type, and from their location in the village, from the western part to the northern part and from the south to the very north. There are three types of house roofing in *Sambo* village: clay tile roofs, thatched roofs and zinc roofs<sup>127</sup>. In my sample of twenty households, ten houses are thatched, eight have tile roofs and two have zinc roof houses (see Figure 1 1) Two houses are divided into three separate rooms, four houses are divided into two rooms, and fourteen houses, or 70% of the sample, are one-room dwellings. (See Appendices A, Table 3). None of the twenty sample households have a toilet or bathroom. Villagers use bushes for a toilet and bathe outside near to the water source (well or water jar). Kitchens are located inside the house, often in an annexed building, or in the space underneath the house; sometimes cooking takes place outside the house (see Appendices A, Table 3).

### **6.5.2.3 Education**

Among the sample of twenty households, I found that four male heads of household were illiterate and five had been ordained as Buddhist monks from three to seven years (and can be assumed to be literate). Eleven female heads of household were illiterate. All twenty families of the sample had sent their children to primary school (except samples number 20 and 9, newly married couples with children aged less than seven years). Three sons from three separate families were ordained Buddhist monks. When I asked the parents why they had their son ordained as a Buddhist monk, the answer was: "it is better to have occasion to study, as parents cannot fund study." Here we can see that the Buddhist monastery still plays an important role in rural education. My informants often stated that they wanted both their sons and daughters to be educated, but the statistics show that daughters are often kept at home to help with household work. Even when they are allowed to attend school, many girls' education is terminated at the end of primary school when they are ten to thirteen years old). In contrast, most sons attend school until they reach sixteen to eighteen when their families need them to help with rice cultivation

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<sup>127</sup> In Cambodia, it is generally assumed that rich families live in houses with tile roofs. While this may have been true in the past, today the presence or absence of a tile roof is not a definite proof of income or lack of income. For example, in a village in Kampong Cham province near the Mekong river, all villagers have tile roofs, but their standard of living is poor. See Uphoff (2005) who tried to define the measurement of empowerment at the community level and Hulme *et al.* (2005) on identifying poverty independently of monetary measurements.

In *Sambo* village there is only one primary school, which has three classrooms. The closest secondary school is two kilometers from the village. This high school was recently built with the support of the Thai princess Maha Chakri Sirinthorn. The school complex has six buildings, each containing six classrooms, an administration building, a library and a building containing a sound lab, a computer lab and a multimedia room. There is a teachers' hostel, a student hostel with beds for forty female students, and thatched houses for forty male students<sup>128</sup>.

In 2005, a vocational school was being constructed on land belonging to *Sambo* village. This vocational school, located near *Vat Sambo*, consists of four buildings, and will offer training in veterinary science, agronomy, electronics, and radio and television repair. Teachers were sent to Thailand to train in these subjects. The vocational school had four hundred students from four districts of Kampong Thom province: *Sandan, Prasat Balang, Prasat Sambo and Kampong Svay*. According to a report from a teacher there, it is anticipated that this vocational training center will develop with the participation of the students, teachers and local villagers into an educational cooperative, or a regional university.

During my survey, I discussed this vocational school with the agricultural officer of the district, the commune council, the head of *Sambo* village, the monks of *Vat Sambo*, WVI staff and the local people, especially the *achar* (non-ordained ritual specialists). I was told that the leaders of this "Thai" school ignore the local people, and discuss the plans for this regional university (i.e. "top-down" development style of management). An example given by locals was that during the month of July, the school needed to have some rice fields for experimental purposes, The school authorities surveyed and marked off parts of the villagers' rice fields for their experiment without first discussing their project with the villagers. Another example is a level field built near the school grounds. Although most of the villagers, in particular the younger people, are happy because they can play football on the field, it is actually a runway for helicopters, which arrive at anytime, even at midnight. Villagers wonder why there needs to be a helicopter runway near their village, and why they have not been informed about its purpose.

#### **6.5.2.4 Gender**

The reciprocal labor systems in *Sambo* village are not limited by gender or age. A man's labor can be compensated by a woman's labor, or the labor of a young boy or girl. This makes the labor shortage in households headed by single women less difficult as they are not disadvantaged by their gender in reciprocal labor exchanges<sup>129</sup>. In addition to their "equality" in the labor force, women in *Sambo* village bear responsibility for daily household management, the household's health, and food preparation. Traditional ideas and economic necessity also keep women close to home. Although the director of the primary school told me that "*Sambo* villagers try their best to get their children to school and promote them to higher education, including the female students" but the statistics show that a larger proportion of female villagers are illiterate, or receive only a primary education because they are needed to work at home. As for local politics, although the percentage of women in the village (53.91%) is higher than men, there are no

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<sup>128</sup> During my visit (early 2002), the girls' hostel had sixty students in residence.

<sup>129</sup> This is in part due to the local preference for shifting agriculture. In contrast, in areas where deepwater rice cultivation is the norm, men are required for plowing and broadcasting rice seed.

females on the Village Development Committee (VDC) (please see also the term of reference of VDC in appendices “B”. Development experts often forget that women are instrumental to programs of population control, increased food production, and the provision of other basic needs.” (Sharma, 1994: 74). For more information about the division of labor in common activities, see Appendices A, Table 28.

### **6.5.2.5 Health Systems**

The nearest medical clinic is in nearby *Kampong Chheuteal* village. In *Sambo* village there is one traditional healer, three traditional midwives and one medically trained midwife. In 2002, there were no maternal mortalities; one infant died.

In May 2005, five villagers (including the chief of the village) were selected by an NGO to train in mental health in *Kampong Thom* town. The NGO plans that the trainees will transfer the knowledge they acquired to the villagers by organizing training inside the village.

## **6.5.3 The Village Economy**

### **6.5.3.1 Mean of Production**

#### **6.5.3.1.1 Land Occupation**

In general, the villagers of *Sambo* divide land into four categories: land for lowland rice, land for flood rice, land for highland rice (*srau chamkar*) and household land (See ecological profile of the *Sambo* village, Map 4). Based on result of sample analysis, each household has a section of land about eighteen meters wide and eighty-nine meters long (average calculated from data in Appendices A, Table 4).<sup>1</sup> Lands for lowland rice were traditionally inherited, and most villagers have been able to get back their old fields. Most of these lands are located in the south and south east of *Sambo* village. About 95% of *Sambo* villagers have land for flood rice located in the far south near the river. Lands for highland rice are located on the north side of the village. In the past these lands were communal property; no one could own them individually. Since 1990, people started to capture these communal lands for private use using a very simple strategy: after planting rice two or three times, they converted the lands into plantations for cashew nut (*Anacardium occidentale*) trees.

The villagers also have communal land that is considered to be sacred: they are called *prey nak ta khieng* and *prey anlong chambak*, “*Nakta Khieng* or *Anlong Chambak* spirit forest”. They are not used for cultivation, and everyone has the right to enter these lands and use their natural resources. Villagers also make use of the land around the *Prasat Sambo Prey Kuk* monuments and the land at *Tourl Nak Ta Khchorng* and *Tourl Nak Ta Athvea*. Once communally held, this land is gradually disappearing as the new official land tenure law is implemented.

According to the database records of *Prasat Sambo* district made WVI. In 2002, *Sambo* village has a total of 187 ha of rice lands, 20 ha of highland rice and another 12 ha of other crop cultivation land. On an average, every household in *Sambo* village has 0.89 ha of rice land. But if we sum up all land holdings,

including rain-fed lowland rice (RLR), and upland fields (rice and other crops), the average landholding by a *Sambo* villager household is 1.05 ha.<sup>130</sup>

These figures contrast with my findings based on my sample of twenty households (see Appendices A, Table 4). As I noted at the beginning of this section, there are four types of land: land for lowland rice, land for flood rice, land for highland rice (*Srau Chamkar*) and household land. However my data shows that the majority of *Sambo* villagers possess three types of land: household land (*Dei Phum*), ricefield land (*Dei Sre*) and plantation land (*Dei Chamkar*). If the data is “classified in accordance to the technique of rice cultivation” and the data made without sampling, this is the result:

In the twenty samples (Appendices A, Table 4), every household has a plot of land (*Dei Phum*). Sample number eight, with 450 square meters of land, has the smallest plot, and sample number 7, with 5,000 square meters, has the largest plot. For those who are interested in the statistics, I would like to list here the result of my calculations of household land for twenty samples: mean: 1,661 m<sup>2</sup>, mode: 720 m<sup>2</sup> and median: 1,225 m<sup>2</sup>. Taking mean as average, then the 1,661 m<sup>2</sup> is the average land per household and it is larger than 1,289.70 m<sup>2</sup>, the average rural household land area in *Kampong Thom* province as a whole as reported by Chan (2001: 39: table 6.2).

For the rice field land, sample number 3 is a shopkeeper who doesn't cultivate rice, sample number 20 has 0 ha of rice field, and sample number 12 has 0.095 ha of rice field. If this data is calculated statistically, it is found that: mean is 1ha, mode: 2ha and median: 1 ha. If mean is taken to be the average amount of rice field holdings by a family, then the data from WVI is incorrect. The statement of comparison should be written as follows: on average, every household has 1 ha of rice field (according to the data from sampling). This is larger than the average of *Sophy* village study by *Mak* (1997: 103) who reported an average of 0.86 ha per household for rainfed lowland rice (RLR).

With respect to plantation land, (Appendices A, Table 4) there are several subcategories: land for cashew nuts, for watermelon, for rice plantations and free land. Most of the families in the sample have cashew nut land except sample number 9 (but this family has free land, and plans to cultivate cashew nuts there, and sample number 3 (the shopkeeper). If this shopkeeper is not included, then the family with sample number 12 has the smallest amount of plantation land, 0.14 ha, while family number 18 has the largest amount of plantation land, 5 ha. Once again here are the statistical figures: mean, mode and median all are 2 ha.

In total, if sample 3 (the shopkeeper) is excluded, and the land on which family's houses are located is not included, then the smallest land holding is 0.25 ha (sample number 20) and the largest is 8 ha (sample

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<sup>130</sup> In comparison, each household in *Sophy* village (studied by *Mak* (1997: 103) had an average of 0.86 ha of rain-fed lowland rice (RLR); a study of *Sri* village (*Mak* 1997: 33) in *Rotanakiri* province in northeast Cambodia shows that households had an average of 1.6 ha.



number 18) in *Sambo* village. If the land on which houses are located is included, then in the right hand side column of the table, the “grand total” shows that the smallest holding is 0.25 ha (sample number 3, the shopkeeper) followed by 0.3189 ha (sample number 20).

If we sum up all land holdings by household, including rice field land and upland fields (rice and other crops), then the average landholding for each household is 3 ha (Appendices A, Table 5). If this average is compared to the average landholdings of village research by *Sri* in *Rotanakiri* province, it can be seen that the average is almost two times larger than *Sri* village’s average of 1.6 ha per household (1997: 33).

If we use Acharya’s classification of landlessness as owning no (zero) land (Acharya *et al.* 2003), then it appears that 5% of *Sambo* village’s 210 households are landless. However my research shows that the household with the smallest amount of land, sample number 3 (the shopkeeper) is not the poorest family. Today, many villagers have jobs in addition to farming and it cannot automatically be assumed that land tenure equates to wealth, or landlessness to poverty. It is necessary to determine more information (cash income, expenses, house condition, property not devoted to agriculture, lifestyle...) before deciding that a household is poor because it does not have land<sup>131</sup>.

There are poor people in *Sambo* village. In fact, the village chief has his own list of needy people in the village to show to development agents and/or government officers. According to his list, there are four categories of villagers: rich (*mean*), medium (*mothayum*), poor (*kro*) and very poor (*ti toal*); 31, 127, 78 and 1 families respectively<sup>132</sup>. When I asked him why he considered a particular family to be poor; he replied “*pros krousa ning dach! dach pel madorng madorng nah!..*” or “because this family runs out of necessities from time to time”.

#### 6.5.3.1.2 Farm Work by Different Family Members

Agricultural cultivation in this village involves almost all family members. There is no exception for young girls or boys. At an early age, their parents bring them to the workplace, where they are gradually taught by seeing, listening, observing and doing. While they are growing up, they acquire plenty of knowledge and experience in cultivation. As observed by *Sri* (1997:34), “Work is a part of their breath, their heart and body and their struggle to fulfill their subsistence living.”

Because the village traditionally practices customary systems of reciprocal labor (see “Reciprocal labor systems” in chapter III), there are few difficulties in finding the necessary work force for rice cultivation, even for those with a shortage of family members or for families consisting solely of the elderly or women. According to my observation during the field study, in a household with only an old man and a woman, the

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<sup>131</sup> In 2001-2003, between three and five villagers sold part of their household land to pay debts. The land selling has continued. In 2002-2003, land was sold to people from nearby *Kampong Chheuteal* village, 2 km south of *Sambo* village.

<sup>132</sup> Recorded from chief of *Sambo* village’s notebook, 11 May 2005.

son of a child who had married outside of the village came back to help them with plowing; however, for transplanting, the traditional reciprocal labor systems was applied.

To hire labor for rice cultivation costs about 1000 to 2000 *riel* per day. However, this only occurs in exceptional cases. For example, if a villager is cultivating rice at the end of the season, when the other villagers have already finished their cultivations, and no one owes labor to him, then he will have to hire labor for cash.<sup>133</sup>

#### 6.5.3.1.3 External Inputs

Chemical fertilizer was commonly used by almost all villagers in Cambodia, at great expense. Dr. Yang Saingkomar, a representative of *CEDAC* (a local NGO in Cambodia), reported that “Some villages were spending up to US\$10,000 a year in pesticides”. Another research made by Mak (1997) showed that villagers with 0.22 ha and 0.64 ha had to spend 18,500 *riel* and 20,600 *riel* respectively<sup>134</sup>. However up until 2003, insecticides and herbicides were rarely used by *Sambo* villagers and natural products were to deal with the invasion of pests. According to my research in 2001, only five families applied chemical fertilizers to their rice field. The naturally high soil quality, and the use of cattle manure together with the muck from ponds and canals, frees villagers from this expense at a time when the price of fertilizer is increasing every year.

After 2003, the use of agricultural fertilizers and pesticides for rice fields as well as for watermelon crops became more common; and four families out of the sample of twenty spend an average of 79,500 *riel* for agricultural products<sup>135</sup> or 19,875 USD a year.<sup>136</sup>

#### 6.5.3.1.4 Irrigation

The village data book of the commune council contains no information about irrigation systems or irrigation canals in *Sambo* village. Aerial photography identifies only one ditch, many small, round ponds and lots of ox-cart tracks, some of them in zigzag forms, in the area. However, if we walk to the rice fields during the rainy season, we find that the ox-cart tracks function as irrigation systems. Ox-cart tracks vary from 6 cm to 20 cm (knee-high) in depth. During the rainy season, rainwater mixes with rotten vegetation and rotten bushes in the northern part of the village before flowing downhill via the ox-cart tracks, providing a rich, natural fertilizer for the lowland paddy fields. Household wastes are also used as a fertilizer resource for lowland rice fields.

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<sup>133</sup> In the village of *Sophy*, where *Mak* conducted her study, people have to pay from 1000 to 4000 riel per person for skilled agricultural labor.

<sup>134</sup> See *Mak* (1997: 106) and *The Phnom Penh Post*, (September 13-26, 2002:7)

<sup>135</sup> Those purposes can be buying fertilizer and pesticides for rice, watermelon etc.

<sup>136</sup> The *riel* is Cambodia's currency; in 2005 the exchange rate was 4,000 *riel* to 1 USD.

There is an earthen dam 200 meters long in the southern part of the village. It was apparently built long ago, or as one elderly villager told me, since before she was born. This dam was repaired two times before 1970, once between 1979-1992, and two repairs after 1992. The first repairs were organized by the *Chau Athikar*, or head monk of Vat *Sambo*. The second repairs were organized by the then chief of the commune, Mr. *Sem*. Mr. *Norm* (he is the son of Mr. *Sem*), who was the head of the local youth group told me that sometime between 1979-1992, the youth group attempted to repair the dam. After the 1993 election, WVI attempted to reconstruct the dam, but this project failed before it implemented.<sup>137</sup> When the new village chief was elected in early 2005, he mobilized the villagers to successfully repair the dam.

Besides the ox-cart canals and this earthen dam, there is a large-scale water supply system believed to be built as long ago as the ninth century. This water supply system is located on the west edge of the village. In the far north of the village, there is an ancient bridge named “*Spean Chhehh*” (literally, “burning bridge”). Water flows from *Chro Mas* village northeast of *Sambo* and from *Kon Kha Ek* village north of *Sambo* through a canal between two and four meters in width. At *Spean Chhess*, this water discharges into a wide, low area called *veal chamlorng*, (literally, “crossing field”) and then to a deepwater storage called *anlong chambak* (literally, “pouring pond”). From this location, the water splits off into two directions. The first direction is straight south into *Mak Pi* (a name of a water storage location) before it crosses a bridge named *Spean Mak Pi* into Chan Anlong and finally into a lake named Boeung Prang (literally “Dry Season Lake”). From Boeung Prang, the water goes into the Sen river). The second direction is to the western outskirts of *Sambo* village under a bridge named *Spean O’Archark*, through a canal named *Chang O-Kekamboss*, which is approximately 1,000 m length and 3m–15m wide. From *Spean O’Archark*, the water flows into Boeng Khteah (literally “Frying Pan Lake”) before it reaches the Sen river.<sup>138</sup>

Villagers agreed that if a dike<sup>139</sup> were built at *Anlong Chambak* then they could have water stores at *Veal Chamlorng* that could be used for rice cultivation in the dry season.

### 6.5.3.2 Production Systems

Production systems in *Sambo* village are livelihood systems. These systems include upland, lowland, flood land agriculture, the pursuit of forest products, fishing, and home production, including crafts, all depending on seasons and the available natural resources. To simplify the analysis, livelihood systems can be divided into three major typical agricultural production systems: upland, lowland and flood land agriculture. The last two systems involve cultivating rice as the main subsistence crop. The first system involves cultivating not only rice but also other crops, which are necessary for daily use. Sometimes farmers plant several crops in a single plot, often to fulfill dietary needs for protein and fiber etc., similar to

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<sup>137</sup> An informant told me that “the former chief of village took the budget given by World Vision, but left the project unimplemented”.

<sup>138</sup> A *khteah* is a cooking pan or kettle. A *khteah thnaot* is a large, deep pan about two feet in diameter used to boil palm juice down to make palm sugar. A *boeung khteah* means “large” or “deep lake.”

<sup>139</sup> During the Khmer Rouge regime (1975-1979) there were several attempts to build this dike, but villagers told me that the project failed.

what is described for minority groups in *Ratanakiri* by Sri (1997: 39): “A lot of variety of crops in one plot, the *Chunchiet* (minority) is able to fulfill variety of diet, protein needs, fibers.”

#### 6.5.3.2.1 Transportation

*Sambo* villagers regularly travel to the provincial town Kampong Thom to buy products and to get health care of which unavailable locally. They also travel to major cities such as *Phnom Penh* and *Siem Reap* via *Kampong Thom* town. Some Villagers wealthy enough to own motorcycles can easily get to *Kampong Thom* town; there are also motorcycle taxis available for hire. Eight mini-trucks depart once a day from the village at about 7:00 — 8:00 am and return from *Kampong Thom* town around 11:30 am — 13:00 pm<sup>140</sup>. Over the past six years of research, I used these mini-trucks many times, and observed that the trucks are used by villagers to carry goods from the town to the village (but not from the village to the town). Most of the goods transported by mini-truck are special items used for religious festivals and weddings, petroleum, foodstuffs, soft drinks, beer, household goods such as fish paste, etc<sup>141</sup>. Villagers also use the mini-trucks to take their children to the medical clinic in the town. If products are sold from the village, the merchant arranges his own transport. For example, when watermelons are ready to be harvested, the trader comes to the village to negotiate the price (calculated in *chamkar* units: *muy chamkar*, or “one plot” of watermelons, and then collects and transports the fruit to town using his own vehicle.

#### 6.5.3.2.2 Rice

Many traditional rice varieties have been grown in *Sambo* village over the centuries. Some of these varieties exist today only in villagers’ memories while others have changed their morphology as farmers mix seeds together. In one upland plot I found that several types of rice were planted along with several other crops. Farmers continuously harvested the rice, moving from the early-maturing varieties to the late-maturing varieties. In addition to ensuring a continuous supply of rice for consumption, there are also ecological benefits that motivate farmers to “multi-crop.” By varying the growing speed of the rice, farmers bio-genetically protect themselves from pests and sunshine. In contrast, a single plot in lowland and flood land areas can only support one variety of rice, but farmers often change the variety annually, according to neighboring cultivation and the requirements of individual villagers. For example, if a farmer sees a rice variety growing well in a neighbors’ plot, the next year he will ask his neighbor to exchange seeds with him.

In 2001, it was reported that by the commune council in the village data book that the total production of rice in the village was 129 tons. There is a big difference between the figure reported by the commune council and the figure in a report drafted 20 March 2002 by WVI staff stationed at *Sambo* village. This report said that the average rice yield in *Sambo* village for the year of 2001 was 1000 kg per hectare.

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<sup>140</sup> Mini-trucks with 1.3 ton capacity are used to transport people as well as goods. Since 2000, Korean-made mini-trucks are popular in rural Cambodia. They are modified by adding a metal roof, and rows of seats. Each mini-truck can carry about twenty persons along with goods (rice, salt, zinc...)

<sup>141</sup> Two or three months before the beginning of the rice cultivation seasons, villagers buy their annual supply of fish paste (*prahoc*) in Kampong Thom provincial town, and bring it back to the village to store in their houses.

During a series of interviews with villagers, I learned that they estimated their average yield as 1.2 to 1.5 tons per hectare.<sup>142</sup> It is hard to make a precise estimation of rice production in *Sambo*, as the villagers cultivate both lowland rice (which is harvested and then stored, and can be measured) and highland rice (which is continuously harvested and consumed on a daily basis and is more difficult to measure).

According to *Mak* (1997: 108) an adult villager must consume 280 kg of rice yearly to live.<sup>143</sup> If we apply this amount to the people of *Sambo*, then the 1035 villagers need at least 289.8 ton of rice a year. If the total production were 129 tons as reported by World Vision, then nearly one-third of the villagers would starve. But according to my observations, none of the villagers were starving. Some had to struggle, but day by day they manage to resolve their needs.

I conducted a survey on this matter in different way. I found that an adult villager needs at least half a tin can of rice for a meal.<sup>144</sup> In a day, an adult villager eats three meals (breakfast, lunch and dinner), so for a year of 365 days an adult needs, on average, 136.875 kg of milled rice. According to the agricultural statistics for 2001-2002, published by the Agricultural Productivity Improvement Project, Statistics Office of the Ministry of Agriculture, the rate of conversion from unhusked rice into milled rice is 64% (MAFF 2002: 3). However, depending on the milling machine, the amount of milled rice received varies.<sup>145</sup> Making a calculation based on the 64% conversion rate, an adult villager needs 213.867 kg of husked rice (or roughly less than 250 kg per year, see Helmers, 1997). If the twenty samples I surveyed are representative, the lowest annual rice production (sample number 4) was 168 kg and the highest (sample number 7) was 4.2 tons. According to my estimations, the average of rice production per household is 1.183 tons per year (Appendices A, Table 6).

#### 6.5.3.2.3 Other Crops and Cash Crops

*Sambo* villagers plant many other crops than rice, mainly for daily use. Only occasionally do they produce more than they require. Then they will sell those products in the local market, located near the village, or transport it to *Kampong Thom* town (the latter case is very rare). Most villagers sell their surplus products to the local market at very low prices. In 2001-2003, the preferred crops for mixed cultivation with highland rice were sesame and corn, but these crops are being gradually replaced by cashew nut trees (*Sro Yov*). In this region, there had never been cashew nut cultivation before 1990, when the then deputy district chief introduced the tree to the area. Because he had seen free lands given over to natural tree growth in the fallow period, he suggested growing this tree. Cashew nuts were very popular cash crops for a while, but by 2002—2003, their popularity had decreased because of the fluctuation of prices allegedly caused by middlemen. One informant, *Mr. Sarom*, who cultivates cashew trees, reported that in 1996 a

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<sup>142</sup> These results are similar to those reported by Sri (1997:41), which reported the normal yield as 1.2-2 ton per ha.

<sup>143</sup> *Mak* (1997:108) did not mention whether the amount of rice consumed was husked rice or milled rice.

<sup>144</sup> An empty milk tin can is a standard local measurement: four tin cans of rice are equal to one kg of milled rice.

<sup>145</sup> According to an informant *Mr. Norm*, the rate of conversion of milled rice from husked rice for the villagers of *Sambo* is about 55%-60%. This figure is not far from 64% (if the maximum percentage is taken).

kilogram of dry cashew nuts brought 3000 *riel*, but the following year a kilogram brought 2000 *riel* and in 2002-2003, only 1500 *riel*.

In early 2005, the price for a kilogram of dry cashew nuts was much better than the previous year, and those villagers who had cashew nut plantations mature enough to produce nuts were able to survive the long drought in 2004 that damaged the rice harvest.<sup>146</sup> Out of the twenty households I sampled, I found that fourteen families have mature cashew nut plantations, and on average they annually received 72 USD for cashew nuts. The highest annual income from cashew nuts was 1,200,000 *riel* or 300 USD (sample number 1) and the lowest is 50,000 *riel* or 12.5USD (sample number 17).

Since the introduction of cashew nut trees to *Sambo* village, there have been changes from traditional techniques of shifting agricultural systems. In the past, when land was cultivated with rice for two or three years, it was left fallow for three to five years to allow the soil to accumulate nutrients. Now after rice cultivation, villagers convert their fallow land into cash crops, especially cashew nut trees. If a farmer wanted to replace the cashew nut trees with another crop, the new crop could not grow well, because the soil had been destroyed by the cashew nut crops. It was also found that when cashew nuts were planted near a well, the water could no longer be used because of the bad smell of the water. As Sri (1997: 43) mentioned in his study: "There is a need to specifically study this issue, since there is an argument that this plant has potential to destroy soil fertility".

The introduction of a new cash crop by government representatives has led to changes to traditional patterns of highland ecology and rice cultivation. In addition to this, a new form of land ownership, which gives priority to high-ranking people, and to government representatives, has meant that wealthy people are able to accumulate large cashew nut plantations. In the past, when land was left lying fallow, the tenure of an individual would lapse, but community ownership did not lapse. When the fallow period was over, the community could cultivate the land again. But recent changes have meant that when cash crops are introduced the traditional communal land ownership lapses. Today, fallow land, or land with secondary forest re-growth becomes the property of the state and local government by default, and can fall under the control of wealthy investors. A similar situation has occurred in Indonesia, where:

There has been a pervasive and tenacious tendency on the part of government to view the fallowed lands lying under a cover of secondary growth as abandoned, unowned and therefore as belonging to the state by default. (Dove 1988: 14).

In conclusion, before a new crop is introduced, there needs to be careful consideration and there may need to be controls and regulations imposed to protect both the environment and the farmers.

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<sup>146</sup> According to informant *Mr. Sam*, three year old trees begin producing nuts but full crops are not produced for four or five years.

#### 6.5.3.2.4 Vegetables, Herbs and Fruits

In addition to planting cashew nut trees in the *Chamkar*, many villagers plant cashew nut trees in their backyard as well. In the past before the French colonial period, villagers planted cotton around their homes for the domestic manufacture of clothing. Cotton was planted during the Japanese occupation, but interrupted during the Khmer Rouge period (1975-1979). Several attempts have been made since then to revive the cotton industry, but have failed because of cheap fabric and second-hand dresses readily available in the markets. Also, much of the old weaving equipment has been sold by the villagers at high prices as “antiques.”

For many years, *Sambo* village was isolated by war and bad transportation, and vegetables and fruits were produced for local consumption only. But in recent years, security has improved, and roads have been repaired, allowing the villagers easy access to town, and international and national tourists to visit the ancient monuments located near to the village. The new vocational training center has brought intakes of students from other provinces. All these new developments have opened the area to bigger markets. As Sri (1997: 44) described it, the market can be a stimulating force for cultivation here:

It seems that agricultural production is related to the possibility of market, aside from the soil fertility or possibility to grow. The better the demand, the more they grow in the *chamkar*.

Eight families out of the twenty household samples report income from vegetables and water grass which they plant around their houses, with the average annual income of 39,813 *riel* or about 10USD (4,000 *riel* for 1 USD). In contrast, the monthly salary of most government staff is about 20 USD (see Appendices A, Table 8 Annual Income).

During my research, I heard a local businessman and local NGO staff wondering why more villagers did not grow vegetables for the markets in town. In my opinion, the villagers are responding slowly to new market forces because they have to be careful of risk. Before 2003, the rich natural resources in *Sambo* village enabled villagers to have independent lives, without depending on the market (Table 31 illustrates the wild vegetable that villagers use as their vegetables). When they prepared a meal, a ten-minute walk could secure several bunches of vegetables from their garden or from the nearby forest. They cultivated vegetable gardens that were planted by themselves or by their parents or grandparents. Some studies have looked down upon gardens, and described them as a leisure pastime. But in *Sambo* village, gardens play a strong role in rural society as well as the family economy. Croll and Parkin (1992: 12) have given a high value to these kinds of work by calling it “productive bricolage,” and explaining that:

These kinds of works are undervalued in such comparisons by the workers themselves because they have been taught or have learned that WORK, as a terminologically distinct concept, refers to tasks itemized, organized and controlled by a social hierarchy of employers or state officials.

In *Sambo* village, most of the old people know the names of herbs and trees that can be used for medicine to cure specific diseases. Sick people or their relatives consult these wise old people, who give them a “prescription.” Then they take a hatchet to the forest, and collect the medicinal herbs to make up the medicine<sup>147</sup>.

#### 6.5.3.2.5 Forest Products

Besides collecting wild vegetables and herbs, villagers also use other forest products such as firewood, wild animals, and wood for house construction. Traditionally villagers have relied on the forest as a “saving account” and used their cash for other necessities. *Sambo* villagers can collect all the firewood they need by walking into the forest, and they are not accustomed to stocking firewood in reserve. Recently however, several villagers found they could get cash income from firewood by collecting and piling it in front of their house for a wholesaler to buy. It was reported that the price of firewood is 2000 *riel* to 3000 *riel* per square meter of firewood.

Most houses in *Sambo* village are built with wood; there is only one brick house (built in 2002). Wood for house construction is collected from the forest nearby. In the past, wood was easier to find than it is today, according to many villagers. It has become more and more difficult for villagers to find wood for house construction. After the national election in 1998, the government created a new ministry responsible for environmental issues. Although the goal of this ministry is the protection of natural resources, the reality is that villagers now have difficulty getting access to traditional resources of timber located within or near their community<sup>148</sup>.

At night during the rainy season people go to the forest to hunt rabbits, wild chickens and others wild animals, including frogs and fish. They use simple, locally-made equipment to hunt. When they catch the animal, they usually cook it for food. There is not much surplus available for the market and the income from hunting is very low and sporadic. Villagers report that the numbers of wild animal decreases every year. Compared with five to ten years ago, according to the elders, the wild animals now are virtually gone. Hunters must travel further and further away and only very occasionally catch anything except for frogs. Sri (1997:48) made the same report in describing the hunting activity of minority groups in *Ratanakiri* province.

#### 6.5.3.2.6 Fishing

*Sambo* village was rich in bodies of water such as ponds, lakes, ditches, creeks, grooves and gutters and fishing provided income in the past. However today, the fish are gone for several reasons, among which two represent serious problems: illegal fishing (the use of illegal tools that can catch even finger-sized

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<sup>147</sup> There is an urgent need for research on this traditional herbal medicine used in *Sambo* village, before this wisdom is lost.

<sup>148</sup> There are many problems that cannot be discussed here, but some representatives of the government, such as forestry staff, military police and so on, have taken advantage of their position to extort money from the local people.



fishes) and reasons related to environmental problems. Today people can legally fish for their household consumption only. Young boys are very active in the village, and fish using serial or single fishing hooks and crude fishnets. Every evening of the raining season, after they have stabled the cattle, the boys call their peers from one house to another to go to the northwest of the village to set their fishing lines. The next morning, at the break of dawn, they gather together again and collect their fishing lines with various types of fish. They give these fish to their mothers or grandmothers, who will decide whether the fish are sold or kept for food. Today the fish are seldom sold, because there are only small fish, just enough for family consumption.

#### 6.5.3.2.7 Home Production and Crafts

Villagers used to know how to weave local fibers. Moreover, the people used to know how to produce things such as kitchen utensils, baskets and tools for rice cultivation made from rattan and bamboo collected from the forest. But today (2003) there are only two or three people in the village who still produce these utensils for local usage. None in the village produces these items for the marketplace.

Some of the items that the local people used to produce include: baskets (round and flat), *tro mem*, used as a water carrying tool, as a hat to protect from sunshine during rice cultivation, or as a device for rice storage; three *tro mem* equals one *tao* or 14 kg of rice; *uy* (same as *tro mem* but with a handle, used to carry food to the monastery), and *krous*, used to carry water. The *krous* is made of bamboo, painted with a black varnish extracted from the *kroel* tree which coats the bamboo and prevents water leakage.

#### 6.5.3.3 Other Activities

A 76-year-old villager named *Ta Sok*, a retired hunter, described the village environment when he was young. Then there were plenty of wild animals, such as deer, wild pig, tiger, and elephants. Raising cattle was a tradition of *Sambo* village. The price of a pair of cattle at that time (1928-1930) was 1 *nain* (ancient Cambodian currency) or 18 *riel*. *Ta Sok* recalled a man named *Ta Thou* who raised a large herd of cattle, and how, when the herd went out to the field, everything became dusty.

For rural people, owning a pair of cattle and an ox-cart is equivalent to owning a Mercedes Benz. People can use cattle in many ways: to spread manure in the rice field, for cultivation, for traveling, and they can sell them for cash when the cattle become old. I found that cattle are treated as humans. Villagers adorn their cattle with small wooden rattles or clappers just as they adorn their children. While in the field during plowing or harrowing, they speak to the cattle as they speak to their neighbors, such as “*walk faster... stay in the furrow... don't be in such a hurry, I will let you eat soon...*” There are two or three families who raise cattle for wealthy families in *Kampong Cheuteal* village. This is done according individual agreements; sometime the owner just provides money seasonally; sometime they share the calves (the first calf would be for the owner or raiser, the second for the raiser or owner and so on in rotation).

Today some villagers raise pigs to sell to a local buyer when urgent money is needed or when national holidays arrive.<sup>149</sup> They feed the pig with vegetables that are available in the household and near the village, such as chopped banana tree mixed with kitchen remains and rice bran. There are several middle businessmen in *Kampong Chheuteal* village two kilometers away from *Sambo* who buy pigs cheaply from villagers and sell them in *Kampong Thom* provincial town at a high price<sup>150</sup>.

Out of the twenty sampled households, seven raise pigs and seven raise chickens for domestic use, and to sell. As more and more tourists come to visit the famous historical site of *Prasat Sambo Prey Kuk*, located about 100 meters from the village, the villagers take advantage of the opportunity to increase their income. Immediately in front of the entrance to the monuments there are about ten kiosks selling foods such as fried chicken, chicken soup, and so on<sup>151</sup> These chickens are very delicious because they are raised “free range.” The price of a live chicken is between 2000 to 3500 *riel* depending on its size. After it has been processed and cooked, the tourists pay between 5,000 *riel* to 8,000 *riel* for the chicken.

Another source of income for villagers is work on the monuments. At the end of 1999, the World Food Program (WFP) in conjunction with the Office of Culture and Fine Arts (OCFA) of *Kampong Thom* province and the local authorities offered a “food for work” program to the residents of villages located near the monuments. In exchange for cutting small bushes and trees growing near or between the temples, and maintaining the trail to the entrance of the monuments, the workers received food supplies (vegetable oil, canned sardines, rice).<sup>152</sup> Every month, a hundred villagers were automatically employed as workers, under the supervision of a young local representative from *Sambo* village named Mr. *Norm*. In total, 600 villagers from seven villages around the monuments were registered as employees of the program on a rotating schedule. The OCFA also recruits about twenty local people to be the guards of the monuments; sixteen of these are from *Sambo* village. As the temporary staff of OCFA, they receive 30,000 *riel* as a monthly salary.

Since 1998, Waseda University has funded a small conservation project at the monuments under the supervision of Professor Takeshi Nakagawa of the Department of Architecture and the Director of JSA (Japanese Safeguard of Angkor). The project has a yearly budget of US\$5,000. Every week four guards are paid 5,000 *riel* per day to cut down the vegetation growing from the tops and edges of the ancient monuments. Since January 2005, Waseda University in collaboration with the Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts, employs a conservation team selected from the local workers to work on the monuments under direct supervision. Each team member receives 5,000 *riel* per working day. One team member is represented in

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<sup>149</sup> Not everyone can raise pigs due to the belief of most Cambodians that people born in certain birth years can raise pigs, but the rest cannot.

<sup>150</sup> Two pigs with total weight of 40 kg sell for 180,000 *riel*

<sup>151</sup> In 2005, one or two kiosk owners were *Sambo* villagers; the rest came from *Kampong Chheuteal* village

<sup>152</sup> Because of their obligations to other emerging countries, the WFP decreased their support at the end of 2001; in late 2003, the program was discontinued.

my sample of twenty households (sample number 6). His average monthly salary is 78,750 *riel* month (\$19.6875 USD), an annual average of 945,000 *riel* (\$236.25 USD)<sup>153</sup>.

#### 6.5.3.4 The Family Economy

The villagers' main economic strategy every year is to produce enough rice to cover the transitional period between the onset of the rainy season in August and the harvest in December when rice stores are low, and the price of rice in the market is high. This period is a time of struggle, especially for those who had low production the previous year. As part of their strategy, villagers in *Sambo* plant small plots of rice in their rainfed, highland rice fields; the rice plots ripen successively, and can be harvested week by week to provide the villagers with a continuous supply of food during the transitional period.

When the main harvesting season comes in December, cash income from the sale of lowland rice, cashew nuts and watermelons, etc. flows into the village economy. Villagers buy new clothes, school uniforms for children, new shoes, new bicycles and other necessary material during the harvest period.

##### 6.5.3.4.1 Income

In this section, a statistical analysis of income, based on the twenty samples that I took in early 2005, will be shown together with some general observations.

As I have mentioned before, it is difficult to pinpoint income precisely because the *Sambo* villager does not clearly distinguish between cash income and consumption<sup>154</sup>. My statistics include the products sold by villagers for cash, but it is difficult to quantify the vegetables, herbs and meats that villagers gather from the forests, rivers, ponds, lakes and the domestic garden, or the chickens, eggs and pigs raised for domestic use. Another variable is villagers' pattern of continuous harvesting and consumption of their highland rice. This pattern, typical of *chamkar* rice cultivation is difficult to measure. Other variables include the fluctuating price of rice during the year, something that depends on various factors at local, provincial, and national levels.

Despite these difficulties, as a result of intensive and exhaustive research since 2001 I have been able to establish a list of many of the income resources of the villagers. The sources of income for *Sambo* villagers are categorized into three categories: rice production (Table 7), main income and additional income (Table 8). The first source is the "rice". The second source, "main income," refers to the income from selling watermelons, cashew nuts, and potatoes, etc. I call it "main income" because the cultivation of these cash crops is the villagers' main priority beside rice cultivation. The third source, "additional income," is not the most important priority for villagers, and is composed of many sub-groups: daily wage labor (paid by day rather than as a monthly salary), income as a carpenter or blacksmith (ox-cart and/or plow and harrow repair and making knives, hatchets, sickles...), income from selling watercress and other vegetables,

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<sup>153</sup> Variations in monthly income are caused by the different number of days worked in each month.

<sup>154</sup> In the income table (table 8) I included only those products that villagers sell for cash. Forest products intended for domestic consumption such as fish, wild animals and wild vegetables and herbal medicines are not included.

income from selling fruits (banana, coconut...), from selling pigs and chickens, from working on development projects, income from donations (most people give money gifts and religious goods to elderly people — village elders, parents and grand-parents — during New Years and other celebrations), and “other income” such as working as a motorcycle taxi driver, wood gatherer, selling scarves or baskets to tourists, or generating income by providing funerary services.

The annual total of all three income categories is shown in Table 6, and listed here: the average household receives 1.183 kg of rice, \$102USD for main income, and \$155USD for additional income, or a total average income of \$258USD per year per household. If the cost of the rice produced is calculated at 700 *riel* per kilogram (average for 2005) and \$1USD equals 4,000 *riel*, then 1.183 kg per household times 700 *riel* per kilogram equals 828,100 *riel* or \$207.025 USD, a total average income of \$465.025 USD per household per year. The main income comprises 40% of the total household income, while the additional income (generated from many sources) comprises 60 % of the total household income (Table 8).

#### 6.5.3.4.2 Income per person

Two types of calculations will be made in order to find an annual and daily income for a *Sambo* villager. The first type of calculation excludes rice production from income. In the second type of calculation, rice production is converted into a monetary value, and included in the income.

If calculations are based on each household containing an average of five persons,<sup>155</sup> the average yearly income distribution for each household member is \$51.60 USD; the daily income is \$0.14 USD. When these figures are compared with the national poverty line in Cambodia of \$.46 USD for rural people and \$.63 USD for Phnom Penh people (CSD 2002: 15), we can see that the average for *Sambo* villagers is three times less than the poverty line set for rural people and almost six times less than the poverty line for Phnom Penh people (Table 9).

The second type of calculation of the annual and daily income for a *Sambo* villager includes the average amount of rice produced by each household at the price of \$207.025 USD. Using this calculation, the total yearly income for each household member is \$93USD, or a daily income of \$0.25 USD. This is two times less than the Cambodia’s rural average and 2.5 times less than the Phnom Penh average (Table 9).

Next, I will describe each income source of the twenty samples collected in 2005.

#### 6.5.3.4.3 Rice Production

The average price of rice in 2002 was 350 to 400 *riel* per kg. Total rice production ranged from 28 *thang* to 150 *thang* (1 *thang* equal to 28 kg of rice) depending on the household. Table 7 shows that smallest amount of rice was produced by sample number 3, the shopkeeper, who produced only 68 kg (about 6 *thang*) of rice. However, other factors have to be considered: the size of the household (one person) and additional income received from her married children. The highest rice production is 4,200 kg equal to 150 *thang* (sample number 7). The minimum of 68 kg is less than the data collected in 2002, but the highest rice production is matched. The yearly average of rice that a household receives is 1.183 ton and 1.60 ton per hectare (table 7): this is similar to reports of 1.8 ton per hectare cited in a project

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<sup>155</sup> A recent survey by the National Institute of Statistics (NIS 2005) also found five persons per family.

formulation report for *Kampong Thom* and *Kampot* (International Fund for Agricultural Development, 2000: 3).

#### 6.5.3.4.4 Cashew Nuts

As we have seen, cashew nuts are an important source of income for *Sambo* villagers, and most households in *Sambo* have between fifteen to fifty trees. A data survey in 2001 showed that the harvest from one hectare of land can produce as much as 1,200,000 *riel* per year. But not everyone in *Sambo* village can afford to plant one hectare of land with cashew nut trees. Among the twenty households I sampled in 2005, fourteen families received income from cashew nuts averaging almost \$72 USD per year per household. But six families did not have cashew nuts to sell. Out of these six families, samples number 3 (the shopkeeper) number 4, and number 12 do not own enough land to plant cashew nut trees. Numbers 8 and 9 have enough land for cashew nut plantations, but are too busy with their second jobs to plant the trees. Sample 20 moved to the village two years ago from the husband's natal village; this family has nothing except their household land.

#### 6.5.3.4.5 The Chamkar

Other sources of income included various cash crops, such as watermelons, cucumbers, corn and beans, grown in the *chamkar*. One plot of *chamkar* 50 meters wide and 70 meters long can be planted One plot of watermelons can return an annual income of 200,000 to 250,000 *riel* (field notes, 2002). In the sample, fifteen families out of twenty cultivated watermelons, and received an average annual of income of \$68.62 USD.

#### 6.5.3.4.6 Additional Income

Additional income (see Table 8 and Table 12) is earned through employment as a daily wage laborer at the monuments, as a motorcycle taxi driver, work as a blacksmith or carpenter, or generated from donations received during special occasions. One family planted a betel nut palm, a crop used for religious ceremonies and weddings, in their backyard garden; seven large clusters of betel nut palm sell for 4,000 *riel*. Other villagers get income from collecting and selling forest products such as medicinal herbs, vegetables, tree leaves, fruits, seeds, roots, barks and bulbs. The sale of pigs, chickens, vegetables and other products cultivated at home is important; in Table 8 the annual income of some households from the sale of pigs and chickens is roughly equal to the rest of the annual income.

It can be stated that villagers can do many kinds of work inside or outside the household throughout the year to supplement their income. The diversity of available work enables people to survive from year to year.

#### 6.5.3.4.7 Consumption and Expenditure

This section describes *Sambo* villagers' consumption of rice, their income gained from rice cultivation and other sources, and their expenditures.

The first point to be made is that the Cambodian government does not tax agricultural products. All the rice that people produce from their fields is their own property, and can be consumed or sold without paying any tax.

#### 6.5.3.5 Consumption of rice

Chhin (1971: 2) wrote that "Chaque Cambodgien consommerait en moyenne 420g de riz par jour" [Every Cambodian consumes in average 420g of rice per day] or 153.3 kg per year. If Chhin's figures refer to milled rice, then the total amount of unhusked rice consumed annually by Cambodians in the late 1960s was 239.53 kg.<sup>156</sup> But a recent study by Mak (1997:108) reported that "ten *thang* (280 kg) of rice paddy is required per individual villager (adult) yearly." These figures suggest that Cambodians eat more rice today than they did in the past (before the Khmer Rouge regime or before 1970s).

While research remains to be done, there are several possible reasons for this disparity. In the past, villagers supplemented their diet with wild fruits, leaves, flowers, bulbs and tree trunks gathered from the forests. There were a variety of wild animals that could be trapped and eaten, and the streams and rivers held more fish. Today, due to environmental changes and population pressure, these wild products are scarce and hard to find. Environmental changes have also reduced the amount of rice produced by the villagers in their plots. The soil seems to have been more fertile in the past, and supplies of rainwater more abundant: older informants recalled that in their youth, rice cultivation was easier: by simply "plowing the ground, broadcasting, some water maintenance, then you got a good harvest." Today, much land is tied up in the production of cash crops such as cashew nuts trees. This reduces the availability of the land for food crops (as well as stripping the land of its nutrients). Another factor is that when rice is milled by hand, more nutrients remain; therefore in the past, a smaller quantity of rice provided more nutrition than the machine-milled rice popular with villagers today.

Two main categories of expenses are identified in Table 10, "Expenditure." The first category is "Main Expenses" and the second category is "Other Expenses." "Main Expenses" average \$143.USD per household (69%). These include food, health care, education (school uniforms, paper, pens and text books, school fees), and agricultural products such as chemical fertilizers, pesticides, insecticides, and seeds. "Other Expenses" average \$66.5USD per household (32%). These include petrol and other fuel supplies, battery recharging, religious donations, support for the elderly, manufactured goods like televisions, radios, bicycles, clothes, and non-food items such as betel, tobacco, and so on.

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<sup>156</sup> Figures based on the rate of conversion from unhusked rice to milled rice of 64% given by the Ministry of Agriculture (2001-2002: 3).

#### **6.5.3.6 Savings**

By “Savings” I mean not only cash, but also rice and other resources that can be drawn upon during times of need. It is very rare that the villagers are able to save cash, as most incomes are barely adequate for daily expenditure. Generally speaking, for villagers, economic security lies in the *chamkar*, the community forest and at home, and not in cash or in bank accounts<sup>157</sup>. As already mentioned villagers use their rice seeds as a “savings account.” By collecting and planting many varieties of rice seeds, they ensure their future when food and money is scarce. Other forms of “savings” are raising domestic animals such as pigs, cattle and poultry. When villagers need extra cash for a wedding or funeral or for some unexpected crisis, they can sell an ox or a pig to raise the necessary funds. If the cash received is not immediately needed, it will be changed into gold (usually in the form of jewelry worn by women).

#### **6.5.3.7 Barter and cash systems, public gathering place and markets**

In *Sambo* village, barter and exchange systems are widely used. Rice is exchanged for labor or agricultural tools, labor with labor. Cash or money is used only for transactions involving middlemen, or when items are bought or sold in the markets.

Before 2003, when people had a shortage of rice during the pre-harvest transitional period from August to December, they borrowed from their neighbors; after the harvest, the amount borrowed was replaced with no interest. Since the UNTAC period (post-2003), this has become less common, reflecting villagers’ increasing exposure to a “free market economy.” Today, villagers borrow from moneylenders. If they borrow one *tao* (14 kg) of rice, they must return two *tao* of rice. If villagers need to borrow cash, but have no assets, then they can mortgage their household land, but this is still rare.

To the east of *Sambo* village is a small commercial center with grocery shops, restaurants, a dessert shop, gas station, bicycle and motorcycle repair shops, a barbershop, a motorcycle taxi station. Most of these shops are owned by villagers from *Kampong Chheuteal*. Travelers going to or from Kampong Thom provincial town stop at this center to smoke, eat, and refuel their motorcycles. *Sambo* villagers use this centre for fuel and vehicle repairs, and they sell some products to the shop owners such fish, vegetables or herbs, but this is not their main market. The main market is located in *Kampong Chheuteal* about two km from *Sambo* village. There are thirty-five shops and a morning market where villagers can come to sell their products, such as fish, vegetables and products from the *chamkar* for cash.

#### **6.5.3.8 The Common Rice Bank**

As noted before, Vat *Sambo* is located at the east of *Sambo* village. The congregation comes from seven surrounding villages: *Sambo*, *Kampong Chheouteal*, *Kon Kha Ek*, *Samreth*, *Tropeang Chhrouk*, *Chro Mass* and *Dai Kropoat*. During Buddhism festivals, many items, especially rice and cash, are donated to the Vat. One ceremony in particular, named *Bon Phka Srau*, “rice flower ceremony,” is celebrated communally by all seven villages after the rice harvest. During this ceremony, cash and rice are donated by the villagers to

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<sup>157</sup> Banks do not yet have networks in Cambodia’s rural areas

the Vat. Unfortunately I was unable to document the money donated, but found that Vat *Sambo* receives about six tons of rice annually, or 30.57 *thang*, (0.86 ton) from each village (see Table 11). Achar Chhart (personal communication, 13 May 2005) told me that the donated rice is not stored in the Vat. Instead, this donated rice is used as a “Bank” for community purposes. The rice is often sold and the cash received used for maintenance and building projects at the Vat. According to my calculations, on average the combined seven villages donate a total of \$1,048.60 USD rice to Vat *Sambo* each year, or \$150 USD per village (see Table 11).

In this section, I have described the economy of *Sambo* village. This economy is based on the cultivation of highland, lowland and floodwater rice, supplemented with other food crops and the harvesting of natural resources, and casual employment, for example at the ancient monuments. Villagers use their surrounding natural environment, especially during the rainy season when it is full of fruits, vegetables, and wild animals, as a “saving account”<sup>158</sup> They also rely on barter systems and labor exchanges. Villagers convert their resources into hard currency for special occasions (weddings, funerals, medical crises) and religious donations to the Common Rice Bank (described above). Recently, there has been a change from shifting agriculture to cash crop production. This system provides villagers with cash income when prices for cash crops are good. But when the price of cash crops is low, and rice prices are high, increased debt, poverty and loss of land may result.

This section, three main essential conditions of *Sambo* village have been examined: first, ecological and demography conditions; second, social conditions; and third, the village economy. In addition to these essential conditions, there are other conditions, which will be examined next.

## 6.6 Institutional organization

According to Coward, the term “institution” refers to ideal behavior and role expectations, and is a generic concept for the rules that help pattern social behavior, i.e. norms, folkways, custom, conventions, etiquette and law and the term “social organization” refers to a human group (Coward 1995: 48). In *Sambo* village, the religious and ritual activities are among the social institutions of the village.

### 6.6.1 Religious and ritual activities in *Sambo*

During interview with older villagers, the chief monk, a former monk, a local teacher, a ritual coordinator (*Choum Moeung*) and an *Achar*<sup>159</sup> I learned the following information about the religious beliefs and practice of *Sambo* villagers.

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<sup>158</sup> As one villager, Mr. Lai, told me: “*thlak pleang ponneh hoeuy leng prouj heouy, samrab mahob nuh*, [Now the rain is coming, no more worry of food] Field notes, May 2005.

<sup>159</sup> *Achar* (Sanskrit, *acarya*, “teacher,” or “wise man.” In Cambodia, *achars* are non-ordained Buddhist expert in the performance of rituals, or “ceremony coordinators” (see Kazuki, 1999: 4).



Most of the people in *Sambo* village are Buddhist (although recently an international Christian-supported organization has succeeded in converting about 2% of the villagers to Christianity). The site of the ancient monument complex, Prasat *Sambo* Prey Kuk, is considered by villagers to be the dwelling place of many strong spirits. In the middle of the village (GPS: 507003, 1423738) there is a holy place called *Tourl Neak Ta Athvea* or *Tourl Neak Ta Chas Srok* where the village's "guardian spirit" resides. To the east of the village is Vat *Sambo*, one of the oldest monasteries in the region.

#### 6.6.1.1 The Buddhist Temple or Vat *Sambo*

The monks resident in the Vat practice Theravada (Hinayana) Buddhism, which is the dominant form of Buddhism in mainland Southeast Asia. In Cambodia, there are two sects of Theravada Buddhism. The first is the Mahanikay, an older sect that has been dominant in Cambodia for centuries. The Dhammayut sect was introduced into Cambodia in 1864 by the Venerable Preah Saukonn Pan from Thailand (Headley, 1977: 427) Most Buddhist monks in rural areas such as *Sambo* village are Mahanikay. A former monk, who was also a former village head, reported that there is only one Dhammayut monastery in Kampong Thom province, located in the provincial capital Kampong Thom.

#### 6.6.1.2 The Full Moon Sacred Candle Dripping Festival

Among the Buddhist ceremonies observed in *Sambo* village is *Bon Sam Rak Tean* "The Full Moon Sacred Candle Dripping Festival. After harvest is complete, on the day of the full moon in the month of *Kaduk* (the last or the 12<sup>th</sup> month of the lunar calendar, corresponding to October or November), this festival is celebrated in Vat *Sambo* to foretell the rain patterns for the coming year (see Table 12).

In this ceremony, twelve lighted sacred candles (made of pure bee's wax), representing the twelve months of the year, are stuck on a bamboo cross. Incense sticks are tied at each node of the cross, representing one of the two types of highland cultivation: shifting agriculture (*Chamkar Roniem*, located near a water resource such as a lake or pond) and highland agriculture (*Chamkar Leu*, fields located in high places). A cluster of incense sticks held in the left hand of the *Achar* represents the "fire ability" of *chamkar roniem* and another cluster held in his right hand represents the "fire<sup>160</sup>ability" of *chamkar leu*. While monks preach a sermon and intone Buddhist chants, the *achar* passes the cross around three times<sup>161</sup>. Then half the candles are kneaded together, leaving a total of six candles. Each of these six candles represents one of the six rainy months in a year. While the monks continue to chant, the *achar* passes the bamboo cross around the room three more times. This time the cross is turned upside down, and the candle wax is allowed to drip onto banana leaves<sup>162</sup>.

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<sup>160</sup> While the incenses are good fired then it means the *Chamkar* will also be good fired and a good fired *Chamkar* will give more fertile to the rice.

<sup>161</sup> My informants used the word *mile*, "to move something around" to describe the movements of the bamboo cross and candles; this word is local, and not used in Phnom Penh.

<sup>162</sup> A boy and girl collect the melted wax to make "sacred wax," symbolizing the sexual union between men and women.

Villagers believe that the way that the upside-down candles burn represents the rain, wind, and thunder patterns of each specific month in the following year. If the wax drips fluidly from a candle, the rainfall of that particular month will be good. If the wax drips fluidly from a candle but there are also some exploding sounds (*rat, ret, rat ret rat...*), together with sparks and leaping flame, then it is believed that there will be a lot of rain accompanied by thunderbolts and typhoons.<sup>163</sup> If one of the clusters of incense sticks is extinguished during the middle of the ceremony, then it means that the type of *chamkar* represented by that cluster will not “fire” well in the coming year and the harvest won’t be good. On the other hand, if the incense cluster burns well, then the relevant *chamkar* will “fire well” in the coming year and a good harvest will be.

### 6.6.1.3 Visak Bocie

In *Visak* (month of May), on the evening of fourteen *koeut* (one day before full moon day), people come to the monastery to celebrate Visak Bochea, which commemorates the enlightenment of the Buddha. On the night of the full moon the monks chant and give sermons. The following morning people prepare breakfast and lunch for the monks, and share special foods such as noodles, bananas, rice cakes filled with sweetened coconut or peanuts, shaped into a triangular form, wrapped in banana leaves, and steamed, squash cakes, cylindrical rice cakes made from sticky rice with a sweet or salty fillings, sweets, and fish.

### 6.6.1.4 Taking turns to prepare food for the monks (Ven Chang Han Preah Sang)

From *Asat* (for traditional Cambodian lunar calendar) or July until the end of November (*Kaduk*) (see more in table 12) villagers take turns preparing food for monks who remain in the monastery on their rainy season retreat, or *Vassa*. Villagers divide into groups that take responsibility for feeding the monks on a specific day. Each group is headed by an elder who organizes the collection of rice, vegetables and other necessities for this sharing work. People donate according to their income and status in the community; very poor families do not have to contribute.

Another ceremony used to raise money for the Vat is *Bon Phkar*, or “Flower festival”. A tree, decorated with “flowers” made from *riel* notes, and other donations, is the focus of the ceremony. The money raised will be used to construct new classrooms or other buildings at the Vat.

### 6.6.1.5 Chol Vassa<sup>164</sup>

*Vassa* starts in *Asat* (July). This is the time of the monastic retreat, and also time when heavy rains begin. Monks stay in the monastery and don’t go into the villages on alms rounds to collect food as in other months. Villagers are busy with farm work; not everyone can give food to the monks every day so groups

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<sup>163</sup> One informant told me that in the previous year, the candle representing the first month of the rainy season dripped more wax than the third candle. They then observed that the rain had started early in the regular raining season, but there was a short dry spell during the third month.

<sup>164</sup> the ceremony that marks the beginning of raining season and the Monks have to stay in pagoda.

are organized to prepare food and bring it to the monasteries. Since ancient times, marriage is not permitted during *Vassa*<sup>165</sup>. This restriction has been in place since ancient times in *Sambo* village, where elders observe that even the wild cocks do not crow until the end of the rainy season.

Before the full moon day *Asat*, villagers come from far away (the congregations of *Sambo* pagoda) to stay at Vat *Sambo* for several days. In addition to preparing food for the monks and participating in religious ceremonies, this is an important opportunity for people to discuss the previous year's harvest and exchange news and ideas. The first questions people ask each other are about rice cultivation: is there sufficient water, what is the quality of rice seeds, and so on. In between sleeping and playing in the Vat grounds, the children help prepare food, watch their elders perform various religious ceremonies, and listen to conversations. Important traditions and agricultural knowledge are exchanged during these gatherings at Vat *Sambo*.

On the morning of the full moon day, more people arrive and at night the monks give sermons and chant. Ceremonies continue the following morning, during which the community feeds the monks and donates monastic necessities (kettles for boiling water, pots for cooking rice, plates, spoons, forks, candles and kerosene, robes, pens, notebooks...equipment that the monks will use during the rainy season). During the concluding ceremonies, each donation from every individual is enumerated and written down along with its intended usage by the *achar* in charge of the Vat's finances. Some of the donated goods are distributed to the monks for immediate use, and the rest placed in temple storage for future use. These goods can be distributed to needy villagers as well as the monks.

#### **6.6.1.6 Pchum Ben**

Every year at the end of *Vassa* the souls of the dead are allowed to leave hell for two weeks. During this time, these ghosts roam the streets, rice fields and temples looking for their relatives. To appease these hungry ghosts, rituals are performed at the Buddhist temple and offerings of special rice cakes are made. It is said that the mournful spirits will bring misfortune upon any living relatives who fail to leave offerings at the temple during the two weeks of *Pchum Ben*.

#### **6.6.1.7 Funeral Ceremony**

Traditionally, Cambodian funeral rituals take three days to celebrate, culminating with the cremation of the dead person. However, in reality, such rituals are constrained by the resources of the deceased person's family. *Sambo* village has a funeral association created by villagers to help families pay for funerals. According to the older people in the village, the funeral association was first established in 1961 but disappeared during the Khmer Rouge period. The present association was recreated in 2001 with the

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<sup>165</sup> In larger towns and the provincial capitals, traditional marriage restrictions during *Vassa* are disappearing, and people marry in any month as long as the ceremony takes place during the weekend holiday of Saturday and Sunday.

initiative of a wise old man, Achar Chhhart<sup>166</sup>. Almost 98% of the families in *Sambo* village are members of this association. The members of the association have to pay 1000 *riel* whenever a funeral takes place; in addition to this, the association also collects rice and other donations to be given to the family of the deceased. The association consists of three groups, headed by a leader, with each group representing a different section of *Sambo* village. The members of first group represents the families located on the west side of the village, the second group represents the families in the middle of the village, and the third group represents the east side of the village. The head of the groups are responsible for collecting money, rice, and other things from their section of the village; these donations are then given to the committee chief of the association for use during the funeral.

On the first day of the funeral, the monks are invited to the house of dead person to give sermons and Buddhist chants. On the second day the neighbors and relatives of the dead person prepare food and drinks for the monks, who will preach sermons on behalf of the dead person throughout the night. During the night, the people attending the ceremonies are given tea and snacks. On the morning of third day the relatives and friends join a funeral procession, and the body is cremated.

According to informants, in the past (almost 70 years ago), the people of *Sambo* village wrapped the corpse in a woven bamboo shroud called *kreas*. Cremations are performed in a pasture to the northeast of the village, north of a pond named “*Sras Chhouk*” (GPS: 506945, 1424180). First, four sticks are raised in a rectangle shape, the corpse is placed on top of the rectangle, and firewood is piled up on top. Four or five monks are invited to pray for the dead, the *Achar* makes a dedication, and then the fire is set. There are four people (*Pluk*) who are responsible for maintaining the fire; the relatives of the dead select them from among the villagers. A donation of 1000 to 5000 *riel* and incense sticks are given to those four people<sup>167</sup>. After the cremation, the *Achar* once again makes a dedication, and allows the dead relatives to extinguish the fire by pouring water on the ashes. Then *achar* collects the bones with the help of the relatives. Very small bone fragments are gathered with the soil and ashes to make a burial mound. The collected bones will be kept in the temple in an urn. Recently, urn burial has become popular with *Sambo* villagers. After cremation the bones are put in an urn and then buried in a location at the east northern part of *Sambo* namely *Veal Kro Bei Sor* (the area of White buffalo<sup>168</sup>). After burial, rich people may invite the monks to receive food again, or they may make a gift of clothing and necessary equipment (*Prolong*) to the monks on behalf of the deceased person.

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<sup>166</sup> *Achar Chhart* used to be a monk in Vat *Sambo*; at present he is the only teacher able to teach Pali language and Buddhist texts to the novice monks at the Vat.

<sup>167</sup> In the past the *pluk* received 5 *riel* for cremating poor people and 50 *riel* for rich people.

<sup>168</sup> If one visits looks to the place from the distance, the burial mounds are white scattered in the area as white buffalo.

#### 6.6.1.8 Chas Srok

In Cambodia there are spirits called *neak ta*<sup>169</sup>. The most important spirit in *Sambo* village is Chas Srok. He governs, supervises and orients the villagers' activities through spirit possession. There are other spirits active in *Sambo* and the surrounding villages, but Chas Srok is the most powerful; his role is comparable to that of a district governor. Chas Srok is responsible for everything in the village, from babies to older persons, from calves to stud bulls, from small paddy fields to huge ones, from bush to forest. He can foresee the future, prevent dangers of all kinds, and make the village prosperous. When villagers are troubled by supernatural forces they ask Chas Srok what transgressions have been committed, and negotiate a solution with him.

Chas Srok manifests himself through a spirit medium living in *Sambo* village. This medium is a man who is 50 years old. Chas Srok has been possessing members of this man's family for generations: first his grandfather, then an uncle, then his father and finally himself.

#### 6.6.1.9 Chrot Preah Neang Koal

Chrot Preah Neang Koal, or "Plowing the Sacred Furrow" is held yearly on the fourth day of the waning moon in the lunar month of *Visak* (month of May). The purpose of this ceremony is to predict the pattern of rainfall and the potential for harvests for the coming year. This event is celebrated throughout Cambodia, especially in Phnom Penh, where the king or his substitute plows several furrows near the palace. At the end of the furrows are placed several plates with the different crops. Sacred cows are then allowed to select grain from one of the plates to eat. This grain is then expected to be abundant one during the coming year.

The people of *Sambo* village have their own version of *Chrot Preah Neang Koal*. Villagers are informed of the day by the coordinator, or *chhum moeung*, and some money (100-200 *riel*) and locally made wine is collected. Every family cooks a special cake made of ground rice powder called *nom tro loark*, or "coconut shell cake." On the top of the cake several decorations resembling rice panicles made from popped grains stuck on a frond from a coconut tree are placed. The ceremony is held at the *Tourl Neak Ta Athvea* or *Tourl Neak Ta Chas Srok*, sacred sites with shrines to the *neak ta*.<sup>170</sup> People gather at these sacred sites carrying their coconut shell cakes, some branches from the *Preah Phum*<sup>171</sup> tree, or a branch carved to represent *Neak Ta Chas Srok*.

Two kinds of animal are needed for the ceremony: a monkey and a turtle. One or two members from each family join together to chase and catch the monkey and turtle. To catch the turtle, approximately 100

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<sup>169</sup> Neak Ta is the belief of ancestral worship that local Khmer people practiced before Angkor era and still do today. Word "Neak" means person and "Ta" is used to address the father of father. So Nak Ta clearly means an ancestor person. Dr. Ang Choulean has made a very detail about Neak Ta in his new publication "People and Earth" (2000).

<sup>170</sup> These sites are located at GPS: 507003, 1423738.

<sup>171</sup> Prah Phum means "sacred earth." I cannot find the scientific name or the English name for this tree.

persons villagers hold each other's hands and walk in a row into the lake or pond to find a turtle. If they can't find a turtle, they move to another site until they find one. When someone catches a turtle, the rest of the people wish that person "a good harvest in all crops: rice, sesame, beans..." After the turtles have been caught it is time to chase the monkey in the forest using traditional hunting tools and hunting dogs<sup>172</sup>. After the turtle and monkey have been caught and chickens collected, the villagers return to *Tourl Neak Ta Athvea* or *Tourl Neak Ta Chas Srok* and are divided into three groups. The first group is responsible for preparing the sacred animals. The animals are killed, the turtles are cooked, the monkey's carcass is dried out over a fire, and the chickens are "crucified:" split open and stretched onto a cross. The dried monkey and crucified chickens are placed in front of the *neak ta* statues. The second group occupies itself making statues of animals (horse, cow, buffalo) using banana trees. A third group is assigned the role of constructing the stage for the ceremony.

Although Chas Srok is not the main focus of this ceremony, the villagers pray to Chas Srok to take care of villagers, and protect them from natural disasters such as lightning, typhoons, and infectious and non-infectious diseases. Informants state that these types of accidents and disease do not take place in *Sambo* village if this ceremony is performed correctly.

Under the supervision of the *choum moeung*, a group of villagers goes to the *Prasat Sambo Prey Kuk* monument, where they use a stone to grind on the ancient sacred stone to get a muddy stone powder, similar to the lime used for chewing with betel. This muddy stone powder is smeared on a tree leaf called *ka chhum*<sup>173</sup> and wrapped like a betel leaf quid, and presented to the *neak ta* statues at *Tourl Neak Ta Athvea*. Next, everyone holds up their coconut cakes in offering, and the ritual coordinator prays, saying:

"This year we celebrate the Chrot Preah Neang Koal. Please Lork Ta Chas Srok, the lord of our village, bless your children and grandchildren to be safe from lightning and typhoons and have sufficient rains. Help your children and grandchildren have good cultivation and harvests."

Once the prayer is finished, the *ka cchum* leaf quids are distributed to people. People open the quids, and smear the muddy stone powder on their foreheads and the foreheads of their family members, from children to old people. It is believed that people who have this sign on their forehead become the children of Chas Srok, and are under his protection, and other spirits, seeing this sign, avoid annoying these people. The villagers take the artificial rice panicles and tie them together with a branch of leaves from the *Preah Phum* tree onto the main support pillar of their houses. Another branch of *Preah Phum* is taken to plant in the rice fields. They pray: "Please Lork Ta Chas Srok, help your grand children and children to have a good harvest this year."

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<sup>172</sup> There is a village tradition that in the past a child was selected to be sacrificed to the spirit of *Chas Srok*. But today the villagers substitute a monkey for the child.

<sup>173</sup> I cannot find the scientific name or the English name for this tree.

#### 6.6.1.10 Bam Penh Khleang

This ceremony is led by two groups of *choum moueng*. The first group digs holes to be filled with wine and the second group stays at the *neak ta* shrines. When the groups meet each other the first group interrogates the second group three times: questions:

Q: Where are you from? Where are you going?

A: We come from...and we come here because we want our children and grandchildren happy, healthy and prosperous.

Next, wine is poured into the holes. Another series of questions are asked:

Q: Are the children and grandchildren happy?

A: Yes, happy!

Q: Will we get a good harvest?

A: Yes, we will have a good harvest.

When the ceremony is finished, the people take *Preah Phum* branches to put in their paddy fields, and bring home the coconut shell cakes (*Nom Tro Loark*) and the artificial rice panicles. The artificial rice panicles and some of *Preah Phum* branches are tied to the main pillar of their house (the pillar that supports the ridge pole) and one incense stick is put in front of the house.

#### 6.6.1.11 Loeung Chas Srok

This ceremony is similar to *Chrot Preah Neang Koal*, but the time of celebrating is different. It is celebrated in *Miek thom* (February) after harvest, and takes three days. The day of celebration is decided by discussion amongst the village elders. Once again there is turtle-catching and monkey-chasing, but the animals have to be caught three days before the celebration. The *Choum Moueng* cook the turtles and dry the monkey's carcass and remove its hair.

On the determined day the turtle and monkey carcass are put in front of the statues of Chas Srok (no chickens or ducks are killed, in contrast with *Chrot Preah Neang Koal*) while a band of local musicians plays traditional music. A group of villagers carries a large woven basket and a big wine jug from one house to another to collect donations. The woven basket is used for collecting coconut shell cakes and other cakes (as in *Chrot Preah Neang Koal*, but without the artificial rice panicles; people told me that at this ceremony, there were more coconut shell cakes). The wine jug is used to collect wine. During the ceremony the ritual coordinator prays to Chas Srok, saying:

“Please Lork Ta Chas Srok who takes care the children and grand children, please come to enjoy yourself and receive our donations and while receiving these goods, please in return give us happiness, help our cattle, pigs, chickens, ducks, and the participants and non-participants to be safe from every diseases forever. Please give us sufficient rain for this year, so we will have a good harvest for our cultivation.”

After the praying, three sets of music are played for Chas Srok. Then all the participants (200-400 persons) parade toward *Prasat Sambo Prey Kuk*. At the *Prasat Sambo Prey Kuk* the band plays traditional music while the participants socialize and relax. This traditional ceremony is an opportunity for people to discuss problems, exchange information and establish social networks. At the end of the ceremony, the cakes and wines are shared by everyone.

Before this ceremony takes place, no one in the community can go into the forest to *kap chamkar*, or prepare the *chamkar* for rice cultivation. The ceremony is a signal to the community that it is the right time to gather tools and start to *Kap*. Here we see evidence of equity, transparency and equal opportunity in giving access to natural resources.

#### **6.6.1.12 Tomb opening ceremony**

This ceremony, celebrated in April (*Caet*), is sometime called *Bon Sekhei Minea*<sup>174</sup>. An old villager told me that this ceremony was actively celebrated in the past but is now very rare. In this ceremony, a group of five to ten families come together to dig up the bones of deceased family members who been buried as long as three, five, or ten years. The ceremony lasts three days. The first day, every family is responsible for digging up the body of their own relative. The elderly, relatives and neighbors are invited to participate. With the coordination of the *achar* and the monks, the digging up of the bodies is started after a prayer and the offering of food to the dead spirit. The second day, monks are invited to have breakfast and lunch, give a sermon and chant. The second day ceremony may be celebrated in *Sambo* monastery if there are families of other villages participating. If it is only the people of *Sambo* village, the event is celebrated in the village itself. On the third day, the bones are placed individually into a fire made of small pieces of wood. After being burnt, if any family wants to keep the bones, they just clean them and wrap them in a small piece of tissue and keep them in their house or at the monastery. If the families want the bones of their relatives to be buried again then they find a place to do so. This event can take place in the monastery or at a place near the ancient pond called “*Sras Chhouk*” (GPS: 506945, 1424180).

#### **6.6.1.13 Occasional ceremonies to ask for rain**

If there is a long dry spell, the older people in the village ask Chas Srok, through his medium, what has caused the drought. Chas Srok will explain the reason and propose a solution, usually the performance of a ceremony called “Bathing the Buddha.” This ceremony is usually performed in April or May at the *Prasat Sambo Prey Kuk* monuments. The old people visit the monument site, chant Buddhist prayers and offer incense sticks. Statues of the Buddha are bathed with the water brought by each participant. Monks are invited, food is prepared and offered to the monks, and the monks chant and give sermons. According to informants, when the villagers follow *Chas Srok*’s proposal, rain usually arrives within two or three days.

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<sup>174</sup> I am unfamiliar with this festival and could not find the name in the dictionary.



#### **6.6.1.14 Religious Conversion**

I have already mentioned the work of WVI in rural development in the area. In addition to rural development, the WVI has encouraged villagers to convert to Christianity. Whenever people enter the village, these converts ask them: “Do you believe in Christ?”

While I was living in *Sambo* village, a member of the local Christian community from *Chamnar Chas* village died. Villagers who have converted to Christianity are buried instead of cremated, and no monks or *achar* are invited to the funeral. Some Buddhist villagers went to participate in this man’s funeral carrying traditional offerings of incense sticks, rice and candles, but their incense sticks were taken away by the local pastor and they were told: “incense sticks are not needed” and “you don’t need to weep with regret.”

One villager, who converted to Christianity but has since quit, told me that every week the Christians hold meetings in which people talk about their faults and those of other members. For example, if one Christian has seen another member walking near the Buddhist monastery or participating in a Buddhist ceremony, they report this in the meeting. Another villager related how the Christian pastor told his congregation that according to Christian belief, when a person dies, God will forgive all his or her sins, in contrast with Buddhism, which teaches that an individual bears the responsibility for past sins even in future lives. These and other stories related to me by villagers show that the recent arrival of Christianity in *Sambo* village is causing tension.

#### **6.6.1.15 Migration and travel**

Villagers often leave the area after harvesting to visit relatives or to supplement their income by working in other provinces or in Thailand. As stated in previous section, all matters in the village are overseen by the powerful spirit *Chas Srok*, whose “services” include health care, social security, agricultural and travel security. Before villagers leave, they must first go to inform *Chas Srok* about their plans, and ask him for help while they are away. *Chas Srok* will assign one of his subordinates (another spirit) to accompany the traveler, or use his spirit network to contact arrange for protection in the new place. While the villagers return, they must inform *Chas Srok* of the fact. New migrants to the villager must also inform *Chas Srok* of their intentions. If *Chas Srok* is not kept informed, he will not provide protection, and may even punish or harm those he considers to be “outsiders.”

To conclude this section, according to the results of observation and talking with older villagers, the chief monk, former monks, local teachers, *choum moeung* and *achar*, are persons to whom villagers obey and listen to the advices and as I already described there are almost twenty ceremonies celebrated in this village through out the year and each ceremonies have leaders. Most ceremonies are connected with the agricultural activities or daily activities in the village.

A person serves as a leader of a ceremony, can be also a leader or member of other ceremony. The hierarchal structure of leaders is arranged based on the age and the obedience of villagers.

## 6.7 Technology

This section will describe the technology used in *Sambo* village. The technology consists of the various rice seeds that the villagers have developed, and their methods of rice cultivation. In *Sambo* village, each household possesses knowledge of essential conditions (especially the local ecological conditions) of their land and different varieties of rice seeds developed over many generations. When one household shares their rice seeds with another, they are sharing this knowledge and experience.

First, I am going to illustrate the rice varieties held by the villagers, and second their method of rice cultivation.

### 6.7.1 Traditional Rice Varieties in *Sambo*

According to Javier (1997), the rice ecosystem of Cambodia can be grouped into broad categories: wet season rice and dry season rice. Wet season rice is dependent on rainfall between May and November. The major ecosystems in the wet season are rainfed lowland, deepwater and upland rice. Deepwater rice ecosystems are controlled greatly by the occurrence and strength of floods coming from the Mekong River. Dry season rice is fully or partially irrigated. Rainfed lowland can be subdivided into early (high fields), medium (middle fields) and late-duration (low fields) varieties.

In *Sambo* village, farmers are familiar with all the aspects of wet season, deep water, rainfed lowland, and upland rice (see in the ecological profile of *Sambo* village, Map 4). The farmers are well-aware of the characteristics of different rice seed varieties (see Table 30) and have the freedom to select the most appropriate rice seed for each plot of land. Farmers are constantly learning by sharing their experiences with one another, and by exchanging rice seeds. For example, if one year a family makes an outstanding harvest of a variety of rice, then other families come and ask for an exchange of rice seed. Knowledge and experience about the best techniques to prepare the nursery beds for the rice seeds, the best way to transplant it, most efficient water level, etc. is also exchanged.

Farmers also share knowledge about the kinds of trees and bushes that can be planted in the fields along with the rice seeds and which trees and bushes have disadvantages and must be removed for the rice to prosper. On the dikes of the lowland paddy field, some of the following trees can be found: *kokoh*<sup>175</sup>, *trach*<sup>176</sup>, and *pring*<sup>177</sup>. Those trees play many roles in rural life. For example, the leaves of the *trach* tree play an important role in improving the fertility of the soil. In addition to providing fertilizer, their shadow provides a very comfortable place for the peasant to have lunch, and the fruit can be eaten as a snack. *Sambo* villagers are skilled in all aspects of rice cultivation. The next section will describe some of the rice varieties used and their characteristics.

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<sup>175</sup> In Caesalpineae Family, scientific name is *Sindora cochinchinensis* (Polo and Pierre BAL, 1994: 21)

<sup>176</sup> In Dipterocarpaceae Family, scientific name is *Dipterocarpus costatus* (Polo and Pierre BAL, 1994: 21)

<sup>177</sup> In Myrtaceae Family, scientific name is *Zyzygium*, English name: Janbolan plum (Polo and Pierre BAL, 1994: 15)

## 6.7.2 Characteristics of rice varieties

### 6.7.2.1 Srau Sral Kantuy

This rice is characterized by its long tail. Its morphology is similar to *srau sro nge*<sup>178</sup> or “wild rice”. *Srau sral kantuy* grows best in *l bay khsach leay kandeng*, or alluvial, sandy soil. It is useful for households with no *chamkar* because it can be broadcast; it ripens early, and can be cultivated twice in a season. If in early May the farmers broadcast *srau sral kantuy*, it can be harvested in July. The field can then be plowed and *srau sral kantuy* broadcast again, using part of the newly harvested crop as seed. This second crop is ready for harvest at almost the same time as the transplanted varieties. As this rice ripens early, it is a target for wild animals and birds; therefore the fields must be guarded as soon as its grains commence to harden.

At the present time *srau sral kantuy* is hard to find: farmers have gotten out of the habit of cultivating this rice because of its taste not good as the others. But it is an important variety nonetheless, as it can help people to survive between August to December, when food is scarce, the rainfed lowland rice and deep water rice are not yet ready to be harvested, and the price of rice in the market is high.

### 6.7.2.2 Srau Neang Kung

*Srau neang kung* rice is medium to small in size, and round in shape. When unhusked, *srau neang kung* can be either white or red in color. Farmers told me that the original *srau neang kung* is white in color, and that the red variety is a hybrid. *Srau neang kung* seedlings are ready to transplant into sandy soil with a water level of 20 cm to 30 cm at the age of forty-five days. The field is prepared for transplanting by plowing twice. Then the farmers transplant “tufts” of the rice in the ground. One tuft is equal to four to five seedlings. The distance between tufts is approximately 15cm – 20cm. After three to four months, the rice is ready to be harvested.

If compared with the other varieties, it is a good variety for cultivation because it can be harvested after *srau krem* and *srau chang vay phdau*, but earlier than *srau tha naot*. Another good characteristic of *srau meang kung* is that it can be transplanted into most of soil types found in the *Sambo* area, and needs less water than other varieties of rice. *Srau neang kung* is easy to harvest because its stems are tall and stand up straight, in contrast to other varieties such as the deepwater *srau cha orng* which is difficult to harvest because it has a long stem that flops in a disorderly manner.

Today, *srau neang kung* is used by almost all of the farmers in the *Sambo* area. Mr. Norm, who is 45 years old, used to cultivate a rice variety called *srau Sambok sang krorng*, but today plants only *srau neang kung*. The reason for his change was that he couldn't plant the first variety “well”<sup>179</sup>.

The cooked rice of this variety, if newly harvested, has good smell and is not too soft or too hard, but after the rice has been stored for some time, the fragrance disappears<sup>180</sup>. The villagers told me that when it is cooked, this rice is full of nutrition and good for the health; their stomachs stay full longer (but not as long as *srau cha orng*). The high price of *srau neang kung* in local markets reflects these positive qualities.

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<sup>178</sup> In Graminae Family, scientific name is *Oriza sativa forma spontanea* (Polo and Pierre BAL, 1994: 1)

<sup>179</sup> Mr. Norm, like many other farmers in *Sambo* village, believes that certain families have an affinity for particular varieties of rice.

<sup>180</sup> Villagers told me that only the variety of rice called *srau krem* maintains its good smell and good quality after storage for a long time.

### 6.7.2.3 Srau Cha Orng Krahorm

Srau cha orng kro horm is a late- or broadcasted rice; it is used for deep-water rice cultivation in rice fields of the Dei Kandeng (alluvial) soil type. Srau cha orng kro horm is a traditional variety of rice that easy to cultivate. Farmers can plow first and broadcast afterward, or broadcast first and then plow to cover the seeds. Its husks are red, and the grains are fat and short. When cooked, the rice is hard to the bite, but not as hard as srau el, a newly developed variety produced by an IRRI-supported institution<sup>181</sup>. After eating this rice, people feel full for a longer time, and its flavor improves when cooked as rice soup. When it is mixed with other varieties of rice, the resulting rice is delicious after cooking. This rice is also good for wine production.

### 6.7.2.4 Srau kheat

This rice is a deep-water, or broadcast rice, and can grow in a medium height of water. It has the same ripening period as *srau krem*. The most suitable soil for the rice is sandy soil. The husk color is grayish-black; the grains are almost the same size and type as *srau el*, and it is red in color like *srau cha orng kro horm*. Cooked rice of this variety is soft, and has no smell. When it has been leftover from a previous meal, the flavor improves. Farmers feel that this rice, like the other traditional varieties *neang kung* and *krem*, provides more nutrition and energy than newer rice hybrids, and make you feel “full” longer after eating. Today this rice has almost disappeared. However, I was told by farmers that if it became available again, they would cultivate it.

### 6.7.3 Rice seeds holdings<sup>182</sup> and exchanges

There are many varieties of rice seed in the community. In addition to those listed above, villagers have *lak sleuk*, *neang koug*, *dam noeurb* and *kha 6*<sup>183</sup>. Another household (sample number 1) planted at least five different varieties of broadcast rice including *srau doh year*, *srau krem*, *srau chanvay phdau*.

Less rice seed is needed to transplant rice than for broadcasting rice. Only three to four *thang* of rice seeds are needed for transplanting rice but five to seven *thang* per hectare is needed for broadcasting.

The exchange of rice seed takes place by agreement. One family will hear that another family possesses a good rice variety. This information exchange is informal, and is often learned when villagers are gathered together in the rice fields to transplant or harvest rice.

In this section, I have discussed the rice ecosystems and the diversity of traditional rice varieties in *Sambo* village, together with some of the specific characteristics of traditional varieties. Some varieties are easy for farmers to cultivate, while others have exceptional flavor and nutrition when cooked. Early ripening varieties of rice are very important because they can help villagers survive during the transitional periods.

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<sup>181</sup> *Srau cha orng kro horm* is a little more expensive in the markets than *srau el*.

<sup>182</sup> This is a direct translation from the Khmer word *kan* or *prokan*.

<sup>183</sup> *Kha 6* is a new, high yield variety of rice. It is rare for a farmer in *Sambo* village to experiment with new rice varieties; Mr. Eam Ourn (this family is not in the sample) used this variety for the first time in 2002.

As well as rice seed varieties, the techniques of rice cultivation are important technologies practiced by villagers.

#### **6.7.4 Techniques of rice cultivation in *Sambo* village**

The elevation of *Sambo* village in the north is higher than the south. This gradual slope shapes villagers' rice field into three different types: rainfed highland rice, rainfed lowland rice, and deep water rice. Over the centuries, villagers have developed different techniques of rice cultivation for the environment. In this section, I will discuss the three types of rice cultivation techniques used for these three different field types.

##### **6.7.4.1 Deepwater Rice<sup>184</sup>**

Deepwater rice grows in areas that are inundated by floodwater at certain times of the year. Varieties of deepwater rice grow up to two to three meters in height, and villagers report that some plants can be as tall as ten meters. Land suitable for growing deepwater rice is located in the very south of *Sambo* village near the *Stoeung Sen*, a tributary of the Mekong River. Techniques of cultivation for this rice can be divided into two types, but both of them are accomplished by reciprocal labor systems. In the first technique, the fields have to be plowed, then seeds are broadcasted, and finally the field is harrowed to cover the seeds. In the second technique, the rice seed is directly broadcast. Then the field is plowed to cover the seeds. These two techniques are used depending on the situation of the soil. If the rice field is shaped like a basin (i.e. located in or next to the edge of a lake or pond) then the second technique is applied.

The techniques used to broadcast deepwater rice are totally different from broadcasting for transplantation rice. Unlike the other types of broadcasting, which can be done by both women and men, deepwater rice is broadcast by men only. To broadcast deepwater rice, a man carries a basket full of rice seeds in front of himself with his left hand. As he walks forward, he takes the seeds from the basket with his right hand and throws the seeds downward in a straight line. As they fall, the seeds hit the bottom edge of the basket, and spread out equally onto the ground. Different broadcasting techniques are for nursery beds: in this case, both men and women can do the work. The basket is held on the hip with the left hand, and the seeds are thrown up into the air, and then fall to the ground.

##### **6.7.4.2 Rainfed Lowland Rice**

After harvesting the rice during the dry season, villagers gather the dead *Kamploak*, or water hyacinths, from a lake named *Boeng Chkay* and transport this vegetation to the paddy fields. As the vegetation rots in the paddy fields, cow dung is added. After rainwater is added to the mixture, a natural organic fertilizer is created and essential nutrients are added to the soil.

From the middle of month *Chet* (April or May depending on the year) the peasants start to prepare and repair their agricultural tools, reconstruct the dikes in their rice field, and cut down bushes. Farmers who

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<sup>184</sup> Deepwater rice is also called floodwater rice, broadcast rice, heavy rice, or late rice

have the lowest ground can start to plow and broadcast the latest rice variety after the middle of the month. Farmers with rice field in the lower ground and nursery bed near the edge of village can broadcast rice in the middle of May (*Visak*). *Tha nal hong*<sup>185</sup> soil makes the best nursery beds, This soil contains nutrients carried from the village by water flow, and sometimes there is no need for additional fertilizer. Villagers report that in the past the nursery beds were located near the edge of the village. But today because of difficulties of transportation, the nursery beds are located near the rice fields.

Farmers transport fertilizer to the field by ox-cart and pile it on the plowed nursery bed. Next they use a harrow to cover the broadcast rice. Or they can pile the cow dung into the paddy field and then plow the field twice. The second plowing allows the cow dung that was covered by the first plow to return on the surface of the ground. Harrowed cow dung mixed with rotten grasses creates an environment ideally suited for rice cultivation. But now some farmers spread chemical fertilizer over the broadcasted seeds.

#### 6.7.4.2.1 Pulling the seedlings

About fifty days after they are broadcast, the rice seedlings are mature enough to be transplanted from their nursery beds and into the fields. After pulling the rice seedling out by the roots, and tying them into sheaves, the workers stand the sheaves, roots down in a muddy place for one or two nights. It should be noted here that farmers try to cultivate their rice early in the rainy season. There are two reasons: first, at the beginning of the season, the available labor force is stronger, more numerous and easier to gather. Second, a large work crew can finish a rice field within a short period without exhausting themselves. Most of the nursery beds of *Sambo* village are located at the village edge, so laborers can go home to eat, but drinks and snacks are provided during the workday to maintain the workers' energy.

#### 6.7.4.2.2 Transporting the seedlings

The sheaves of rice seedlings are transported by ox-cart to the rice fields. Trails large enough for the ox cart facilitate access. It is rare to see *Sambo* villagers carrying sheaves of rice seedlings using the yoke (a bar across the shoulders) used by people in the lowland provinces.<sup>186</sup> But if the rice field is in the middle of several transplanted rice field, then a yoke has to be used because an ox cart cannot travel through a series of transplanted rice fields.

#### 6.7.4.2.3 Plowing

When farmers start to work their first rice field, a small ritual is conducted to ask the spirit of the rice field for permission to use the land for cultivation. Bamboo sticks called *chheu chram* are used to construct an altar near the rice field and ditch. Offerings of cooked sticky rice and fruits are placed on the altar. A bunch of betel leaves (*slaa thoa prey*) are also tied on the altar. The farmers recite this prayer: "O

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<sup>185</sup> Name of the nursery bed that located at the edge of village, for *Sambo* village those field are located at the south of the village. *Tha nal hong* characterized by a field can accumulate more water after 1-2 rains.

<sup>186</sup> Elderly informants reported that the yoke has never been popular with *Sambo* villagers, even for carrying water.

grandfathers of the earth and water, now your grandson comes to plant rice on this land. Please give safety to your grandson, forgive any small mistakes, and help us to have good harvest”.

Most of the soil types in *Sambo* village are sandy, and must be plowed twice. The first plowing turns grasses back into the soil, hastening the process of decay and composting, while the second plowing is made at the same time the seedlings are transplanted. The shape of the furrow made by the plow is related to the skills of the plowman. Tools must be carefully prepared and sharpened before plowing can take place. When properly curved and sharpened, the plowshare and shoe create a furrow of the right shape for the rice, and it is easier for the cattle to drag the plow.

There are two main types of plowing methods used in *Sambo* village: *pchur phkum* and *pchur konlorng*. These methods can be divided into sub-categories such as *pchur kat kbal ngear* and *pchur kanseng* and *pchur phkum*. *Pchur phkum* is used in small paddy fields covered by scrub, and also for first plowing. For this technique, the farmer begins plowing in the middle of the field. *Pchur kat kbal ngear* is used for the edges of the field (see Figure 8). If the paddy field is large, it is divided into several parcels (*ngear*), and plowing starts from the corner of each parcels. Another technique can only be used in the *sre tropeang* (a cultivated area located near or in a lake or pond). Here, the plow moves around the pond or lake in a clockwise direction, in order to angle the furrow slices from top to bottom. These various techniques were developed to suit the diversity of rice fields in the area.

#### 6.7.4.2.4 Transplanting

Before transplanting begins, the top part of each seedling must be shortened. Then the worker holds one sheaf (not an armful of sheaves as peasants do in the south of Cambodia) in one hand (usually in left hand), and taking four or five stems in the other hand, inserts the seedlings into the ground in a rectangular shape about 50 cms in area while walking backwards, The owner of the rice field provides the workers with lunch during the day of transplanting so they have enough energy enough to complete the work.

#### 6.7.4.2.5 Maintenance

Farmers in *Sambo* village have a very sophisticated understanding of the role of water in rice cultivation and monitor the water levels in their rice fields often. When rice fields are located far from the village, they are visited every ten days, but fields close to the village are visited every day. Two or three days after transplanting, the water has to be drained out of the field. After one week, while the rice seedlings have rooted, water is allowed to flow into the field again. The level of water in the rice field must be low enough to allow the newly transplanted seedlings root without rotting. But the seedlings must not be allowed to dry out.

Because the land around *Sambo* village is higher in the north and slightly lower in the south, rainwater flows from the north to south. The rice fields are interconnected to take advantage of this gravity-fed

irrigation system. There is no private control of water in this area, and farmers must depend on each other. If for some reason, there is not enough water in a particular field, then part of the dike or levee is breached and water is allowed to flow in from the adjoining rice fields to the north. If on the other hand, upper rice fields are inundated with too much water, or if the water is stagnant, the farmers allow the water to flow out to the south. This water management takes place based on need, and farmers do not need to ask permission of each other before they move water from one field to another<sup>187</sup>. This communal system of water management works because of the area's topography, and the necessity of water for rice cultivation.

In addition to maintaining water levels, there are other important tasks such as fertilizing, and weed and pest management. If the rice field can be accessed by ox-cart, manure or chemical fertilizer may be applied to encourage growth. The dikes around the rice fields must be weeded to keep them clear and intact. Sometimes the fields need to be weeded manually, but usually when a field is plowed twice and then harrowed, few weeds survive.

Another task is checking for pest infections. One of the pests that invade *Sambo* rice fields when the rice seedlings are young is the caterpillar. Red caterpillars invade the rice field during dry periods, and white, or water, caterpillars attack during the rainy season. When a rice field is invaded by red caterpillars, the color of the rice's leaves become red. When white caterpillars attack, the leaves whiten, wilt and rot. According to villagers, the most effective cure for caterpillars is for a woman wearing a long skirt called a *sampot* to hold some branches of the *tonrien khaet* tree<sup>188</sup> or the branches of *mrech tonsay* tree near the caterpillars while saying: "Caterpillar, come here to eat these leaves, leave alone my rice". After this, the woman shakes her skirt out while saying "Caterpillar, run away, run out of my rice field"<sup>189</sup>.

Invasions of worms and grasshoppers are problems, and can cause damage to rice fields. Another pest is a small, black, gnat-like sucking insect called *metea* that perches on the rice, and prevents the plant from developing grain. This happens during the stage where the rice grains begin to harden. Farmers observed that *metea* invasions take place when there are heavy rains followed by a short, dry period, and the water in the rice fields gets hot.

In the past when pests invaded the rice fields, one or two monks were invited to walk around the rice field on top of the dykes, and chant Buddhist scriptures. I could not find out what which texts the monks used. Today villagers who can afford to buy insecticide use this to kill pests.

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<sup>187</sup> However, if manure has just been applied to a field, then permission must be asked, and sometimes farmers have to wait for their water until after all the nutrients from the manure have been transferred into the field.

<sup>188</sup> In Compositae's family, scientific name is *Chromolaena odorata* (Polo and Pierre BAL, 1994: 33).

<sup>189</sup> Women's skirts and undergarments are considered to be impure or even dangerous. This verse in which the caterpillar is anthropomorphized provides interesting insight into the beliefs of villagers.



#### 6.7.4.2.6 Harvesting

Harvesting is conducted by traditional reciprocal labor systems. For varieties of rice that ripen early, harvest starts three or four months after the rice is transplanted. Farmers decide when to harvest by the color of the rice husk. When the husk is the same color as a ripe banana, but while the stems of the rice plant are still green, the rice is harvested. By harvesting the rice at the right time, the villagers get unbroken grains of good quality.

#### 6.7.4.2.7 Threshing

After harvesting, the sheaves of rice are left for two to three days to dry in the rice fields. After drying, the sheaves of rice are threshed in the fields or transported home and threshed there.

#### 6.7.4.2.8 Seed preservation

In the past, the selection of rice seed was very important for ensuring the perpetuation of different varieties of rice. To select seeds, the rice plants in the sheaves are carefully inspected at the time of harvest. Plants that are “pure” — i.e. having the characteristics of a particular strain of rice — are selected, and their grain is kept for seed. This rice seed must be thoroughly dried before it is stored in order to get a good growth rate the following year. Careless selection of seeds can lead to new types of rice. For example, farmers reported that originally the unhusked rice of *srau neang kung* was white in color, but gradually the color changed to red due to careless selection of seeds. In order to get the original strain of *srau neang kung*, farmers have to exchange seeds with farmers who still have the white variety.

### 6.7.4.3 Rainfed Upland Rice

This rice is called *Srau Chamkar* because it is planted in the *Chamkar*. Two types of *chamkar* exist in *Sambo* village: the first is located in or near a water resource (a lake or pond) and the second is located in the highlands. Because these *chamkar* are located at a relatively high altitude *Sambo* villagers use special technique called shifting agriculture, or “slash and burn” mode to grow their rice. Today agriculturalists argue that slash and burn agriculture destroys the environment and causes deforestation. While it cannot be denied that deforestation and burning is harmful when practiced on a large scale, according to Hanks, “slash and burn agriculture” developed as the result of man interacting with his environment: “He must listen intently to the cadence of nature, learn the steps that correspond, and within his capacities perform the sequence that draws from his environment the greatest favor” (Hanks, 1972: 38).

As I have shown in this thesis, the way that *Sambo* villagers practice shifting agriculture does not hurt the environment. Rather, it allows villagers to ensure a constant supply of rice and provide a variety of vegetables and fruit for their families within the constraints of their environment.

#### 6.7.4.3.1 Varieties of rice used in the Chamkar

Among the traditional upland rice varieties that villagers use is *chhikeng* (used for the low ground, near the water resources), *ronuk* (for higher ground), *srau damnoeup mel*, *damnoeup khmao*, *srau preah*.

Before deciding on which variety of rice needs to be planted, the farmer carefully considers the characteristics of the rice field and his or her knowledge about the environment and available resources. Other farmers will be consulted if necessary, and varieties of rice seeds exchanged.

#### 6.7.4.3.2 Techniques of planting

##### a. Tools

A *Chroeueng*<sup>190</sup> (dibble stick) is a wooden stick use to make holes in the ground for the rice seeds. This stick is two to three meters in length and has a sharp point covered by metal for pounding into the ground. At the other end is a wrist strap, decorated with a bell and colorful fringes. These features make planting rice an aesthetic experience: as the *chroueng* is pounded into the ground, the bell rings, and the farmer sings. This traditional equipment makes the work go faster and the workers happier.

A *bampong* looks like a quiver. It is made of bamboo and is 40-50 cm long and 5-7 cm in diameter. One end has a narrow opening and the other end is closed. The *bampong* has a dual function: carrying rice seeds and tamping earth over the hole after rice seeds are placed inside.

Hoe, rake and *chhoeung moan* (chicken claw). All of these tools are used to rake up dirt, leaves, branches, roots of tree, and bark.

##### b. Rice planting techniques

In the *chamkar*, rice planting begins when fields are cleared by slashing weeds and burning vegetation. Then seeds are planted at the bottom of a hole made in the earth by a *chroeueng* (dibble stick). The seeds are covered using a *bampong*. The rice is irrigated only by rainfall. After one harvest or two, the field is left fallow and a new location is found. performance to the new location. This type of agriculture can be described as a dance to fit the rhythms of nature:

“The work must be timed like a dance to fit the rhythms set mainly by the composition and decomposition of soil, by the seasons, and by the cycles of vegetation growth” (Hank, 1972: 28).

##### c. Land Selection

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<sup>190</sup> *Chroeueng*, can be a noun and a verb. If used as a noun, it is a name of the tool for *Chamka*'s rice planting, and if it is a form of a verb, it means to create hole for putting rice seed or for planting rice. It is very rare to hear this word in urban part of Cambodia.

In the middle of February (*Miek Thom*), the villagers go into the forest carrying a hatchet or *pkak* (a long-handled knife used for cutting plants) to find land for the *chamkar* that is not too far from their home. If a farmer intends to cultivate rainfed lowland rice, he will choose a low piece of land near a water source. To grow crops alongside rice, an elevated piece of land is chosen. Farmers do not use thick jungle for *chamkar*. But land that has been covered by a thick forest is fertile, and will provide a good harvest. The vegetation that is growing on the land is another indication of fertility. The presence of *Cham Pong*<sup>191</sup> trees indicates that a good harvest of corn can be raised. Land covered with *Thlork*<sup>192</sup> and *Chambak* trees can support a good rice harvest. These trees drop many leaves, which when burnt, enrich the soil with valuable nutrients.

Farmers categorize two main kinds of soil in the *Sambo* area. The first is *poh kro bei*, which is soft and has tree roots tangled on the surface; this soil does not grow rice well. *Nain* is a hard soil that can hold water for long periods of time. If there are ten to twenty days without rain, the rice will still survive. Before selecting a piece of land for a *chamkar*, the farmer digs in the soil to see its color. Soil with black color is good for rice; if the soil is white, it is not good.

In general the size of a *chamkar* is 50 meters wide and 100 meters long, a size requiring the labor of fifteen to twenty persons. After the land is chosen, then a special sign will be made on a tree. Using the hatchet or *pkak*, a cut is made into the tree bark, and a small tree branch is inserted into the cut.<sup>193</sup> This sign shows other villagers that the land has been selected by someone and is under cultivation.

#### **d. Land clearance (kap chamkar)**

“Having selected a site, the shifting cultivators fell the vegetation early in the dry season” (Hanks, 1997: 29). In *Sambo* village, vegetation is cleared from the *chamkar* in the month of *Phalkun* (March, one month before the dry season begins). A crew of ten to fifteen people work together to cut down all the vegetation inside the *chamkar*. This vegetation is allowed to dry out in the steadily increasing heat for a month and a half. After rain falls one or two times (but no more than this, or the termites will eat the leaves) the desiccated vegetation is set on fire. Before fire is set, the boundaries of the *chamkar* must be cleared to prevent the flames from spreading into the nearby forest. The fire is set by a group of villagers carrying torches called *koub ploeng* made from coconut tree branches, bamboo or *sral* branches.<sup>194</sup> Making and using these torches is a special skill; if workers are careless or a torch is too short, there can be serious injuries. To fire the *chamkar*, the workers line up and walk from the back of the *chamkar* to the front, holding their torches behind them. After the fire, the *chamkar* is cleared of burnt wood and tree stumps.

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<sup>191</sup> A type of tree, I cannot find the English name.

<sup>192</sup> Family of Rosaceae, scientific name is *Parinari annamensis* (Polo and Pierre BAL, 1994: 25).

<sup>193</sup> If this sign is made on the left side of the tree and the head of branch (the part there are leaves) is headed to the direction of where we are standing then, it means that the land of this peasant is starting from this tree straight ahead and from right side of that tree.

<sup>194</sup> Family of Pinaceae, scientific name is *Pinus merkusii* (Polo and Pierre BAL, 1994: 25).

### e. Planting

While the season of planting has arrived, the villagers wake up in the early morning, pack the necessary equipment (tools and rice seeds) on the ox-cart, and set off for the *chamkar*. All the family members, including children who are on vacation from school at this time, come along. First, a simple ritual is celebrated to ask the forest's guardian spirit for permission to use the land. The villagers use a branch of tree to tie a branch of a tree onto a tree and recite: "Please allow us, your grandchildren, to cultivate this land. Please help protect this place from wild animals and grant a good harvest. We only need the products but not the land."

Like transplanting and broadcasting, the rice planting in the *chamkar* is done using traditional reciprocal labor. A few days before planting, the farmer will ask those people who "owe" him labor to come and help. This request usually is made on the last day of work at an adjoining rice field. When they hear this announcement, those people who owe labor (*chhum pak dai*) or who have free time will come to help (see the systems of reciprocal labor in chapter III).

The *chamkar* is planted in single or mixed crops; usually a mixture of rice seed and sesame seed is favored. In addition to raising two crops in one field, mixed crop prevents or reduces pests and diseases. (Javier, 1997: 79). Sesame is an important crop for Cambodian rural people; in addition to being used during religious festivals it also provides valuable nutrients to the diet. Another crop combination is corn and rice. In this case the corn is planted ten to fifteen days earlier than the rice. In the past, the people used to plant *protiel* in the *chamkar*. *Protiel* is a plant in the genus of artemisia (in the same group of wormwood and sagebrush). This plant was used to cure illness and infections as well as affliction by ghosts, attack by wild animals, bad luck and poverty. Different varieties of *protiel* such as *protiel preah chhneas damlong sneng* were planted near the *chamkar* to ensure good fortune as well as a good harvest. Today it is difficult to find *protiel*.

When the planting starts, the workers are divided into two subgroups. The men use *chroueng* to make holes between tree stumps for the rice seeds. The women follow the men, and use the *bampoung* to put rice seed into the holes, and then cover the seeds with soil. One *chroueng* is followed by three to five *bampoung*. This technique of planting rice is totally different from transplanting rice; in the *chamkar*, the workers move forward as they dig holes and plant the seeds. Generally the man carries the *chroueng* in his right hand to make a hole. Villagers reported that some people can use two *chroueng*, one in the left hand and the other in right hand but this is rare. The *bampoung* is carried in the right hand, and the seeds are carried in the left hand and dropped into the holes made by the *chroueng*. As the work progresses, the workers sing, joke, and tease each other; their voices can be heard throughout the forest. An old villager told me that most married couples meet each other for the first time while planting rice in the *chamkar*.

### f. Guarding Rice

After fifteen days, while the rice seedlings have grown as high as a dove<sup>195</sup>, the farmers build a fence around the *chamkar*. This fence can protect the rice from large animals like cattle, but does not protect the rice from small animals and birds. Before 1970, there were many wild pigs living in the *Sambo* region, and the fields had to be guarded during the night against their predations; today the main problem is birds and small mammals like rats and squirrels. The tools used for guarding the rice include sticks, catapults, small wooden clappers and rattles.<sup>196</sup> A temporary shelter or hut is built in the fields for the guards. If the *chamkar* was located far from the village, a small cottage was built, and someone lives in the *chamkar* until harvesting and threshing is finished. But if the *chamkar* is located near the village, this is not necessary. Someone will be sent to the *chamkar* very early in the morning to frighten away the parrots and other pests.

When the rice reaches the level of the knee, the villagers are kept very busy repairing the fence, weeding the *chamkar* and guarding the rice from predators. Just before the rice is fully developed, the rice is strong enough and the villagers can leave the *chamkar* to go work in the lowland rice fields transplanting seedlings. After this work is finished, the villagers return back to *chamkar* to weed and guard the grain from parrots and other birds until the rice is mature enough to be harvested.

#### **g. Harvesting**

In *Sambo* village, harvesting is conducted by traditional reciprocal labor systems. In multi-crop fields, the people often eat the companion crops while harvesting the rice; for example, the leaves of sesame are traditionally enjoyed as fresh salad green by the workers. When corn and rice are planted together, usually the corn is harvested first; and the rice is harvested last. After it is harvested and dried, the rice can be threshed at the rice fields or transported home by ox-cart and threshed there.

After harvesting, the farmer must perform a ritual offering food to the spirit of the land. If the harvest is good, then the farmer will donate the head of a pig or a chicken. The purpose of the ritual is to thank the spirit for the opportunity to use the land. Next, forgiveness must be asked for any misdeeds inadvertently committed by the workers in the fields (for example swearing) and some kind of compensation must be made.

After the harvest, the farmers have to inspect the soil of the *chamkar* and decide whether it is possible to plant rice for another year. If the soil is decreasing in fertility, the field has to be plowed and tree roots chopped out before the crop is planted with watermelons.

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<sup>195</sup> That is the measurement of the people who live near the forest, it is an easy, simple and everyone in the village can understand very well. Approximately equal to 10-15 cm.

<sup>196</sup> There are many type of tools used to protect the rice from wild animals, such as *po pe-ah*, a clapper made of bamboo, and found in every corner of *chamkar*. When a chain is jerked, it makes the sound “*Pong Pank! Pong Pank* From now on, while I say in the past, it means 70 years ago or longer (the information had been confirmed by strongly mention the time and location that the informants have seen or known).

This section, I have shown that there are three types of rice cultivation techniques; and each technique has been adapted to fit the ecological conditions. I have also shown that agriculture, technology and the environment have changed. The villagers have had to adjust to these changes, and the changes are reflected the essential conditions of the village as well as its institutional and social organization. In the next section, I will discuss the social organization of the village.

## **6.8 Social Organization**

Here, “Social organization” means “community,” “association,” or “group of people.” There are three types of social organizations in *Sambo* village that I classify as “modern” (or official) “indigenous” (or traditional or practical but unofficial) or “vernacular.”<sup>197</sup> Modern organizations are those set up or supported by outsiders such as NGOs or the Cambodian government. Indigenous organizations are traditional organizations that have their roots in the village. Vernacular organizations are alternative organizations, usually emerged from the previous two.

### **6.8.1 Modern Organizations**

According to the backbone and the supporting, modern types of social organization can be categorized into: government back-organization, NGOs back-organization and government-NGOs-back organization. “Back” here points to the government and/or NGOs that are involving in setting up those organizations physically and/or spiritually. Physical support is including the provision of the money, time, and methods and direct involvement. Spiritual support is referring the giving the idea, initiatives and others. Modern types are those organizations that have a third party involve with.

Four NGOs (including a micro credit bank- Aceda<sup>198</sup>) are operating in *Sambo* village: TPO- Transcultural Psychosocial Organization), World vision International (WVI- a Protestant backed NGO), *Mlob Baittorng* (the green shadow- a Cambodian NGO aims to improve Cambodia’s environment through education and action) and Aceda (a micro credit bank). Each of them have own community or mechanism to support their activities. TPO provides training in mental health “to support those who are unable to care for themselves due to mental illness, poverty and a lack of support by developing programmes that directly benefit people at the grassroots level...” (TPO’s mission statement web).

In *Sambo* village those organizations are: (a) for the NGOs back-organizations: the community forestry, the village development committee (VDC) (please see the role of VDC in Appendices “B”); (b) The governmental back-organization: Commune Councilors, the extensions farmers group, the village chief and its subordinated (head of group of families in the village), the primary school committee, the Guard group

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<sup>197</sup>I call this type of social organization “vernacular” because it is not official, or indigenous, but practical in nature. This word I borrowed from Professor Dove (2001) “Vernacular Models of Development” (Dove et al. 2001)

<sup>198</sup>This a micro finance bank name. It was established in Jan 1993 as a national NGO and received license as a bank in Oct 2000 (Aceda facts and figures web page)

and the *Sambo* pagoda *Achar's* (layman) group<sup>199</sup>; (c) The NGOs and government back-organization: the development and preservation *Sambo PreyKuk* community.

It is hard to definitely grouping these organization into a pure NGOs or either government back organization as if an NGO assists to establish a community or organization, soon that NGO must seeks to find legitimacy of its, hence it is becoming governmental involvement.

### **6.8.1.1 NGOs Back-Organization**

#### 6.8.1.1.1 Community Forestry

It was established in early 2003 with the supported from an NGO working to increase environmental awareness and conservation- *Mlob Baitong*<sup>200</sup>. In Cambodia this type of community was first initiated by several international NGOs (Mennonite Central Committee [MCC], Concern Worldwide, FAO) in collaboration with the Department of Forestry and Wildlife (DFW) since 1990...(Ly et.al 2004).

The leader of the *Sambo* community forestry- Mr. *Chham*, he is 28 years old (2005) married with a son. He used to be in monkshood 7 years in *Sambo* pagoda. While asking for the reason why he can become the leader of this community, the answer was that "by election". But while answering why you were selected to be the candidate for the leader, he said "*Mlob Baitong* coordinator nominated him and came to talk with him one day before the Election Day" (field note 13 Jan 2005). The incentive from this job is for every meeting and/or training *Chham* receives 8,000 *riel* per day as the allowances. Since the establishment, the community has set up a final draft of regulation for community, bordering the forestry areas (there are two areas: one is *Prey Nakta Khieng*- forest of *Nakta Khieng* Spirit and the other is the a smaller forest and mapping the forestry (leader of the community forestry- Mr.*Chham*- research note 12 August 2005).

#### 6.8.1.1.2 Village Development Committee

The purpose of this committee, the VDC (see role of VDC in Appendices "B"), is to encourage village development. There are three committee members who belong to the VDC in *Sambo* village, including the village chief, who also heads the VDC. While the VDC is supposed to be an arm of the central government, in *Sambo* village the VDC is funded by the Protestant NGO called WVI.

### **6.8.1.2 Government-backed organizations**

#### 6.8.1.2.1 Commune Council

Beside the VDC, there is also *Commune Council* (CC), which was established by the central government in 2002 after a period of pilot program SEILA.<sup>201</sup> There are eleven elected councilors including a chief and they have yearly budget of 2,307,000 *riel* for the development and administration of *Sambo* Commune. At the present time Commune Council has no specific plans for the development of

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<sup>199</sup> Dr. John Marston- co-editor of "History, Buddhism and a new movements in Cambodia" (2004), said the present layman group of pagoda in Cambodia was officially set up and recognized by the government While for pre-war period this group was first recognized by the congregations of the pagoda. (per. Comm., 2 August 2005).

<sup>200</sup> Direct translation is "Green Shadow"

<sup>201</sup> *SEILA* is a name of Cambodian government program, which supported the decentralization policy of the governments. One of the outcomes of this policy is the commune council (CC). CC is an apparatus and will be a key player of the decentralizations policy.

*Sambo village*<sup>202</sup>. But in the future this Commune Council will play a significant role in community development throughout the region<sup>203</sup>.

#### 6.8.1.2.2 Village Chief and Subordinates

Since the 1980s, *Sambo* village has been divided into twelve groups. Each group comprises of 12 or 13 families<sup>204</sup>. This group is headed by “group leaders” (*Me Krom* or *Prothean Krom*) who are under the village chief (see Table 29). The former chief of *Sambo* village, Mr. Noeurn, was appointed by the central government. However, now village chiefs are chosen in local elections. The most recent elections were held in early 2005, and the present chief is Mr. Lao<sup>205</sup>.

#### 6.8.1.2.3 Extensions Farming Group

It consists of five people. They are selected by the office of district agriculture of *Sambo* district and trained in agricultural techniques (e.g. technique of modern rice cultivation, vegetable plantation...). One member of this organization is the current chief of village, Mr. Lao. The main activity of this group is participating in training meetings coordinated by the district agricultural office of *Sambo*. These training meetings last between three to ten days long, and take place three or four times a year<sup>206</sup>.

#### 6.8.1.2.4 The Primary School Parent’s Association

There is a primary school in the village. It is run by a school committee with the support from the government and the office of district education. Most of the students are *Sambo* village residents and the committee is made up from local parents. The activity of this committee seems to be limited to attending several meetings a year, and approving projects involving the school. For example, in order for the primary school to participate in UNICEF’s supplementary nutrition program, the deputy chairman of this association had to give his approval.

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<sup>202</sup> Most of the critical reason is the commune is not a target area of GTZ (a German NGO) or PLG- Partnership for Local Governance (an UNDP-UNOPS backed project, supported to *SEILA* program of the government) and WVI put their stamp here.

<sup>203</sup> The administration of the Cambodia divides into provinces and municipals. Within the province (*Ku*-for Japan, *Moeung*-for Thailand), there are several districts (*Shi*- for Japan, *Ampeu*-for Thailand). A district can has many communes. Then within a commune there are several villages. In the whole Cambodia, there are 1,621 commune councils represent 1,621 communes and elected every five years. The first election was held in 2002. Event administratively and practically, village is the smallest and bottom entity of the administrative units, the Cambodian constitution in Chapter XI about the Administration: Article 126- The territory of the Kingdom of Cambodia shall be divided into provinces and municipalities. Provinces shall be divided into districts (srok) and district into commune (khum). Municipalities shall be divided into Khan into Sangkat. Article 127- Provinces, municipalities, districts, khan, khum, and sangkat shall be governed in accordance with organic law. In the constitution there is none of “village” or “phum” word.

<sup>204</sup> These figures seem too low, and it is possible that the numbers were established during the 1979-1989 period, when there were only 150 families in the village.

<sup>205</sup> Informants felt that a disproportionate amount of successful candidates came from the eastern part of the village, and were not truly representative of the village as a whole, something that posed a problem for future development (field notes 12 May 2005).

<sup>206</sup> Mr. Chham, personal communication, 12 Aug 2005.



#### 6.8.1.2.5 Chhmam Prasat (Prasat Guards Group)

This is an organization of guards employed by the Department of Culture and Fine Art of the Kampong Thom province, the provincial representative of the Ministry of Culture and Fine Art. There are about twenty guards, mostly from *Sambo* village. They are very experienced and familiar with the monuments as they have been employed since the early 1990s. The leader of the group is a son of a former guard who worked at the monuments during the late 1960s.

#### 6.8.1.2.6 The Layman Group of *Sambo* Pagoda

Although Vat *Sambo* serves the seven surrounding villages, it is located just 50 meters from *Sambo* village. The Vat is run by a committee of achars, the non-ordained ritual specialists who handle much of the daily business of a Buddhist temple. The Achar Committee is organized along hierarchical lines according to age and experience. In addition to running the Vat, these achars are highly respected elders who play an important role in their communities. In 2002 the head, or “first” achar was Achar Souerng, and the “second” achar was Achar Khmem Trav. In the past, the Vat’s committee members were approved by the majority of congregation, but I was told that these two leaders were appointed by the provincial department of religion.

### 6.8.1.3 NGOs and government-backed organization

As I have shown above, there is often no clear line dividing NGOs from government organizations. The following organizations can be considered as “hybrids.”

#### 6.8.1.3.1 Prasat *Sambo* Prey Kuk Group

Already described this organization, which maintains the trails and monuments at Prasat *Sambo* Prey Kuk, began as part of a WFP “food for work” project in 1994. Soon after the project’s inception, the local authorities and the Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts became involved. When the WFP project ended in early 2003, Waseda University stepped in to facilitate.

The members of this group number, which includes all of the people who have worked on the monument complex, number about 600 families and are led by a committee headed by a leader, Mr. Norm. Villagers are proud of these ancient monuments, and happy to work for their conservation. However they also feel that much of the funding generated by Prasat *Sambo* Prey Kuk is diverted into projects that are not a priority for the community. For example, there have been several meetings organized by Waseda University in the name of the group at the monument site. But villagers felt that the meeting budget would have been better spent on the construction of a dam needed to conserve water<sup>207</sup>.

## 6.8.2 Indigenous Type

The organizations in this category are informal in nature, and do not have connections outside *Sambo* village. They include the reciprocal labor exchange, the *Achar* Phum, or ritual specialists group, the village elders, the spirit mediums, the village funeral committee, and the maintenance and construction committee of Vat *Sambo*.

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<sup>207</sup> Personal communication, 5 May 2005.

### 6.8.2.1 Reciprocal Labor Exchange

The Labor Exchange emerges every year for the purpose of rice cultivation. Before 2003 the group was divided into three parts, composed of twenty to sixty people from one of three main areas of the village: the west, middle. Villagers who lived in the western part of the village helped cultivate rice fields in the west of the village, and rarely went to fields in the east or the middle, and so on.

Since 2003 the boundaries between these three main groups has blurred. The reason for this is changing weather patterns, which delay the onset of the monsoon in August. Now villagers have to rush to finish cultivating their rice before the rains stop, and must take help from wherever they can find it.

### 6.8.2.2 Achar Phum

This group of *achar*, or non-ordained ritual specialists, includes the *achar sapb* (a specialist in funerary rituals) *achars* who specialize in wedding ceremonies and other life cycle rituals (entering the shade, etc.) In addition to their work in the villages, these *achars* also belong to the *achar* committee at Vat *Sambo*. layman group. Five of these *achar phum* live in *Sambo* village: Mr. *Cho*, Mr. *Nub*, Mr. *Neak* and Mr. *Chea* (*chea* is also a wedding *Achar*) and Mr. *Chhart* who teaches the novice monks Pali language.

### 6.8.2.3 Elders Group

A group of wise elders gathers together when called upon to advise the village. For example, when the village was attempting to repair the dyke, they called on these people for advice. The elders are: *Achar Neak Ta Outh*, *Krourch*, *Sean*, *Nub* Several of these elders group members also belong to the spirit medium group.

### 6.8.2.4 Ritual Spirit Group

As mentioned above, the village was divided into twelve sections by the government for administrative purposes; the village is also divided up and ruled by twelve spirits. Earlier I have used the name *neak ta* for these spirits, another name is *arak* or guardian demon<sup>208</sup>. Villagers report that one *arak* is responsible for thirty families.

The names of these spirits are *Chas srok*, *Ta chey*, *Pov Lbeng* (known as to be *Ta chey's* wife), *Krou Antorng* (curing disease, animal disease) and *Krou Antorng*, *Rompoat meas*, *Um puj* (*kropum chuk*), *Yorn*, *Tom*, *Hear*, *Yory*, *Vorn*, *Ham* (she just passed away there is no replacement yet until now May 2005). All of them have a *taok* (a wooden plate with leg decorated with colorful tissues that is used in rituals). These spirits are the supernatural equivalent of the village council; their role is to care, protect, guard, administrate, govern and assist the villagers.

### 6.8.2.5 Ta-Yeay Committee

Three senior villagers, corresponding to the three divisions of the village, are appointed to be part of the Ta-Yeay (Grandfather, Grandmother) committee. Those members are *Achar Chart* (69 years old), *Sun Nub* (57 years old) and *Yin Chea* (62 years old).

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<sup>208</sup> *Arak* is from *raksa* (Sanskrit) which means guardian, demon.

#### **6.8.2.6 Funeral Committee**

The purpose of this group is to assist the families of villagers who have died. Money will be collected (1,000 *riel*) from each household and used to pay for funeral costs. This group was created before the civil war period; it was revived after 1979.

#### **6.8.2.7 Pagoda Construction Committee**

I include this religious group here because since 1979, the central government has been involved with the management of Buddhist temples.

Vat *Sambo*'s construction committee is made up of villagers who are skilled in construction. a representative from each of the seven villages that make up Vat *Samb*'s congregation is part of this committee. Together they plan maintenance and construction projects for the Vat. Mr. *Sa Sen* (58 years old) represents *Sambo* village.

### **6.8.3 Vernacular Organizations**

Modern Organizations are often less effective than Indigenous Organizations, probably because they are introduced from outside and have no roots in the community and do not suit local conditions and political realities. However Indigenous Organizations usually focused on religious goals, such as the construction of Buddhist temples, and are therefore limited in nature. Vernacular organizations are hybrid organizations that use the strength of pre-existing traditions and political structures to promote modern goals. They are usually created when externally imposed development projects have failed for one reason or another.

An example of how Vernacular Organizations are created can be seen in attempts to reconstruct *Ta Tith*, an earthen dam in the southern part of the village. The dam is about 200 meters long. The name of the dam, *Ta Tith*, implies that it is very old: *Ta* means grandfather and *Tith* is the name of his grandfather. For many years the dam needed to be reconstructed to function properly. Villagers recall at least five attempts to reconstruct the dam: twice during the Sihanouk period, once after Khmer Rouge period (1979-1992) and two repairs after 1992.

The first unsuccessful repairs were organized by local government officials. After the Khmer Rouge regime was overthrown, a youth labor group tried to repair the dam. Next, WVI attempted to reconstruct the dam.<sup>209</sup> The WVI attempt at reconstruction failed before it implemented when the village chief took the money and the dike remained un-repair<sup>210</sup>. It was not until a new village chief, elected in early 2005, put together a new committee that was able mobilize the villagers to reconstruct the dam. The dam committee was composed of six members. In addition to the chief of *Sambo* village (who also serves on the VDC), and a member of the CC, three of the committee members were from the *Ta-Yeay* Committee, one was from the Funeral Committee, and one was a commune councilor and the last was a member of Vat Construction Committee. Thus, only two members of the committee were from modern organizations; the rest were from traditional village organizations, elders with experience, moral authority and understanding of local

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<sup>209</sup> The village development plan drafted in 2002 by WVI can be seen in Table 17, item no. 6)

<sup>210</sup> personal communication, 2005 March

conditions. This combination was able to mobilize *Sambo* villagers to work together on a community project.

In conclusion, I began this chapter with an analysis of the interaction between four ideal components that constitute human society — institutional organization, social organization, technology and essential condition — and how these interactions have developed over many generations in *Sambo* village. Next, I discussed the impact of globalization, development policies and environmental changes on *Sambo* village. It is clear from the data presented that villagers have had to develop new technologies and new types of social and institutional organization to cope with these changes. I discussed some of these new technologies and how they co-exist with old technologies. In the last part of the chapter I demonstrate how the social organization in the *Sambo* village can be categorized into 3 major types: modern, indigenous and vernacular. Today, many forces are trying to encourage development in *Sambo* village, with mixed results. When outsiders design the new technologies and impose new institutions from the top down, they often fail, as several case studies have shown. However when the villagers are allowed to control their pace of development, they create new social organizations that are practical and effective. I conclude that for development to be effective, like the rice seedlings it must be allowed to grow roots in the society before it is inundated by floods of change.

In the following chapter, I will explore the history of an indigenous social organization in *Sambo* village. I will focus on the reciprocal labor system, a highly successful form of grassroots level community organization used in the cultivation of rice.

## CHAPTER 7 Re-evaluating the Reciprocal Labor Exchange System- a Cambodian Case Study

The purpose of this chapter<sup>211</sup> is to examine the reciprocal labor exchange systems used in *Sambo* village, and to determine if this kind of system can be used to deliver IDA. A special focus of this chapter is how *Sambo* villagers use this reciprocal labor exchange system as a proxy.

### 7.1 Definition of the Reciprocal Labor Exchange System

Current scholarship uses several adjectives to describe agricultural systems: traditional<sup>212</sup>, modernized, conventional and practical (Tanabe 1994, Mak 1997; Albermethy et al. 1998; Ledgerwood et al. 1999; Nachmias 1999; Nesbitt 2003)<sup>213</sup>. In this section “traditional” agricultural systems in Cambodia and in particular, “traditional” reciprocal labor exchange systems will be focused.

A reciprocal labor exchange system is when worker “A” helps worker “B” with a particular task. In exchange, worker “B” will help worker “A” with another task. Marx (1954: Vol.1: 308) described this system as “co-operative labor.” According to Marx’s (1954) general and comprehensive theory of co-operative labor, when laborers work side by side on one and the same process, or on different but connected processes, they “co-operate,” or “work in co-operation.” Tanabe (1994: 222, 223) used Marx’s theory to analyze the structure of co-operative labor in two villages of Thailand. There Tanabe (1994) found two types of co-operative labor systems in operation: exchange labor (also called “reciprocal exchange labor”) and labor service (a non-reciprocal labor system operated between client and patron) (Tanabe 1994: 226-246). Tanabe does not discuss the history of these two types of labor systems in Thailand; nor does he discuss the relationship of these two types of labor with religion. It is therefore difficult to determine if the reciprocal labor exchange he found in Thailand is traditional or modern.

Today in Cambodia, there are two main types of join work systems (collective systems): the village-initiated system and the externally initiated system (this can be state/government and/or the NGOs). The village-initiated system is something that has evolved within rural society, while the externally initiated system is something instituted and imposed from outside (i.e. political leaders outside the rural society). In the Khmer language, reciprocal labor systems are called *yuok dai*: “to join hands or to take a turn,” *provas dai*, “to exchange hand,” or *chhouy eang chhouy anh* “to help one another” (the terms used vary by region). The externally initiated type has several names depending on the regime or government: to count some here: it can be *Sahakkor* (cooperative- before 1970 and after 1975 to 1979), *krom Samki* (solidarity group- after 1979 to 1993) (I am going to give a detail later). In the following sections I will discuss these systems

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<sup>211</sup> This chapter is based on an article published in the *Journal of Cultural Anthropology of Waseda Society of Cultural Anthropology* (Chay 2003).

<sup>212</sup> Tradition involves passing down from one generation to the next property (Schech et al. 2000: 124)

<sup>213</sup> Conventional and practical agricultural systems are similar in character although they have somewhat different meanings. Traditional and modernized are another group. Practical can be traditional or vice versa. However, what we call “practical” is more contemporary if we put it in a time frame with “traditional”.

along three analytical lines: socio-economic conditions, technological and ecological conditions, and religion.

## 7.2 Traditional reciprocal labor systems in Cambodian history

Some of parts of this section were already mentioned in the history part of the *Sambo* village. This section is an attempt to determine if there is any evidence for the existence of reciprocal labor systems in early Khmer history.<sup>214</sup> According to Michael Vickery (1998), during the pre-Angkorian period, there were two kinds of political leaders, or chiefs: *pŎn* and *mratañ*. *PŎn* was the title used for a chief up until the eighth century, and *mratañ* was the title used after the eighth century. (Vickery 1998: 23) A *PŎn-dom* was inherited matrilineally, through the sister's sons, and a *mratañ-dom* was inherited through patrilineal kinship (Vickery 1998: 19 and 23). Both the *pŎn* and the *mratañ* were leaders of a village or a community:

A *pŎn* was chief of a settlement, and the typical *pŎn-dom* was a large village, or a supravillage of several hundred or a thousand or more villagers living around or near a pond, sometimes one artificially constructed, and growing at least enough rice for self-sufficiency. (Vickery 1998: 19)

The lowest ranking people in the community were called *kñum*. The chief had authority to make these *kñum* to work for the benefit of the community (and eventually for the chief himself). (Vickery 1998: 27) “The *pŎn* wasn't a conventional or formal title, but *mratañ* was not subordinated to local tradition, and...could be granted by a king, unlike *pŎn* which was strictly ascriptive” (Vickery 1998:23. Vickery's interpretation of the inscriptional evidence suggests that some kind of government-initiated co-operative, or reciprocal labor system, led by the *pŎn* or the *mratañ* with the participation of *kñum*, existed by the pre-Angkorian period.

There are, however, no references to the involvement of these labor systems in rice cultivation in the inscriptions, which are concerned with the development of the physical infrastructure: *travan* (man-made pond), *pin*<sup>1</sup> (natural pond or swamp), *ralon* (channel) and *tnal* (road, embankment). (Vickery 1998: 306). The question remains as to whether government-initiated or village-initiated reciprocal labor systems were used for rice cultivation during the pre-Angkorian period. This question cannot be answered until the kinds of techniques were used for rice production in Cambodia's past can be determined.

In this next section, I will look at diversified agricultural technology, which requires certain kinds of social organization or labor systems. Hanks (1972: 25) lists four types of agricultural technology used by humans to obtain rice: gathering, shifting, broadcasting and transplanting and argues that these diverse agricultural systems evolved as the result of humans adapting to change. The changes that triggered these adaptations were socio-economic, ecologic, technological and religious.

The first people who used agricultural technology organized themselves into small and rather mobile groups, and worked together to gather scattered food. (Hanks 1972: 25-27) Although these “gatherers” did not cultivate their food, their mobile work groups can be called a co-operative or reciprocal labor system. As for the other systems – broadcasting, transplanting and shifting – a certain amount of human labor per

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<sup>214</sup> Unfortunately, I was not able to apply Geertz' (1980) theories about reciprocal labor systems to Cambodia (1980).

unit of land per crop season is required, which Hanks (1972: 58) calculated respectively as seventeen, fifty-three and sixty-seven “man-days” per acre. According to Hanks’ calculations, broadcasting required less labor than the other techniques.

Now let’s return to *Sambo* village. As mentioned earlier, *Sambo* village used to be the ancient capital of a Khmer kingdom (Vickery, 1998). The agricultural history of this area is not clear. The limited sources of information available that can be used for clues are an inscription, K.155, (reason a) that describes a donation to the temple of in the form of humans, cattle, buffalos, rice fields and clothes (Vickery 1998: 303); and the general history of Cambodia, (reason b) which tells us that “by the early 7<sup>th</sup> century the centers of political power ... had shifted away from coastal, an economic agricultural, rather than maritime trade, economy predominated. (Vickery 1998: 20). Another source (reason c) is Huke’s general history of rice:

The earliest settlements of those persons responsible for domestication undoubtedly were in areas offering a wide range of plant and animal associations within a limited geographical area. Such sites offered a variety of food sources over a span of seasons to societies dependent on hunting and gathering for their food supply. These earliest settlements might well have been near the edge of the uplands, but on gently rolling topography and close to small rivers that provided a reliable water supply...The earliest agriculture, a simple form of swidden... (Huke, 1990)

*Sambo* village corresponds closely to Huke’s description of the earliest rice settlements. There is a river running nearby; the topography is gently lower from the north to toward river at the south (Chay *et.al.* 2003: 210). There is also evidence (reason d) of an ancient anthro-morphological landscape that I am now studying (aerial photography and field surveys provide confirmation). To the north of *Sambo* village there are traces of ancient ponds, canals and embankments with a river locates near by, that were probably used to water crops (see aerial photo of *Sambo* village- aerial photo 1).

My ethnological research (reason e) further supports the thesis that swidden has always been the main form of rice cultivation used in this area. Elderly villagers aged between 65-87 years, gathered at Wat *Sambo* (during a holy day) told me:

Our grandparents never practiced dry-season flood recession rice...to cultivate rice, it was very easy, while the raining season comes...plough and then broadcast finally harvest. The production was very huge...at that time we no need to add any fertilizer to the rice field and we no need to work hard as today!

Finally, (reason f) as I have shown in Chapter 5, except for a brief period while the Khmer Rouge held power (1975-1979) the peasants of *Sambo* do not seem to have practiced the technique of flood recession rice cultivation.<sup>215</sup>

Drawing on reasons (a) to (f), I can draw a broad picture of the pattern of rice cultivation in the region of *Sambo* village. At first, the ancestors of *Sambo* villagers were gatherers living in communities organized

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<sup>215</sup> van Liere’s (1980: 267-272) classification of Cambodian patterns of settlement – floodland farmers practiced broadcasting technique, while bounded-field farmers practiced transplantation and receding-flood farmers practiced receding rice transplantation may need to be modified with regard to *Sambo* village.

as chiefdoms. They used reciprocal labor systems to gather food under the supervision of a chief. This chiefdom evolved into a *pŎn*-dom sometime before the sixth century. During this time, social units were scattered to the north of the present day *Sambo* village, in an area where there are many ancient ponds (see aerial photo of *Sambo* village). Shifting agriculture was practiced: rice was planted near their households and water was taken from the ponds for daily use.<sup>216</sup>

Van Liere has argued that flood rice was the easiest form of agriculture:<sup>217</sup>

...early farmers tried to avoid the strenuous labour of clearing densely overgrown lands; they appreciated the value of farm systems that required little or no labour. (van Liere, 1980: 267).

However, most scholars argue that the earliest form of agriculture was a simple form of swidden (Huke, 1990). While flood rice does not require the field to be leveled before the crop is sown, it does require a wet harvest (harvest in the water). Shifting agriculture also does not require the field to be leveled before the crop is sown, but in contrast to flood rice, has a dry harvest, which is easier than the wet harvest of flood rice. Reciprocal labor systems were used for the rice plantation process because it was rainfed (a joint work force is needed to finish the work on time before the rainy season ends).

If Fox and Ledgerwood's hypothesis that recession rice was important at Angkor Borei, a sixth century Khmer kingdom, is correct, it is likely that other forms of rice cultivation existed as well (Fox and Ledgerwood 1999). Despite the influence of the southern regions where flood rice was cultivated, evidence suggests that peasants in the *Sambo* region grew both shifting and flood rice during this period, and that shifting has always been the main form of rice cultivation in this region. When *Sambo Prey Kuk* was an important regional center (around 9th century), the importance of religion, trade and the institution of kingship meant that reciprocal labor systems led by *pŎn* (mixed with conventional reciprocal labor systems, or *mratañ*-dom) were instituted. The causeway (see aerial photo of *Sambo* village) that extended out from the main temple to the east, connected by a large stairway (that can be seen to this day), is evidence of the reciprocal labor systems used during this time. During this period, the political role of the chiefs was institutionalized, and labor systems were incorporated into the state structure. (Vickery 1998:23).

Even after political power moved north to the Angkor region, shifting, broadcasting<sup>218</sup> (both rainfed and flood-fed), and perhaps also transplantation rice was grown in the *Sambo* area. Perhaps, due to the central state was strong (as the city was in Angkor) the shortage of labor (especially the men which were mobilized to work for other purposes than rice cultivation- building the Angkor or other large construction project initiated by the King) and the spread of technology from the southern part, the additional support provided

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<sup>216</sup> It is likely that the peasants in the *Sambo* region were familiar with shifting agriculture because they were of "wild" origins, and "le Cambodgien est un homme de la forêt" (Ovesen *et al.* 1996: 24).

<sup>217</sup> Hanks (1972) argued that shifting agriculture required more labor than lowland broadcasting or transplanting, but Hanks may have based his calculations on broadcasted shifting agriculture. The technique of shifting agriculture can involve either planting or broadcasting. Peasants can clear the land, burning it and then planting or broadcasting (both still practiced in *Sambo* village).

<sup>218</sup> Broadcasting rice doesn't only imply that the rice is watered by flood water (flood fed) but can also refer to rice watered by rain water (rainfed). Even in the highlands where the flood water could not reach, people practice broadcasting rice, which mean that the rice is fed by rainwater.



by reciprocal labor systems became necessary. Reciprocal labor systems played a role in all three types of rice cultivation. Shifting and broadcasting agriculture required more labor participation; transplanting and harvesting require precise timing and are difficult to carry out by a small group or family labor alone. Transplantation rice was probably practiced within family groups. As in the Angkor region, co-operative agricultural systems were used by local leaders for religious reasons, political legitimacy, and to increase trade. In short, both the reciprocal labor system practiced by peasants, and labor service (in which the client serves the patron without payment) existed in the *Sambo* area. The reciprocal labor system was decentralized in nature, while the labor service system was centralized.

It is necessary to note here that the inscriptions mention the movement of people from south to north in order to make a new kingdom in northern Cambodia. Jayavarman I brought both officials and ordinary people from the south to settle in the Angkor region and in the first Angkor inscriptions there are records of the list of districts from which workers came, including eight provinces; Bhimapura (modern *Battambang* province), Sresthapura (*Kampong Thom-Kampong Cham*), Isanapura (*Sambo Prey Kuk*) (Vickery 1991b: 4).

Between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, Angkor was abandoned as the capital, and the basis of the economy reverted to river trade in forest products, centering on the new capitals in the region near Phnom Penh. The great hydraulic works of Angkor were never repeated. (Chandler 1992, Helmers 1997: 1) In the *Sambo* region, peasants simultaneously cultivated rainy season wet rice using shifting agriculture, flood rice, and some transplanting. Recession rice was abandoned because trading in forest products provided sufficient supplementary income. At that time, the reciprocal labor system was used mainly for shifting.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, rural life and rice production were interrupted by war. Thai, Vietnamese and Khmer forces fought throughout Cambodian territory, destroying villages, and killing and displacing villagers (Chandler 1993, Helmers 1997: 2). Cambodian peasants, especially the peasants of *Sambo* village, had difficulty cultivating lowland rice fields where there was no security<sup>219</sup>. They lived in the forest to avoid capture and warfare, and shifting agriculture was the main food supply. Rice fields were smaller in size and reciprocal labor systems were practiced with fewer participants to avoid attracting the attention of enemies.

In 1863 the French established the Protectorate in Cambodia, which would eventually be incorporated into the French Indochina Union. The French colonial presence would last for the next ninety years. The colonial authorities imposed the highest tax on rice in Cambodia than anywhere else in French Indochina (Helmers: 1997: 3). This meant that the more peasants produced, the more tax would have to be paid. *Sambo* villager related stories told by their grandparents about the difficulties of rice cultivation during the French period: farmers had to hide their harvest in underground pits and in the forest to avoid taxation.

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<sup>219</sup> Since this village is situated near the group of monuments called *Sambo Prey Kuk*, it is natural that it could become a target of invading troops. (an old man of *Sambo* village told me). He furthered explained but here I prefer to summarize: because of the thick forest the conflict factions were very keen in hiding here especially the former *Khmer Rouge* soldiers. My own opinion, most of the ancient monuments were left untouched as it serves as holy places, this giving the opportunity to the forest to grow.

There was also corvee labor: each family had to send someone to work on projects such as road construction.

Since peasants were heavily taxed, they had no motivation use new techniques to increase their surplus production (Mak 1998: 32) or to use labor-intensive types of rice cultivation such as transplantation. Reciprocal labor systems were used only for shifting agriculture, and to plow fields in preparation for broadcasting. After the French left, rice production from 1953 to 1970 was controlled by the state by two main governmental institutions: the Office of Royal Cooperative (OROC) and the Société Nationale d'Exportation et d'Importation (SONEXIM). At the rural level, a state convention model cooperative, *Reach Sahakkor* (Royal Cooperative), was created. The existing OROC parastatal became responsible for the purchase and processing of the rice export crop, which was then sold through SONEXIM (Helmers 1997:4). The *Sambo* villagers I interviewed never mentioned the *reach sahakor*; instead they described the cultivation of rainfed lowland rice by broadcasting (and not by transplantation). Reciprocal labor systems were seldom used, and then only for shifting cultivation.

During the Civil War period 1970-1975, agriculture was interrupted and Cambodia suffered a food shortage. In 1974, 282,000 tons of rice had to be imported into the country under a US "food for peace" program. (Mak 1997: 38) Most remote areas of the country, including the *Sambo* region, were under Khmer Rouge control. According to informants, during this period *Sambo* villagers continued their traditional rice cultivation practices, including the usage of reciprocal labor systems.<sup>220</sup>

Between 1975-1979, under the Khmer Rouge regime, techniques of flood recession rice cultivation, and the use of the irrigation tool "pedaling noria" (*rohat theak*), imported from the south (from "below", or *kraom*). The peasants were forced to dig a canal (which has now been refilled; no trace remains) and there were unsuccessful attempts to build a dam across an ancient canal. People complained to me about the hard work operating pedaling *noria* during the Khmer Rouge time. During this period, the only labor systems that existed were the government-managed co-operatives or *sahakkor* ("co-operatives"). There were no reciprocal labor exchange systems.

After 1979 the Khmer Rouge were forced out by the Vietnamese-backed the People Republic of Kampuchea (PRK) government initiated to form a new collective group- solidarity groups known as *krom samakki*, consisting of twenty to twenty-five families, constituted the basic unit of production, and were organized under village and commune administration (Helmers 1997: 6). As reported by Ovesen *et al.* (1997: 19) and Frings (1994:49), this creation "not only aimed at organizing the peasants in order to increase production, but also at doctrinating them to serve the political objectives of the government and fight enemies". Mak describes three types of *krom samakki*:

Type one involved the greatest level of collectivization of means of production such as land, farm tools, work force and farm work. Type two was approached in two ways. The first way was that, after all rice land had been transplanted by collective work, the fields were distributed to each family to look

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<sup>220</sup> Here I want to reiterate my argument that dry-season recession rice was an alien practice for *Sambo* villagers until the Khmer Rouge period; even today they do not use this technique.

after and harvest individually. The second way was that, land and farm tools were distributed to groups families (10-15) within the village; the land was farmed on a family basis but they help each other in ploughing, uprooting, transplanting and/or harvesting as in *pravas dai* (exchange labour) that used to be done traditionally.

Type three involved division of land among families, and all production was organized individually. (Mak 1997: 49-50).

It can be seen that type two is a form of a traditional reciprocal labor system. This was the dominant type of labor system adopted in the *Sambo* area during this period, ostensibly due to the advantages it provided in organizing production and for purchasing subsidized farms inputs (Mak 1997:50). But this is not the whole picture. My informants told me that type one and three of Mak's classification of *krom samakki* systems were never practiced in *Sambo* village and the surrounding region. Between 1979 –1992, even though the *Sambo* area was nominally under government control, Khmer Rouge forces were still active and the government was unable to enforce all its policies. Peasants received land from the state based on the number of family members, but informants told me that they rejected the state-promoted *krom samakki* systems in favor of a traditional reciprocal labor system that suited the local situation best. *Sambo* villagers chose to return to their traditional reciprocal labor systems to support shifting and wet rice lowland cultivation; large areas of secondary forest<sup>221</sup> (especially inside the ancient monument area) and abandoned irrigation tools are all that remains of the Khmer Rouge period experimentation with dry-season recession rice.

Between 1989-1992, Vietnamese troops were withdrawn from Cambodia and the government was in a transitional period. Starting in late 1991, the government came under the supervision of the UN, namely the United Nation Transitional Authority of Cambodia (UNTAC). A free market economic system was born at the same time that the *krom samakki* system began to disappear. However, these changes didn't affect the *Sambo* area where, as I stated above, the *krom samakki* system had never been adopted. The region was still insecure, with a Khmer Rouge presence somewhere inside the forest. UNTAC staff was attacked, and a civilian Japanese UN volunteer was killed in a village near *Sambo*.<sup>222</sup> During this period, there were changes in agricultural systems that I will describe in the following section.

To conclude this section, two main points must be emphasized. First, reciprocal exchange systems have a long history in Cambodia's agricultural history. Second, political leaders have from time to time tried to take over these reciprocal exchange systems for their own purposes, most recently during the Khmer Rouge period, when the government attempted to force peasants in *Sambo* area to grow recession flood rice to increase production. The fact that the *Sambo* villagers quickly abandoned this introduced technology and returned to traditional cultivation techniques after the end of the Khmer Rouge regime (and other evidence that will be presented below) suggests that government-initiated development is less effective than locally-initiated development.

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<sup>221</sup> Secondary forest is forest newly re-grown after the area has been used for shifting agriculture or for other purposes.

<sup>222</sup> The village has adopted the name of the slain Japanese volunteer: Atsu village.

### 7.3 Present-day Reciprocal Labor Systems

Between 1992-1998,<sup>223</sup> traditional agricultural systems and reciprocal labor systems were revitalized in rural villages throughout Cambodia<sup>224</sup> (Ledgerwood 1998). International and local NGOs, in particular the Village Development Committee (VDC), often try to work co-operatively with these agricultural and reciprocal labor systems.<sup>225</sup> For example, the VDC will try to facilitate development activity within a village, for example, repairing a road. Rather than encourage villagers to take responsibility for their own development, the VDC will provide “gifts” (rice, food or cash incentives) to villagers in exchange for labor on the road. This practice has now spread all over Cambodia and become the culture of rural villages. Despite the good intentions behind this form of development assistance, the end result is that such development projects are dependent on outsiders, and the participation of villagers is limited.

The development policies funded by NGOs through organizations such as the VDC can be contrasted to the traditional labor exchange systems used in rice cultivation. Traditional labor exchange systems are based on mutual support and a timely and efficient labor supply. These traditional labor exchange systems also have the support of the Buddhist temple and the annual ritual calendar. These two institutions – Buddhism and the reciprocal labor system – interact with each other to provide peasants with their daily rice by mutual support and the sustainable use of communal natural resources. Organizations such as the VDC cannot provide this sort of support because their direction and goals come from outside of the community. Compared traditional reciprocal labor systems of the village with VDC, the peasants of *Sambo* are to a greater extent following and practicing rice cultivation based on mutual systems, the guidance of the Buddhist temple, and messages from ritual ceremonies; traditional reciprocal labor systems serve as a social binding capital with timely and efficient labor supply resources to respond to the guidance and messages. Buddhist temple and ritual ceremonies act as a “know-how and daily life evaluation center” and traditional reciprocal labor systems serve a “labor society”. These two institutions interrelate with each other to favor the daily life of rural peasants in sustainable usage of communal natural resources. For example, with rice cultivation, peasants know when, where and how to cultivate rice efficiently, in a timely and sustainable manner, and how to avoid natural disasters such as floods, thunderstorms, and water scarcity by using Buddhist temples and ritual ceremonies. Subsequently, peasants use their own labor society to response to the messages and guidance. These practices can be seen in the sacred candle dripping festival (see in religious part) which was celebrated each to forecast the rate and the time of raining in the coming year. The message or the prediction message given by this ceremony was taken as guidance for *Sambo* villagers in rice cultivation. To be more specific, with the candle dripping festival, the rain rate and the annual (lunar calendar) rain fall schedule is foretold (it details into monthly). By this schedule villagers prepare the time and the labor for rice cultivation. Of course here everyone has to think about when and

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<sup>223</sup> The period beginning in 1992 is sometimes called “the second kingdom” by many politicians, with the period 1954-1970, of King Sihanouk on the throne, as the “first kingdom.”

<sup>224</sup> Ebihara (Ebihara 1993 and Ebihara et al. 1994) found a similar situation in Svay, a village she first studied in the 1950s in *Kandal* province “...in some areas labor exchange (*provas dai*) and other forms of community cooperation are reverting to pre-revolutionary patterns”

<sup>225</sup> In *Sambo* village, the VDC was set up by World Vision International (WVI); peasants weren’t aware of the existence of this organization (as my survey in 2001).

how to effectively use the labor in order to speed up or to schedule their rice cultivation activities in concert with the rain fall schedule.

However, as I stated above, there has been a change from shifting agriculture in the *Sambo* area that has affected the traditional reciprocal labor systems, and indirectly disturbed the “know-how and daily life evaluation center”. The change began in 1989 when a district chief came to the village and saw fallow land being “unused.”<sup>226</sup> The chief persuaded peasants to plant cashew nut trees on some of this fallow land. At first, the cashew nut trees produced a good harvest and generated a lot of income from sales (because at that time the price of cashew nuts was high). Seeing the profits to be made from cashew nuts, *Sambo* villagers began planting cashew nuts on fallow and clearing forest to make new cashew nut plantations.

According to tradition, uncultivated land – forest or fallow land – belongs to the community. A piece of land under cultivation, however, is considered to be the private property of the cultivator. Since the introduction of cashew nut trees into the *Sambo* area, traditional land tenure systems have collapsed. Villagers clear fallow land and forested areas, and plant them with cashew nut trees. When they need to raise cash or pay off debts, they sell the plantations to wealthy investors. Today, increasing numbers of villagers work for cash on privately-owned cashew nut plantations that formerly belonged to the community.

In addition to affecting land tenure, the change from shifting agricultural to cash crops has also resulted in significant social change. Although cashew nut plantations can provide cash to villagers, when the price of cashew nuts is down, villagers receive less income for their investment of time and energy, and risk having to sell their land to pay off debts. At the same time, villagers are gradually losing access to the ecological resources that can save them in times of food shortage, and must depend more and more exclusively on rainfed rice (transplantation and broadcasting). More importantly, as villagers are exposed to market forces that are out of their control, there has been a corresponding downgrading of belief in the Buddhist temple, the efficacy of rituals, and traditional ethics and morality.

In this next section, I will discuss the labor systems presently operating in *Sambo* village.

### **7.3.1 Present day labor systems in *Sambo***

In *Sambo* village, labor systems include 1) labor services in exchange for cash; 2) labor organized for specific projects by the VDC with the support of local and international NGOs; and 3) traditional agricultural reciprocal labor systems. I have argued in this thesis that the first two labor systems are ineffective for long term community development because they are sporadic, temporary, and because the participants are working for “gifts” (rice, food or cash) rather than for the successful outcome of the project. In contrast, the traditional agricultural reciprocal labor systems are a permanent labor force in which all community members are automatically participants and equals even though some scholars (Ovesen *et al.*, 1996) have argued that these systems are not egalitarian, but are “loose structures.” In

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<sup>226</sup> In shifting agriculture, rice can be cultivated in a field for a maximum of two years. Then must be left uncultivated, or fallow, for two to five years to allow soil nutrients to regenerate.

*Sambo* village, every villager can be a member of traditional reciprocal labor systems. S/he works for others and others will work for him or her.

In this next section I will describe some of my observations of the labor systems practiced in *Sambo* village.<sup>227</sup> During my fieldwork, I found that during the cultivation season, the most important topic of conversation for everyone in *Sambo* village was rice. During the day, villagers shared information while working in the rice fields; at night, information was shared by family members, typically during dinner time. In this way all villagers, regardless of sex, age, or education, constantly exchanged information about rice technology.

### 7.3.1.1 Dinner

My first example is based on a dinner conversation at the house of Sim Norm, an employee of the Department of Culture and Fine Arts as the chief guard of the *Sambo* Prey Kuk monuments and also by the Waseda Project of Conservation and Preservation at *Sambo* Prey Kuk. One evening during the rice cultivation season, I ate dinner at Norm's house. During the meal, Norm asked his wife about the progress of rice transplantation: "Is transplantation of Uncle Lam's rice field finished?" "Whose (paddy field) is next?" "Why wasn't it finished?" "Who joined that group?" "How many *dai* (short name for *provas dai*, "exchange hands") remain that we haven't compensated for yet (still owe) or have we earned?" Norm's wife answered her husband's questions one by one. When she did not know the answer she asked her daughters and son. Other problems discussed included the schedule for the next day's activities, and which family member would go where, the quality of rice seedlings (were they weak or spindly; had they been nourished with enough water in the nursery bed) as well as the advantages and disadvantage of a specific rice variety, and the state of the soil of the paddy field of *Um* (uncle), etc. Because the family knew which families were using what type of rice seed, the progress of transplantation made by each family, their techniques of rice maintenance, what was difficult for a case of a specific rice-seed transplantation, they could plan their own cultivation. This was very important because if everyone started to cultivate their rice fields at once, there would be a shortage of participants for reciprocal labor, transplanting could not be finished within a day, and there could be damage to the rice seedlings.

After dinner, it was already dark and a kerosene lamp was lit. Norm and I sat on the front porch of the house chatting and I overheard a discussion in the house next door. A villager came to ask the neighbor if she would help with transplanting the following day. In the house opposite Norm's house, the neighbors discussed their planned activities for the next several days. A had already made a contract with B for rice seedling transportation, so when a woman came to ask for his participation, he would send one of his daughters, named Khaon, to participate: *Oh! Saek, kñom trov dek kandap aoy ming Ksom! Cham kñom aoy mi khaon tao chhouyi, min ei te.* ("Oh! Tomorrow, I will transport rice seedling of aunty Ksom! I will send Khaon to your place, no problem!") During this conversation, a reciprocal labor agreement was reached. The

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<sup>227</sup> Mr. Norm was employed by the Department of Culture and Fine Arts as the chief guard of the *Sambo* Prey Kuk Ancient monuments and also by the Waseda Project of Conservation and Preservation of the monument. Therefore he cannot keep up-to-date on the information in his village.

following morning while it was still dark, I was woken up by ringing noises from the bells of the oxen and the preparation of the households members for departure to the rice fields.

### 7.3.1.2 In the Field

I learned from the conservation the previous night that there were at least two reciprocal labor groups transplanting rice in the south part of the village. I did not know exactly where the rice field was located. After going to the prasat, I began to walk east following a footpath through very bushy forest. Then I heard the voices of peasants:

*Huy! Cho! Cho! Huy! Cho! Cho! Huy! Huy!...*(this is how the peasants direct their cattle when plowing and/or harrowing a paddy field).

Finally, I found my way out of the forest. I asked the peasant plowing the field for directions to the transplanted field. He knew the place well, probably through the information exchange systems I described above. It took me almost 20 minutes to walk to the transplanted field. As I walked I found that the paddy fields here were laid out in a “zigzag” shape and hidden behind bushes. This form contradicts the present modern techniques recommended by most governmental or development agencies or projects, which promote making the paddy field wider, and cutting down the bushes which stand between each paddy field. The reason why the peasants ignore the advice is because this contradicts their traditional knowledge of their environment, a traditional knowledge that is reinforced by the Buddhist temple and ritual ceremonies: namely, that rice fields need shade and the organic fertilizer provided naturally by trees, and the contours of the paddy fields should relate to water management practices. (Chay *et al.* 2003: 210)

I found two groups of peasants: one group composed of two women who were quietly transplanting rice seedlings, and a young man who was plowing, and another group a short distance from there was composed of more than thirty people. I asked the older of the two women of the first group why there were only three participants. She smiled to me but did not answer my question directly. After some conversation, I learned that the old woman was from another village and she had just bought this paddy field from a *Sambo* villager. Her workers were a labor service group, hired for cash. Next, I visited the second group. The work crew in the second group had smiling faces and were joking and chatting with each other. A group of young boys was on an ox-cart parked near the paddy field under the shadow of a big tree. Every so often their parents called them to bring some necessary items. Hanging on the ox-cart were several plastic rice bags filled with various foods, including fried fish, chicken, pounded tamarind with salt, and pickled crab. Other bags were full of dried areca slices, betel leaves, tobacco, water and local wine.

The owner of the paddy field was a young boy; he handed rice seedlings to the persons who were transplanting. Despite his youth he was able to answer the questions of the participants, such as the kind of rice seeds that he used, the distance he wanted between each clump of rice seedling. The verbal exchange among the group never ended, and ranged in topic from agricultural-related knowledge and techniques (how to select rice varieties for shifting cultivation) to health care (how to cure a minor case of diarrhea in children), to their children’s education (“my son is now in third grade, how about yours?”) to religious issues (a ceremony that was taking place in two days was discussed).

From these examples, it can be seen that as well as mobilizing labor to resolve agricultural problems, traditional reciprocal labor systems provide an opportunity for villagers to gather together, discuss ideas, exchange information, and learn new skills and practices. These systems are not simple; they are complex social organizations that require communication, negotiation and regulation to function efficiently. In the next section I will discuss the schedule and rate of compensation of one of many traditional reciprocal labor exchanges that I observed in *Sambo* village.

## **7.4 Example of reciprocal labor exchange**

In the beginning of the rice cultivation season, work starts at 7 o'clock in the morning, because early in the season peasants have more energy and are stronger (however, as I was told by a villager that after the middle of the season when people are exhausted, work starts between 8 and 9 o'clock in the morning). There is a lunch break around noon, and work starts again at 2 o'clock and continues until evening. Peasants usually wake up between 4 and 5 o'clock in the morning. Because this shared labor starts late in the morning, farmers can use the early hours to harrow or plow their own fields. Then their family members can work this field while they are off on shared labor projects. Also the cattle have no problem working at this early hour, but can have trouble with heat later in the day.

One point to be emphasized here is that the villagers have strong confidence in this system. Because the system operates within the community, labor debts are calculated very precisely and transparently, and no one dares to cheat or refuses to reciprocate. For example, when Norm needed to transplant his paddy field, he called sixty villagers to help. This means that Norm and his household owed the rest of the community sixty working days worth of labor. This labor debt can be quantified (see Table 27). Compensation rates vary and labor debts can be compensated by a variety of work as well as transplantation. One day of transplantation is equivalent to one morning of harrowing and broadcasting deepwater rice. One day of transplantation is equivalent to one day of uprooting tree stumps for highland rice (shifting agriculture). Therefore, if someone owes a day of transplantation (which is the work of lowland rice cultivation), s/he can compensate with either a day uprooting tree-stumps, or one morning of harrowing and broadcasting deepwater rice (see in table 27).

Next, I will look closely at the social organization created during the reciprocal labor exchange between two households in 2005. These two families – sample no. 5 and sample no. 195 – were selected from the twenty sample families (for the other sample's data please see in the attached documents of Appendices "C" Detail Sample Data).

### **7.4.1 Reciprocal Labor Exchange in Two Household**

#### **7.4.1.1 Sample 5: Mom**

The head of household is *Mom* a 70 year-old carpenter. His grandparents and parents were born in *Sambo* village. His siblings are deceased. Mom has five children: a son and a daughter with his first wife *Ma* (now deceased) and two sons and a daughter with his second wife named *Puch*. One son named *Poch*



lives with his wife's family. His youngest son, also married, still lives in Mom's household (see in the detail of Sample data list in Appendices "C").

The household owns: one rice threshing machine (shared with a son-in law) five cattle; one pig; one hen with seven chicks; one bicycle; one plow; one harrow; one ox-cart; one battery for animal hunting; two petroleum lamps. They have fifty *thang* of *Kha* variety rice in rice storage. The family has two rice fields (0.50 ha) one *o'kruke* (0.20 ha) and one plantation or *chamkar*, (1,400 square meters).

In early 2005, forty villagers came to help transplant Mom's rice field which was 0.50 ha in size<sup>228</sup>. I was not able to record the names of all forty people; in Table 13, appendix, are the names of eighteen of these participants. Of these eighteen, six were neighbors, and the rest came from the village; two participants were related by marriage and the rest were related by blood.

#### 7.4.1.2 Sample 19: Leam

Leam is a widow who lives with an eleven year-old son and a thirteen year-old niece who are both at school (in Class 3 and Class 5 respectively). Leam has a house with a thatched roof located on a section 1,800 square meters. There is no well on her property. There is an orange tree, several cashew nut trees, custard apple trees and a vegetable garden with corn, cucumbers, water convolvulus, pumpkins, and beans. Leam owns one rice field (0.20 ha); one *chamkar* for cashew nuts and watermelons (one ha), one bicycle, three cows, and five chickens.<sup>229</sup> Leam does not own an ox cart, plow, or harrow. She cannot plow or harrow her own rice field as this work requires a man's labor. Participation in the labor reciprocal exchange is the only way she can cultivate her fields.

Eighteen people came to help Leam cultivate her .025 ha rice fields in August 2004. Thirteen of these people were not neighbors. Two neighbors and a cousin and second cousin also helped (see Table 14). The reason why the majority of labor exchange participants were not her neighbors is because Leam's house is located at the near eastern edge of the village where many new comers who are not farmers live. Her status as a widow is another reason why blood related and in-law participants were absent.

While I will not discuss the other eighteen samples here in (see in Appendices "C" the detail of Sample data list), they are very similar. Next I will discuss some of the characteristics of participants in reciprocal labor exchange crews.

Reciprocal labor exchange work crews in *Sambo* village are typically made up from young people, often unmarried, who may or may not be neighbors or blood relatives of the person they are helping. In contrast to the head of the household (usually parents), who have many responsibilities on their own property, these young people can be spared to fulfill reciprocal labor obligations.

The host or the rice field owner of the labor exchange (above Mom and Leam) directs the work crew, and the workers must take direction from the host. At the same time, the host has to be pleasant to the work crew. The key point of this system is "if I work for you, then you will work for me later, if you make do things properly, in return I'll do things properly."

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<sup>228</sup> According to these figures, eighty people are needed to transplant one hectare of rice.

<sup>229</sup> Leam started out with only one cow provided by a World Vision project called *provas*.

According to my observations, the reciprocal labor exchange system is a temporary virtual structure but it is permanently available that emerges when there is a need for an indigenous activity. When the activity is accomplished, this virtual structure disappears. Next time the same indigenous activity is needed again, it re-appears. This system is used by *Sambo* villagers for all agricultural purposes (rice, watermelon and cashew nut cultivation, clearing forest, and all other indigenous activities (see Table 27). However, I do not feel that the reciprocal labor exchange system is useful for modern development activities. Here are the reasons: (i) horizontally (please see the vertical and horizontal structures support to IDA or development in chapter four and Figure 7), reciprocal labor exchange systems were emerged within the society- village to cope with essential conditions (see the four ideal components of society) of the village and those are to name some- the shortage of the labor force and to rice cultivation season (raining season). More or less it is by its creation, it is matched with the essential condition and the knowledge and technology of the village. However, (ii) vertically it was not matched with the concept and understanding of the three actors (among four actors<sup>230</sup>). Reciprocal labor exchange system has to be modified before it can be brought to use and that modification has to be started from the education. Teaching those wiseman and wise woman who are the heads; to have some concepts of modern development. This modification was already happened in Peru where an anthropologist - Juan Paiva Villafuente was assigned by WB to improve rural road in Peru and establish systems for maintenance. He made use of 'minka' or group work- a traditional mean used for agricultural work such as fixing canal, harvesting. He applies this group work to rural road maintenance (Inter-American Bank Web site).

Reciprocal labor system was emerged mainly for the rice cultivation purpose and other indigenous purposes and most of the indigenous purposes in rural Cambodia are religious related. Addition to this, development agents (donor, NGO and IDA's recipient government) not consider that those activities or purposes are not development and some development projects/programs today needs more participation not just a village size or a reciprocal labor exchange group size. I am going to make more detail into the next chapter.

For the conclusion of this chapter, it is necessary to mention here that before imposing any more ineffective and expensive development projects onto Cambodian society, IDA professionals need to look at existing social organizations in rural communities like *Sambo* village, and see what works and why. As I have demonstrated in this chapter, the traditional agricultural reciprocal labor systems found in *Sambo* village have a long history of adapting and evolving in response to socio-economic, ecological, technical and religious change.

Traditional reciprocal labor systems provide villagers with food, and provide the food when it is needed. This food is produced efficiently for the consumer by the consumer, using locally available management, labor and resources. Farmers are not exposed to external market forces that can lead to indebtedness, landlessness, and poverty, and the social welfare of families and individuals is secured. Environmental damage is avoided and the balance of nature is maintained I believe that traditional

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<sup>230</sup> Those four are donor, recipient government and community.

reciprocal labor systems (*provas dai*) are the key to Cambodia's agricultural development. Next chapter will be pertained by the discussion, analysis and conclusion of the thesis.

## CHAPTER 8      **Analysis, Conclusion and Implication**

This Chapter is reserved for the discussion and analysis with intention to answer two research questions (as mentioned in introduction chapter) - does any effective grassroots level community exist in Cambodia, which successfully transmits IDA to the target community? How can this grassroots-level community be replicated elsewhere in Cambodia?

As other classic research anthropological method, after a thick description (term used by Clifford Geertz 1973), the theory will be taken out of the analysis of this thick description.

To answer first question, two levels of analysis will be made. Level one, the vertical and horizontal supporting structure of the IDA and development and related factors will be used as the frame. And level two, the grassroots level community itself is the subject of the analysis.

For the second question the goal of analyze is to make an implication of the previous result of analysis into the other places in Cambodia.

### **8.1 Analysis**

#### **8.1.1 Vertical Structures Supporting IDA**

There are four main actors in the vertical structure supporting the delivery of IDA: the donor, the recipient government and international and local NGOs. The fourth actor is the aid target or recipient-grassroots level community (in Cambodia, usually farmers or poor rural communities). The following analysis covers the donor and recipient government, NGO and the development planning.

##### **8.1.1.1 Donor and Recipient Government**

Although theoretically, international donors give aid to help poor Cambodian people, in reality, IDA is a two-way contract. Aid donors always have political, cultural and economic purposes for giving IDA. Even if the aid recipient can provide nothing tangible in return, there is always some social, cultural or political concession that can be made. Kikuchi (2004) has defined this transaction using an “anthro-metric” measurement that he calls a “three dimension diagram.”<sup>231</sup> Kikuchi argues that for official development assistance (ODA, the Japanese name for IDA) to be fair and equitable, the diagram representing the transaction must have 45 degree in each axis (x, y and z<sup>232</sup>). If the diagram does not have 45 degrees in each axis, the aid transaction is unfair and inequitable. (Kikuchi 2004) Because all the actors – aid recipient, the aid recipient’s government, NGOs, and the donors – benefit in some way from the transaction, all participants have a keen interest in IDA, in particular politicians. At the international level, the provision of IDA is highly political. Donors fight amongst themselves over which developing country to give aid to. Politicians and political parties also get involved, so does the media.

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<sup>231</sup> I find Kikuchi’s three dimension diagram a particularly useful way to show the transactional nature of IDA

<sup>232</sup> X represents donor, Y represents the recipient country and Z represents the aid beneficiary.

Typically, relationships are formed between the donor and the recipient government not only at the state level but also at the political party level.<sup>233</sup> An example of this is when the Japan government formally announced in 2001 at a meeting of the Tokyo Consultative Group that it would be decreasing aid to developing countries. At this time, the Cambodian Prime Minister, Hun Sen, came to Tokyo and met with both the Japanese Prime Minister, Junichiro Koizumi, and the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) Secretary General, Taku Yamasaki, to personally request that Japan maintain its current level of aid to Cambodia. (*Japan Times*, June 14, 2001).

When Cambodia's national election results were announced in 2003, there was no clear majority. According to the Constitution, the election results necessitated the formation of a coalition government. The Cambodian People's Party (CPP) claimed a victory, and tried to form a coalition government, but most of the leaders of the major opposition parties rejected the election results, accused the National Election Committee (NEC) of being biased and unfair, and called for a re-election. During this impasse which lasted almost one year (July 2003 to July 2004) the leaders of Cambodia's opposition parties asked the international community to cancel or postpone IDA to Cambodia, in an attempt to challenge the CPP's power grabbing. While some donors suspended or canceled IDA, many donors continued to fund projects. The CPP used the fact that donors maintained IDA funding to claim international support for a coalition government.<sup>234</sup> Faced with this situation, the opposition parties were forced to join the coalition party and form a government.

The events following the 2003 election show how closely IDA is linked to the democratic process in Cambodia, especially during election campaigns. Hun Sen,

Cambodia's prime minister of the past 20 years is not the sort to follow outsiders' advice slavishly. The donors who fund half the country's budget are constantly wringing their hands about his unfulfilled pledges of reform. But the prime minister has picked up at least one foreign habit of late: suing opposition politicians and democracy activists for libel – a political tactic pioneered in Singapore and recently adopted in Thailand... During elections, when Cambodia is briefly under international scrutiny, the prime minister allows his critics to speak their mind. Between polls, he undermines civil liberties, prevents his opponents from organizing, and makes an example of a few of the most outspoken. Still, things could be worse. Some people bleakly claim to see a shred of progress in the lawsuit fad: at least mysterious assailants seem to have stopped murdering the government's critics. (*The Economist*, November 2005: 77)

### 8.1.1.2 NGO

In *Sambo* village as well as in the other parts of Cambodia, most of the fund or assistance from the donors has to be flown via NGOs both international and national. Then, the NGOs have to set up another representative channel – that is the community (usually these are modern community). Now temporary put aside the issue of the effectiveness of modern community which is represented the NGOs in handling IDA.

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<sup>233</sup> Personal relationships between the heads of state are typical of Asian countries.

<sup>234</sup> National Assembly elections in July 2003 failed to give any one party the two-thirds majority of seats required under the constitution to form a government. The CPP secured 73 seats (47%), FUNCINPEC 26 seats (21%), and the SRP 24 seats (22%). As a result, the incumbent CPP-led administration continued in power in a caretaker role pending the formation of a coalition with the required number of National Assembly seats to form a government. The nearly 11-month political deadlock, resulting from the 2003 national election, came to an end on July 15 with Hun Sen retaining his position as prime minister. As part of their power-sharing deal, the CPP and Funcinpec created a massively expanded government with a Cabinet nearly twice the size of the previous mandate and believed to be one of the largest in the world. It is comprised of seven deputy prime ministers, 15 senior ministers, 28 ministers, 135 secretaries of state and some 146 undersecretaries of state. (*The Cambodia Daily*, WEEKEND, Saturday & Sunday, January 1-2, 2005).

In *Sambo*- there are Four NGOs (including a micro credit bank- *Aceda*<sup>235</sup>) are operating in *Sambo* village: TPO- Transcultural Psychosocial Organization), World Vision International (WVI- a Protestant-backed NGO), *Mlob Baittorng* (the green shadow- a Cambodian NGO aims to improve Cambodia's environment through education and action) and *Aceda* (a micro credit bank). Each of them have their own community or mechanism to support their activities. TPO provides training in mental health "to support those who are unable to care for themselves due to mental illness, poverty and a lack of support by developing programmes that directly benefit people at the grassroots level..." (TPO's mission statement web). Each of them has their own representatives in the village. As WVI, has VDC (please see the role of VDC in Appendices "B"), *Mlob Baittorng* has forestry committees. TPO has used both some representative of the forestry committees and village chief and *Aceda* uses village chief to control their clients. As *Aceda* has become a private bank, I would like not to get in touch with (I already mentioned in the introduction chapter about this limitation). The other three, send their staff to meet those representatives periodically (short and long but never stay in the village), their representative will be active only whenever the staff from those NGOs are coming to visit or to give the instruction and training and the rest of the day, the representatives are passive- it does not work. Here it indicates that the use of NGOs as the transferring bridge of the IDA, does not fully active, as two issues: (i) the NGOs have to depend on the other institution "modern community" as in *Sambo*- the forestry committee, village chief, VDCs which are active when ever the NGOs staff- "the boss" (as for the staff from the NGOs very often, village's representatives belief that "my boss, follow what my boss have told") and (ii) the NGOs staff are rarely stay inside the village to learn from village. It is usual in Cambodia, while someone work in a NGO- the villagers will automatically called "*louk Krou*"- "teacher" as NGO's staff whenever they go to the village the only role and task to be conducted is to teach villagers. The sense of learning and listening from, and discussion with villagers are absent. In Addition to that NGOs have slashing some parts of the IDA for their staff wage, DSA (daily supply allowance), traveling cost and other administrative costs; the goal of NGOs is "...to access funds, to use funds up, to try to cover costs of other activities, or any other institutional rather than development practice reason" (Walter 2001: 49). Moreover the use of NGOs, has another negative impact on IDA, it is the prolonging the assistance, it will take time in order the IDA has to flow through NGOs channel before it falls into community and finally villagers.

NGOs have opened another door for the Cambodian job market. It seems that most of the young generation and as well as the parents are guiding their faith into the NGOs job. However, NGOs as well as other development program and project have created an overlap job with the government, while the government staff are receiving lese payment the NGOs pay more for the same job. It is helpful, as having NGOs to subside the government jobs. However, NGOs keep draining human resources from the government making government weaker. Other aspect is, while NGOs have a budget for a specific project, they recruit new staff, then when the project close, the staff are jobless as Dove had written about the vernacular development in Indonesia (Dove et al. 2001) where the development project there had created a

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<sup>235</sup> This a micro finance bank name. It was established in Jan 1993 as a national NGO and received license as a bank in Oct 2000 (*Aceda facts and figures web page*)

large government with large opposition within department and increasing jobless and larger government people when the project is terminated. Presently, person who has a job with NGO is becoming the new elite in Cambodian society.

One different issue is local NGOs never have a fixed program and or proposal and their staff seems to be multi-knowledge persons. As a local NGO, their action is flexible, depending on the availability of the fund from the donor. While a possible donor is present, the NGO suddenly changes its mission and job description of their staff and the goal and its specialty to suit with the donor requirement. At the same time, their staff (especially the NGOs which deal with local capacity building) are multi-knowledge- a person can be a specialist in gender, in effective organization management, in democracy, in community formation, in fish raising, in animal husbandry and many other skills.

The effectiveness of NGOs in realizing the success of IDA is questionable: as listed here by a research: “the effectiveness of NGOs in Cambodia is limited by a number of factors: (i) failure to reach the most needy; (ii) lack of financial independence; (iii) lack of project coherence; (iv) lack of community participation in the decision making process; (v) lack of clear legal framework; (vi) excessive number of small projects with no coordination body insufficient professionalism” (ADB 1999: 2) and more than listed here, NGOs are competing for target people and taking the ready-self development people to be the case to show to the donor (in order to use as the show case to the donor when there is a visit from the donor to see what they have been done) as I have seen and heard during my research. Two cases one is in *Svay Rieng* (southern part province borders with Vietnam) and another *Kampong Chhnang* (a province situates north of Phnom Penh about 90 km). In *Svay Rieng* a farmer was so popular in doing agriculture, within his house he planted a lot of varieties of crop, I visited that house in early 2004, his name is *Run*. While I asked him how you can become so knowledgeable about doing agriculture- the answer was “oh at first I just try hard by myself” then one a NGO came to invite me to join a study tour. According to him, he was already starting up his project (changing his land into green) and the NGO agent saw what he have done then Mr *Run* had been selected as the showing case for the success project of a local NGOs. In *Kampong Chhnang* a woman who is the head of local NGO there keep repeat telling me that “her NGO has “help<sup>236</sup>” the villagers to know how to cultivate the vegetable and other fruits around the houses, but recently there is one NGO name A<sup>237</sup> had came to her NGO target village and persuaded villagers to become their target project village and asking to film and adopt those gardening as their own success project” (pers. comm.. 2004). These two cases can show the nature of NGOs in Cambodia.

### **8.1.1.3 Development Planning and local people**

As seen in Chapter Four, the Cambodian Government has made excellent development plans at the ministerial level, but has failed to initialize these plans on the local level.

According to an interview in July 2004 with Mr. Ou Bosophoas, deputy director of agricultural office of *Kampong Thom* Province,

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<sup>236</sup> I doubt this is may be the same case as I just described in Mr. *Run* case.

<sup>237</sup> I still remember her name as well as the NGO name but for the sake of security, I would not disclose here.

[The] agricultural ministry tells our Kampong Thom province to cultivate rice 161000 ha in a year, but each year farmers can cultivate only 120000 ha. This is a competition [with the other provinces] that I can never win. There are two reasons for this: one is that we have not completely counted, second, we have just this area (cannot be enlarged). So where are 161000 from? This is government plan...

Although Mr. Ou is the official representative of the government at the provincial level, he has obviously not been asked for any input into the agricultural development plan for Kampong Thom province. It is clear that there is a gap between the expectations of the central government and the realities that the provincial authorities must deal with.

Most of the data about agricultural production used by the government and by development agencies for development planning is information collected at a certain point in time by the village chief or the VDC, usually at the request of the government or development agencies. This data is written up by the commune clerk, and kept in files in the office of the local commune. There is no provision or funding for the regular updating of this data. Whenever there is a need for information, development agents or government officials go to the village chief, the old files will be brought out, and the information used to formulate new development plans, even if the data is out of date, or incorrect. For example in Table 16, it can be seen that the actual number of families in *Sambo* village is different than the total number of families in the records held by the village chief. The World Bank developed its PRSP (Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper) and the SEDP (Socio-Economic Development Plan) for Cambodia based on this kind of out-of-date data.

Up to this point, I have discussed and analyzed the vertical structures supporting to IDA. Next section the horizontal structures are the topic of analysis.

### **8.1.2 Horizontal Structure with Grassroots Level Community**

The horizontal structure of IDA or development are composed of essential conditions; technology and knowledge; institutional organization and social organization. The four have to be matched into each other for a sustainable society. The coming sections of the analysis will focus on (i) the major conventional measures of economic and social development (poverty line, GDP, HDI) which represent the essential conditions of a society and (ii) the grassroots community which is the essential topic of this thesis.

#### **8.1.2.1 Poverty Line, GDP and Human Development Index versus *Sambo* Villagers**

This part is to examine the most conventional measures of economic development- notably Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and poverty line as these two remain the international as well as Cambodian standard measures and serve as the indicator to allocate the IDA.

Regarding GDP, as it is a measure for the economists to make and to grade the level of development of one country comparing with the others then it is not appropriate for me to compare Cambodian national GDP with the income made by villagers in *Sambo*. Other reason is:

“[in Cambodia] GDP is estimated using two approaches. One is GDP by economic activity (production measure) and the other is GDP by expenditure share. GDP levels estimated using the expenditure approach is used to crosscheck the GDP levels estimated using the production approach (GDP economic activity)” (NIS 2005a).



Hence it is an estimation based on production measure and expenditure but not based on income. The newly available per capita GDP is US\$ 314 found in the NIS web page and as listed in table 18 the GDP from 1994 until 2004.

Now as I mentioned, it is unfair if I compare the national GDP with the villager income, as everyone knows that the purpose of the GDP is for classifying the country development and as the Cambodian GDP was built upon the estimation of production and expenditure approaches but not income and the data of which I have represents only a village. However, it is worthy to have a quick look to have some images on it. In *Sambo* yearly income for a villager is 93 US\$ (this calculation was based on the income of previous year 2004) this is less than rural and Phnom Penh poverty line 2 and 2.5 times respectively (see in table 9) and less than national GDP reported by NIS which records as US\$ 314 and US\$ 328 (as preliminary estimated) for 2003 and 2004 respectively (see in table 18). For more concreted comparison, economists had also estimated GDP of Cambodia with different versions as seen in table 19. Regarding to the GDP per capita in US\$, since 1990 until 2004, Cambodian GDP is never below 200 US\$ for provincial people (see Figure 2) while in *Sambo* the income was less than 100 US\$.

Another point, it is Human Development Index, HDI cannot cover all dimensions of the society as it covers only three basic needs of the human (income, education and life expectancy) but in developing country as Cambodia, how to have income? How to evaluate literacy of a person? The previous question is tested in this dissertation, and finding that it is impossible to control the income of a household as stated here by the WFP here “Income is also a useful monetary measure, but in developing countries such as Cambodia many people earn their incomes in the unrecorded, informal sector. In such a context, income is unlikely to reflect real welfare very well. Consumption may be thought of as a good approximation of true welfare, but it is by no means a perfect measure” (WFP 2003: 2)” and in *Sambo* the income and expenditure is not fixed and impossible to be converted into currency. The foods- wild vegetable and wild meat are used, and it is free of charge or on the exchanging basis. These food items are none circulated in market, leading not possible to be converted into currency. As HDI is based on income as one factors among other three, then how HDI can generated? Another factor is education, HDI calculates on the “average of year, children spend at school but not how much has been learn during those years” (Storey 2003: 33), and HDI is Eurocentrism as “average years’ schooling refers to Western-type classroom schooling, thus devaluing other forms of education” that take places in the rural area of Cambodia as well as in *Sambo*, where villagers are educated in the pagoda. Out of 20 samples, it is found that among the household heads (couple- both alive and death), 4 husbands are illiterate and 5 had been in monkshood (from 3 to 7 years) while the total of literate males were 9 persons. All 20 families of the sample are sending or had sent their children to the school (except those newly married couples with children ages less than 7 years, sample no. 20 and 9) and three sons (of three different families) are staying in the monkshood. While asking why you prefer your son to be in monkshood? The answer was “it is better to have occasion to study, as parents cannot fund for the study”.

It is very questionable while the poverty line of Cambodia as well as most of developing countries is generated based on consumption but not income<sup>238</sup>. Here what the poverty line was built: “a person is considered to be poor if they are consuming less than 2,100 calories of food, plus a small allowance for essential non-food expenses, per day. The level of 2,100 calories is an internationally recognized benchmark for the minimum amount of energy required to adequately sustain an average adult” (WFP 2003: 2). Then WFP converted the food into the currency based on the amount of money required to purchase this amount of food plus the non-food allowance is then calculated. “The results, in terms of per capita per day consumption, are 1,629 Riels (0.41 US\$) for Phnom Penh, 1,214 Riels (0.30 US\$) for Other Urban Areas and 1,036 Riels for Rural Areas” (WFP 2003: 2). However according to WHO “a representative male subsistence farmer engaged in moderate activity (involving seven hours of farm work) is estimated to require 2,780 kcals per day; a representative woman farmer (assumed to work in the fields for four hours and perform housework for another three hours) is held to require 2,235 kcals per day (WHO 1985, cited in Saith 2005: 4603). Here the amount of calories needed by a person is different from what Cambodian office as well as the government and World Bank used to generate poverty line and GDP for Cambodia. While 80 percents of Cambodian are farmers who use the manual labor for their living then the calories needs for them must be much more than 2,100 kcals. Therefore the calculation of poverty has an error or tends to err.

A well-known research institute in Cambodia- CDRI (Cambodia Development Resource Institute), the poverty line was adopted from 1998 national poverty line (1,200 *riels* or 0.30 US\$) and made into 1,500 *riels* or 0.38 US\$<sup>239</sup>. However still more than the *Sambo* villagers income 1.52 times (see table 9).

It sound unreasonable, to look at another aspect of *Sambo* villagers, what kind of rice crop they are consuming? Villagers have multiple local varieties with different tastes and qualities, as a villager told me “if I eat the cooking rice produce from new variety, I need to eat more amount and more frequent in a day, but for the traditional variety- I need less amount and just two meals a day”. Another person reported to me “if I eat traditional type rice I feel more strong than the new type” are these notices can be an evident that not each rice variety has give the same energy? Further more, do those scientists know that villagers do not need to buy the vegetable, they just consume the wild vegetable? It is not appropriate for the reality as the calculation is based on the “caloric requirements to the basal metabolic rate, which broadly corresponds to a passive physical state without any undue expenditure of energy in work” (Saith 2005: 4602-03).

Hence, the calculation of poverty has to be based on converting all what villagers have (food and non-food) into the money? Then two questions can be put forward: one is what do villagers have is countable;

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<sup>238</sup> As the economists have this reason: “Income is also a useful monetary measure, but in developing countries such as Cambodia many people earn their incomes in the unrecorded, informal sector. In such a context, income is unlikely to reflect real welfare very well. Consumption may be thought of as a good approximation of true welfare, but it is by no means a perfect measure” (WFP 2003: 2).

<sup>239</sup> Two things to say here: one is 1,200 *riels* or 0.30 US\$ national poverty in 1998 which is quoted in CDRI 2005 April-June page 4, I cannot find the reference or source document. Second, to make into 1,500 *riels* CDRI's researcher used a very short cut way, “after consultations with the enumerators, commune councils [national poverty line] was raised to 1,500 *riels* (0.38US\$)” (CDRI 2005: 4). This short cut, seems to be questionable as the consultation was only made with those commune councilors whom their living standard and concepts are different from normal villagers.

fixed and standardized? Second is the price to convert those villager possessions available while some products are not marketing at all especially those wild vegetables?

The measure of income as what I did in this dissertation, it is not real, as a villager sells an item of products when they don't need to use the item or products or/and they need to exchange into another items and they keep the product when it needs to use it for own consuming. Many items possessed and consumed by villagers are not possible to be converted into money as it is identical for region and there is no such items are circulated inside the regional and local market. Those items are not for sale but for gift- the receivers get the item free of charge but s/he will consume the item and digest into energy. I also made several own assumptions (see list of assumptions) in order to calculate income and expenditure numbers, and I have a doubt that the others economists and researcher as well had made the same while calculating the income and expenditures of a Cambodian villager or household.

Other development institutions in Cambodia use another approach to define the poverty, that is the second approach (in the Saith classification- see in part of development measure) which declares that the poverty is based on the community view of what constitutes the socially acceptable minimum levels of living and associated ways of being, but the issue is "often, these could be the views of upper classes handing out social prescription for the poor, all in the name of fictional community" (Saith 2005: 4602).

For conclusion of this part, the approach to allocate IDA based on the metric digit- poverty line and GDP is not a real compass to generate the effectiveness of IDA or development. The GDP and poverty line in Cambodia, both were generated from the consumption needs- 2,100 Kcal per day. This amount is based on passive physical state without any undue expenditure of energy in work (Saith 2005: 4602-03) and food and non food products in Cambodia are not standardized and impossible to be converted into the market price, in the rural area some items are not for sale but for gift or exchange. Then to convert calories intake into the currency then put convention the number as an intake food need cost is wrong. This is also the same case for the measurement of the poverty of villagers based on income, what villagers sell is the less over or while villagers need to convert that item into others and some items are not market at all but just for free and/or for exchange.

Therefore, as the above, IDA cannot use poverty line or/and GDP or/and HDI to be a compass to allocate it resources or target.

### **8.1.2.2 Community**

#### **8.1.2.2.1 Modern Organization and Indigenous Organization**

There are eight modern organizations and seven indigenous organizations in *Sambo* village. The former group is backed or supported and initiated by the outsiders (NGOs and government). The latter was self emerged within the village. Here the comparison between two is made in term of purpose of the community (or organization), villagers' participation<sup>240</sup>, ownership, leadership, transparency, resource mobilization (physical and spiritual) and villagers' recognition (see in table 32).

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<sup>240</sup> Participation here it does not mean to show up the face with an expectation that at the end of the meeting or during the break, there is something to chew and share the daily allowance. If it is this type- then the participation does not automatically mean that the community development is taking place and the villagers voices and ideas are included.

The modern organization such as the forestry community which initiated by NGO (names *Mlub Baitornng*) has its own purpose represents the NGO purpose but not the *Sambo* villagers' purposes. The primary school parents' association too, the purpose is to have an association to have a partnership between the student's parents and the teachers, however their purpose is to have a formalized association to get the assistance from the donors (UNICEF).

Leadership of the modern organization was chosen sometimes with the appointment, sometimes with election. Both cases were not transparent and not represented the majority of the villagers. The new chief of village was elected with only 30 villagers participated in the election. Their (modern community leaders) leaderships were not strong, everyday they wait for the order from the NGO's staff or coordinator representative. Without the presence of the coordinator, the modern community is passive no activity at all and it is dead. Ownership is another concept, the villagers do not feel that the community is their own institution from there they can get access to and consult with. The perception of villagers toward this community type is blur or unclear and it belongs to someone else. As a woman (representing sample number 5) while asking do you know this "a" community? The answer was "oh, I heard the name but I am not sure what they are doing". The other woman (Sample number 6) joking to me "oh we went there to participate the meeting, and during the meeting we were waiting for the break period, then we can have something to eat". Here both the sense of ownership, recognition, and participation can be mirrored through these two conversations. However, the modern community was not so much popular or not at all within the village but at the national or provincial level or international level the name and the popularity was so high due to the media and report made by the NGOs or the master of the community. For instance the Prasat *Sambo Prey Kuk* community internally was not ready set up yet (middle 2005) and not so much recognized within the village and no activity at all, however, as I were doing my research in the village, I was asked by many Cambodian students who their studies relate to ancient monuments (*Sambo Prey Kuk* monument is an ancient monuments researching by many historians and archaeologists). These people know the existence of Prasat *Sambo Prey Kuk* community very well than the villagers of *Sambo*, this is due to the media which made by the project or NGO that support to this community.

Regarding resource mobilization, transparency and leaders, the modern community is handicapped in mobilization of resources both physical and spiritual resources<sup>241</sup> while the indigenous community is very advanced in resource mobilization. Again, I would like to mention here again the amount of budget that collect from a harvest season 150 USD (please see in table 11) and the mobilization of fund to repair the dike. The transparency is a character of the leaders. For the leader of indigenous community by default their leadership in term of transparency was guided by the religious and ritual beliefs while the leader of the modern type this essence was guided by the law or rule. Rural Cambodians are strongly believe in religion especially the Buddhism and spirit of the village or *Nak Ta* and addition to this they have a high spirit or high sense of attachment to the village and *wat* (pagoda)- everyone is coming from the same village and same *wat*. Then their leadership was transparent and equity.

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<sup>241</sup> Physical resources here can be the labor resource and fund resources. Spiritual resource is the spirit or mentality of solidarity.

The community can exist as it has own rule and regulation (institutions). The modern organization or community was sometime set up without the rule and regulation as the community forestry was setting up since early 2004 but the rule and regulation was just in the process of drafting in late 2005 (this is according to Mr. Chham told me). Comparing to indigenous community which is rich of rule and norms and others and these were stored and strengthened by the religion and ritual as well as other beliefs. As I mentioned pagoda serves as the monitoring institutions while the reciprocal labor is the social organization. The latter was guided and maintained by the previous resources.

Institutional organization was invented or if it is invented the new rule or regulation is not matched with either essential conditions of the village or technology or knowledge of the villagers. WVI office of *Sambo* district spent a lot of budget to hire the agricultural expert to teach villagers to cultivate rice (a modern technology), however the knowledge was abandoned by the villagers as it wasn't matched with the *Sambo* geographical conditions.

In modern organization the staff are pretended to be multi knowledge experts. They were sent to be trained in everything subjects, counting from natural resource, gender, advocacy, and agriculture. Mr. *Chham* and his team (the member of committee) were busy with the training program: train in agricultural extension, then train in handicraft material technique. The leaders of modern organization have gained and continue to gain a lot of knowledge about the modern development projects through training and seminars while the indigenous community leaders have none. This is a negative part of indigenous community.

#### 8.1.2.2.2 Modern Development Activity and Indigenous Activity

VDC role and responsibility- as record in (appendices) only report and assist there is no word about quality of VDC in term of representation of the villagers.

Modern activity refers to the activities which are conducted for the development project and/or program. Development project/program has its own timelines and budget- or periodically exists; requires an official leader, official recognition and official organizational structure. The modern development needs a circumstance of times (depends on project and/or program period or on budget available).

Indigenous activities are those religious related activities and daily life activity plus "development" activities. Development here, where I put into the bracket, it refers to what we are the outsider said it is a development activity while the villagers themselves give direct name to those specific activity- e.g. the repair a dike. There is no clear role of leader, no recognition from the authority, no clear structure but more simple and effective.

Indigenous social organization is permanent-but-virtually existed in the field (most of them are virtually exist), having unofficial leader (a specific project comes, a leader is emerged- *mekhasol* and then disappeared while the project ends). But inside the organization; there is a group of potential leaders (stock of leaders) they are living among villagers, and among those are wiseman (or wisewoman) and most of them are the leaders of indigenous organization.

As for the case of reciprocal labor exchange, it is compatible to the essential condition of the society, technology and institutional organization of the village. But only in the condition of every four components

exist proportionally, and no one of the four needs to be changed. In case a modern development is imposed, then the other three have to be modified too.

## 8.2 Alternative Cambodian Development

In Cambodia, available resources and vernacular GLC can help to realize effective IDA and development in Cambodia. The following part is cast out for the alternative grassroots community in the rural village of Cambodia especially *Sambo*.

It is an implication part where the discussion is made broader into Cambodian rural territory and with focus on current period of Cambodian development strategy (the period of researching and writing this thesis early 2003-late 2005).

### 8.2.1 Internal Structure Supporting International Development Assistance

Within the present internal structure which supports International Development Assistance I am first going to discuss the governmental administration structure, in particular, the foundation which supports International Development Assistance, i.e. the structure created at the bottom level. According to the main purpose of this thesis, which is grassroots-level community, I am going to mainly discuss the bottom level of the structure in relation to the other levels.

Administratively<sup>242</sup>, the whole country is divided into provinces, and each province is governed by a governor and vice governor(s). Provinces are divided into several districts and a district (led by district chief) into communes and a commune (led by commune chief) into villages (led by village chief) which comprise the smallest official management structure<sup>243</sup> (see table23). But there was a change after February 2002<sup>244</sup>. The commune chiefs were replaced by a group of councilors under the name of Commune Council (CC). The number of councilors is varied from five to eleven elected officials, depending on the size of the commune<sup>245</sup>.

Based on the above official administrative structure, the development agents in Cambodia (notably the NGOs and foreign aid projects) created a development-supporting structure as seen in Table 2. They

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<sup>242</sup> The administration of the Cambodia divides into provinces and municipals. Within the province (*Ku*-for Japan, *Moeng*-for Thailand), there are several districts (*Shi*- for Japan, *Ampeu*-for Thailand). A district can have many communes. Then within a commune there are several villages. In the whole Cambodia, there are 1,621 commune councils represent 1,621 communes and elected every five years. The first election was held in 2002. Even administratively and practically, village is the smallest and bottom entity of the administrative units, the Cambodian constitution in Chapter XI about the Administration: Article 126- The territory of the Kingdom of Cambodia shall be divided into provinces and municipalities. Provinces shall be divided into districts (srok) and district into commune (khum). Municipalities shall be divided into Khan into Sangkat. Article 127- Provinces, municipalities, districts, khan, khum, and sangkat shall be governed in accordance with organic law. In the constitution there is none of "village" or "phum" word. It shows that constitutionally, there is no village or phum as a separated government entities while practically the village is there (since French occupation). Upto now "there have been six different constitutions enacted in Cambodia since 1953 - not amendments, but entirely new constitutions. These constitutions do not act as the guiding principles of Khmer society." (cited from Professor Stephen Marks by Bora Touch 1999). It needs another study about those constitutions whether the village was included as an official entity or not.

<sup>243</sup> These were the inherited results of the French colonization 1863-1953 (Soubert 1999: 86). Presently there are 24 provinces (including Phnom Penh, Sihanoukville); 182 districts, 1,608 communes, and 13,016 villages (NIS 1998)

<sup>244</sup> It was the year of the first commune election, which elected 11, 261 commune councilors representing 1,621 communes (Sak 2002 et al.)

<sup>245</sup> Each CC has a clerk who was appointed by the Ministry of Interior.

created the structure from the provincial level and down to the bottom level. At first, the Provincial Rural Development Committee (PRDC) was created, based on governmental sub-degree 02, 1999 (SEILA 2003: 46), then skipping the district level to go directly to the commune level with Commune Development Committee (CDC) and finally the bottom one, Village Development Committee (VDC) (Table 2).

As stated at the beginning of this section, I am going to discuss mainly the bottom level of the structure, i.e. VDC and other similar structures. VDC began operating in Cambodia under the auspices of international projects in the early mid-1990s and were subsequently legislated for by the Ministry of Rural Development (Biddulph 2003: 27). The data from the Ministry indicate that 8,312 villages now have a VDC (Khlok 2003: 18) out of total about 13,016 villages in the country (NIS 1998) representing nearly 61 percent of all villages in Cambodia and especially in the villages where the SEILA<sup>246</sup> program is covering. Besides prevalent VDC structures inside Cambodia, there have also been other types of bottom level organizations created such as Self Help Group (SHG), Community Based Organization (CBO) and Village Development Association (VDA). SHG, CBO and VDA have been created or used by some NGOs and been at times combined with VDC. For examples, two NGOs, HEKS and CARITAS,<sup>247</sup> which have the same main goal of agricultural development, have used CBO and VDA respectively (pers. comm..with representatives: 2004 Sep. 3).

In response to the newly elected councilors and establishment of CC in 2002, the VDCs of those villages where the SEILA program had been operating were replaced by PBCs (Planning and Budgeting Committees). PBCs consist of a man and a woman from each village.

As briefly discussed before, the ways that the bottom level of the structure supporting international development in Cambodia is varied, it can be VDC, PBC and CC, VDA, SHG, and CBO. These are grassroots-level community artificially created or initiated and backed by the projects or programs of NGOs. The efficiency of these communities will be discussed in the following section.

### **8.2.2 Is the present community (VDC and PBC<sup>248</sup>) effectively supporting the International Development Assistance to Cambodia?**

Based on the method or process of creating all these artificial communities which are continuously changing (e.g. from VDC to PBC and CC) these communities are not playing roles as effective grassroots-level communities. Why are they not effective enough? Here I am going to discuss the inefficiency of VDC, PBC and CC, VDA, SHG and CBO based on the process of organization. I have to note that the qualification issues of VDC or other artificial communities are not popularly studied in Cambodia because

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<sup>246</sup> Seila (a Khmer word meaning the foundation of stone) is a Cambodian government development program, supported by various international agencies, started life in the mid-1990s. Donors and partners supporting this program are UK/DfID (United Kingdom, Department for International Development), SIDA (Sweden International Development Assistance), UNDP (United Nation Development Programme), IFAD (International Fund for Agricultural Development), World Bank, Government of Germany / GTZ, Government of Denmark/Danida (Danish International Development Agency), Government of Australia/AusAID (Australian Agency for International Development), UNICEF (United Nation Children's Education Fund, World Food Program (SEILA Web).

<sup>247</sup> HEKS- a Swiss Interchurch Aid organization; CARITAS- an international organization.

<sup>248</sup> I should discuss the processes or methods of creating these two communities as examples to show how effective their methods have been. The two have been popular because of transparency and efficiency in development according to the development practitioners in Cambodia.

the majority of development practitioners consider it the most appropriate way to have all these structures for the purpose of development.

As for VDC, it is a committee at the village level, consisting of three to four persons selected or appointed. The selection is varied from place to place, depending mainly on whom is supporting this structure. In 2001 August, I visited *Takeo* province<sup>249</sup> (in southern part of Cambodia) I had a chance to be an observer for the VDC election. The election was implemented in the commune office. The candidate has to be appointed by the villagers, but there were criteria to appoint (set by the person from the program or project). One of the criteria was that the candidate must be 'well' educated. Candidates had to sit in a row in front of electors and had small signs with their names on hanged from the neck. The facilitator was a professional person; he had been in this job for almost 10 years (he was one of the best reputed professional staff of the project in another province – *Siem Reap* – the western part of Cambodia). Inside the room I found most of the participants younger than those sitting outside the room. The latter were smoking and talking about their rice fields. According to my observation, the selection excluded the majority of Cambodian villagers through the appointment of the well-educated. With this system younger generations are much better off than older generations. Modern education<sup>250</sup> inverted the Cambodian social systems, in which older people are the guides of the younger.<sup>251</sup>

The participation of villagers in the election process was another issue. As I have seen, no more than 30 persons (included outside people) participated in the process in a village where there were more than 100 families. So the VDCs elected were represented only by less than one third of the total village population.

In *Sambo* village, VDCs were appointed by the NGO that has project in the area. The village chief was appointed as the chief of VDC, and the persons who were active with the project became the members in the committee. This appointment can be another reason why this body works ineffectively. While asking about the existence of VDCs in the village, a villager told me that: "*te! doch chhea min sov doeung te*" (No, I don't exactly know about that.) and turned his face to his friend who sat near him: "*mean doeung the?*" (Do you know?), then the friend told me "*eh! prohel chea prothean phum doeung sour prothen phum tov?*" (may be the village chief knows, why don't you ask him about that?). Based on this short question and answer, there was no one in the discussion who knows exactly what VDC is and who has such information. They suggested me to ask the village chief (This is not the matter that they have to know; it is the job of the village chief). The VDC's role and activity seem to be limited to the group or specific person only (in this conversation it was the village chief).

The limited representation of the whole families in the village to participate in the selection process; the criteria for the educated candidate and the inversion of Cambodian society; and the knowledge of

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<sup>249</sup> I was searching for a MA research site then.

<sup>250</sup> In Cambodia before the French arrival, the education available was just of the primary-school level at the monastery (Soubert 1999: 86) where taught how to read and write only.

<sup>251</sup> In Cambodia older people function as initiators and implementers of village projects, sources of advice, encouragement and skills as well as mediators of disputes (Kato et al. 1998: 33-36).



people about VDCs – all showed that VDCs have become less efficient in bridging the International Development Assistance to the real target.

After the Commune Council (CC) election in 2002, VDCs were replaced by PBCs for SEILA's target villages<sup>252</sup>. PBCs were composed of two persons representing each gender, i.e. one male and one female. It can be the former VDC chief and another, a former VDC member (opposite sex), or another person in the village, but of a relatively different location. In *Kratie* province (of the northern part of Cambodia), I visited (August 2004) two villages (far away from each other), the VDCs in the first village were dissolved and PBCs were newly appointed (one was the village chief, but was not a former VDC, whereas another, a woman, was picked by the village chief). In the other village, the former chief of VDC and former female VDC members were automatically appointed as PBCs. It can be said therefore that it was still more or less based on former VDCs, so was its effectiveness. However, another situation emerged during my visit in July 27 2004 in Siem Reap; the participation of the PBCs in process of preparing development plan in a commune<sup>253</sup>. I had an opportunity to be an observer at a meeting at the commune level, which aimed to formulate a development plan for the village. According to the regulations, two persons (PBCs) were required from each village (Biddulph 2003: 26) to participate, but at that meeting, according to the coordinator, ten persons were not present among the ten villages of the commune; some villages had only one representative each and one village without representative. From this point we can see how PBCs were ineffectively represented the villagers.

Both VDCs and PBCs were representing grassroots-level community and established by a large program-SEILA and NGOs, which involved various donors. Not only VDCs and PBCs, other structures created (such as VDA, SHG and CBO) are the results of good wills of donors, NGOs as well as the government of Cambodia to have a bridge to facilitate an effective transferring of the International Development Assistance to the real target – poor people. However, these structures were not effective enough in terms of participation, formulation, or representing the villagers nor culturally sound. Another question can be asked by readers, why VDCs and PBCs and others were created if they are not effective, not representing all villagers, or not culturally sound? I will explore possible answers in the following section.

### **8.2.3 Alternative Structure Supporting IDA**

See Table 23; at the right hand side column which titles “structure that understood by most rural people”. This column is divided into two sub-columns which indicate two structures better known by rural people and more practical than the official structure. For example, while people consider repairing a village dam, the mobilization of and the initiative discussion about this project was first taken place in the temple and among the monks, ‘wise’ men and ritual coordinators (See Table 3); none of the official components was involved. In Table 2, first, see the first row of this sub-column, at the country level there is the head of monks (*Samdach Sang-monk's king*) and spiritual representative (*nakta*), then a level below this is the

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<sup>252</sup> it was planned that VDCs would be replaced by PBCs in the near future as SEILA is a governmental program and supported by multiple donors, and covering the whole of Cambodia.

<sup>253</sup> Toeuk Vil commune, about 15 km from Siem Reap town.

chief of provincial monk (*mekun khet*) and spiritual regional representative (*nakta procham toban*). The structure comes down until the village level – the abbot of the pagoda (*chao akthika*) and the chief of the village spirits (*nakta phum*) (*Sambo* village's field note 2001 July). This row indicates a religious or the hierarchical level of spirits whose roles are to take care, monitor and maintain the social order, security, and transparency (Chay 2003).

Next, see the second row of the sub-column (table 23), the human in society is bound into a community's reciprocal labor systems based on the connection of each family into the web and by locality-neighborhood<sup>254</sup> which I called an extended-web family. The web made into groups which are combined with a grassroots-level community: there can be a reciprocal labor system. To explain more it is necessary to start with kinship as Ledgerwood has said:

The only way to understand the connections that bind the residents of a village is to trace their bilateral kinship linkages (through both husband's and wife's sides of the family) by birth and by marriage over several generations (Ledgerwood 1998: 140)

There are two important components in the kinship that help to explain; one is the kinship itself and other is the locality. Khmer [Cambodian] kinship system is basically bilateral kinship or cognatic (Ledgerwood 1995: 253). Bilateral implies that kinship is recognized through both father and mother and those ego-centered personal kindred can be selectively assembled and reassembled with different members in strategic ways. Before marriage, a single ego was connected to the net through his or her father and mother sides and neighborhood (locality) only. In the example in Figure 2, a single ego and his or her family has two types of connections in the society; one is by bilateral kinship that connects to both father's and mother's sides including the  $E_f$  (the children of father's sister) and  $E_m$  – the children of mother's brother. Additional to kinship, the connection is also made by the locality- neighborhood as see in the Figure 5, the ego family directly connects to  $N_E$  (neighbors of ego) and indirectly connects to  $N_{E_f}$  (neighbors of Father's sister or father's brother),  $N_{E_m}$  (neighbors of Mother's brother or mother's sister),  $N_{p_f}$  (neighbors of Father's parent),  $N_{p_m}$  (neighbors of Mother's parent), and  $N_x$  (neighbors of other relatives)

After marriage, ego's single web as shown in Figure 2 is connected to the similar web of his/her spouse through the marriage tie. The web is enlarged by connecting to the husband's or wife's parents and neighborhood of his or her original spouse. The web is connected to both sides. The connection is doubled. This is only for the case where the new couple chooses either virilocal or uxorilocal settlement<sup>255</sup>. In case the new couple chooses neither case, then the web of the family will be tripled: two connections are tied to the webs of their two pairs of parents, and the third will be tied to their new locality. Here a rather large community will be emerged based on bilateral kinship and residential locality after marriage.

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<sup>254</sup> I use neighborhood or neighbor to refer to the households locate surrounding the ego house up to 3 houses.

<sup>255</sup> Virilocal (or patrilocal) settlement is a pattern of residence in which a married couple lives with or near the husband's parent. Uxorilocal settlement is a pattern of residence in which a married couple lives with or near the wife's parent.

The above triple web will become one community such as a reciprocal labor system, whenever it is needed (as seen in Table 23 and for the village level please see in table 24). This web combining with the religion and ritual body (as explained before) whose role is to provide with a “know-how and daily life monitoring and evaluation center” (Chay 2003a: 131). The community that I mentioned here is equal to “social organization” and “social institutions” (Coward 1991: 48). Both make the individual or family in the society to form a community – a grassroots-level community. This kind of community is not created by anyone, but practiced, sustained and understood by most of the rural people of the Cambodian society.

#### **8.2.4 Using the alternative structure for IDA**

It is an important issue and a real challenge to consider how to make use of the alternative structure for International Development Assistance. I have to repeat that the grassroots community consists of two elements: religious body or “know-how and daily life monitoring and evaluation center” and the social institution (e.g. reciprocal system). The former is maintained by ‘wise’ men (both secular as teachers and religious as monks), Buddhism and spirit cult: the latter is maintained by kinship and locality, both are interacting. These two elements are well-known, well-practiced and willingly-participated by the rural people. This type of community is needed in the recipient country for the purpose to have effectiveness of International Development Assistance. But how can we use this traditional practice of rural people at the grassroots-level community in development? There are two key points: one is to add or to update knowledge of people to that of the wisemen or village elders *or village elders* (or can be wise women), the second is to maintain the religious role and beliefs with gradual adaptation and modification to become official laws or at least community’s law. I am going to describe in detail as follows:

Most village elders *or village elders* are locally and traditionally trained and perhaps they have only experience to manage, monitor and lead small projects which are religiously-connected or purposed projects. They may be unable to do the same for modern projects which make no religious sense and alien to them. But except that, a ‘wise’ man’s qualifications are equivalent or more of those required of a modern project leader, such as trust, leadership, transparency, coordination and mobilization of local resources. Modern projects are alien to them because they have never experienced or been trained (formally or informally) to manage. Then there is only one thing to be implemented – to train them how to manage modern projects. (How to train is another issue, which I will not go into detail).

In the present, religion and traditional beliefs are controversial with modernization or globalization, but in rural society as in Cambodia where the rules and regulations set by the religion and beliefs in spirits are very effective in terms of making a sustainable development, stabilizing society and maintaining environment (Chay 2003b). They have been locally developed and maintained. The wave of globalization can affect the effectiveness of those laws and regulations, then the religion<sup>256</sup> has to be strengthened with

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<sup>256</sup> Article 43 of the present Cambodian constitution states, “Khmer citizens of either sex shall have the right to freedom of belief. Freedom of religious belief and worship shall be guaranteed by the State on the condition that such freedom does not affect other religious beliefs or violate public order and security. Buddhism shall be the State religion” (Cambodian Constitution).

gradually modifying those laws and regulations to become official and secular laws and/or at least community laws.

The web made by bilateral kinship and locality is the foundation of Cambodian society, which can also become the basement for grassroots-level community. The 'wise' men know well about this web who can effectively use this web for the purpose of modern development as they are used to manipulate it for religious-purposed or connected projects.

### **8.3 Conclusion**

In this thesis the two dimensions of IDA and development supporting structures were defined and analysis together with view of actual structure which existed in a village- *Sambo*. First dimension which I named vertical dimension is shaped by all four actors of IDA and development: donor, recipient government, NGO and community. The second dimension or horizontal dimension consists of social organization (in this thesis represented by grassroots level community), institutional organization, technology and knowledge and the essential conditions of the society. The previous dimension (vertical) was intensively studied and research with diverse strategies and theories recommendation were made. It was said this dimension is directly determined the success or failure of IDA and development- this is true. However, the latter dimension (horizontal) is more important even though it affects the success or failure of IDA and development indirectly as it is a basic condition for the IDA and development success. Without a good or effective condition how could a good IDA or a development policy which designed to match with all actors' concepts be realized? It needs a condition to support this good policy and that condition is the comprehensive coexistence of the four ideal elements of society- the horizontal dimension.

Retrospective in Cambodian history there have been many communities created by regimes or governments, but those were not sustained. The communities have automatically been dissolved with time or through the changes of regime or governments (Chay 2003b: 118-125). The creation and usage of PBC, VDA, SHG, and CBO by different projects or programs and the sudden replacement of VDC by PBC, show that International Development Assistance experimentation has taken place and is on-going in Cambodia in search for a sustained and effective community that can help to bridge the international assistance to the target effectively. But the gradually disappearing of VDC will be noted in modern Cambodian history as another failed artificial community imposed and supported by NGOs and the government of Cambodia.

I have shown that how important a grassroots-level community is in supporting the International Development Assistance by describing that although the assistance has to come through any of the four mentioned categories, the main core in determining success or failure of the assistance is the community at the grassroots level. Then I have shown three case studies from three countries as examples of two types of community- artificial and naturally emerged community. The former can exist for a certain period which then can be replaced by the latter. Culture and locality are the two reasons of having an effective community to support to International Development Assistance in those countries. After that I narrowed down my discussions on the Cambodian level, starting with showing the failure of international assistance

to Cambodia with 500 million USD injected each year. I followed by analyzing the present artificial grassroots-level community (VDC, VDA, PBC and CBO) created and supported by NGOs, donors and government. Those communities were ineffective and arcane because of their creation processes, and issues of representation. The establishment of artificial communities was the result of the majority school of researchers who understood that Cambodian society was shattered and lacked community cohesion”, but the minority school was saying the opposite, which I support with my contribution to strengthen their argument. In short, my contribution is in favor of an alternative structure to support International Development Assistance by using two elements: a) kinship systems and locality which help to have a web and b).the role of Buddhism and spirit beliefs in the rural society. Based on these two elements international development can have an effective grassroots-level community by i) strengthening the role of religion through gradually adapting religious rules and regulations to official and secular ones or at least the ones of the community, ii) adding new knowledge to ‘wise’ men.

To conclude based on the history and method of creating artificial communities as mentioned above, it is not likely that the International Development Assistance will work effectively in the foreseen future unless there is an effective grassroots-level community which has a mixture character of modern and indigenous communities- this GLC is vernacular community.

I mentioned that the grassroots community cannot independently exist and effective for development and IDA, it needs other elements: religious body or “know-how and daily life monitoring and evaluation center” or in Coward’s terms- institutional organization (Coward 1995: 45-57) and both elements are co-existed in the rural village of Cambodia.

The grassroots community is one among other social organizations which prevail in a society. Besides the above two elements that just mentioned, in the society there are other two elements which have impact or relationship with them those are technology and essential conditions (e.g. ecological condition of the village and demographic condition of the village). Therefore, ideally there are four elements that co-existed side by side and interacts each other for the sustainable society those are institutional organization, social organization, technology and essential conditions.

Poverty line, GDP and HDI are not the real compass for the decision makers to allocate the IDA. As showing, all three digit numbers, are adhered with the problem of calculations and comparing with *Sambo* data the three cannot indicated any meaning.

Projects or programs of development today cover small area- such as village level, and larger area- inter-village level which required several villages’ cooperation. The previous type can be easier as inside the village and the homogenous intention and wills can be found there. The larger size of covering area leads to cope with difficulty- heterogeneous type of people then it is hard to find a consensus.

A small community is just a village, the community in the village is led by the village wiseman, *achar* of the village (inside a village there are at least 3 *achars* – *achar* who role as the dead ceremony

coordinator, *achar*- serves as wedding coordinator, and *achar wat*- representative of the old villagers in the pagoda. Together with these- there are other ritual representatives. These people make up into a group of committee. They are specialized in resource mobilization (resource here is both tangible- e.g. money, labor and intangible items- such as feeling of ownership). This community role is limited just inside the village.

The role of pagoda<sup>257</sup> extends wider than village, a pagoda covers several villages. This is the key of inter-village community for a larger size of IDA or development project. In *Wat Sambo* there are seven villages as the congregation and each year resources were mobilized for the religious purposes as seen in table 11- just during one phase of rice collection (after harvesting) if conversion into US dollar it was about 150 USD. This amount is small for those readers who adopt to see thousand or hundred thousand but for the rural village of Cambodia, it can be used to buy one ton of rice. There are several or festivals during which the resources were mobilized<sup>258</sup>.

The above group is not familiar with the modern development project or program (as I repeat here again- their role and activities are mainly on religious or indigenous activities), it needs something to make a conjunction between them and the modern development- that is the education. The subjects in education which are needed to train those village elders are to know the new type of development (management, coordination and new law and regulations) - the up to date knowledge about the state/government rule and law- this is very necessary for them).

Education is needed too for those persons who serve as development and IDA's actors.the knowledge of four ideal elements of the society is necessary to know and understand, otherwise they cannot make a sustainable change.

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<sup>257</sup> The monks are also served as the centripetal force.

<sup>258</sup> Through out Cambodia there are 4,106 Buddhist temples or pagoda (wat) (Ministry of Religion 2005) comparing to 1,608 communes, and 13,016 villages (NIS 1998). Then the numbers of pagoda is out of number of commune (which is the official administration structure and on which current development or IDA depends on).

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Siva Kuma, email correspondence [date: 12 Sep 2004]

Kung Munychan, email correspondence [date: 5 Sep 2004]

## **Appendices “A”**

**Table 1 Sex, Age and Education**

No.	Household Head	Sex	Age	Education		Other's member (highest education)
				Husband	Wife	
1	Lao	M	56	7 (before 1975)	literate	elder son is in monkhood 12 years
2	Sam	M	44	no	no	eldest son
3	Em Noeurn	F	60	no	no	her son
4	Puch	F	67	an English and French translator during 1960's	no	the first son was in 5 grade
5	Mom	M	70	no	no	the youngest son was in 1 grade
6	Pheap	M	35	grade 3	grade 3	a twin are in grade 7
7	Hart	F	45	in pagoda	no	daughter: 5 grade; son: 6 grade
8	Sorn	F	61	monkhood 5 years	no	4th son was in 11 grade
9	Chham	M	28	monkhood 7 years	level 5	
10	Chhin	M	45	was in 12 grade (before 1975)	no	2nd son was in 10 grade
11	Phal	M	37	was in 2 grade (but illiterate)	9 grade	6 grade
12	Laing	M	83	was in 7 grade (before 1975)	literacy class	youngest son was in 6 grade
13	Prem	M	64	elementary class (before 1975)	no	5th son (of first husband) was in 3 grade; 1st son (second husband was in grade 8)
14	Nub	M	60	monkhood 3 years	no	youngest daughter was in 6 grade
15	Sa Chhoan	M	53	was in <i>pare</i> grade (before 1975), literate	elementary grade	3rd son is in monk hood (until now 10 years)
16	Neak	F	59	monkhood 5 years	No	2 nd son was in 7 grade (he was chief on village) and now is a member of commune councilor
17	Poch	M	41	no	Literate	2 nd daughter is in 8 grade
18	Lai	M	48	was in 11 grade (before 1975)	grade 11	4 th son is in monkhood 4 years
19	Learm	F	48	literate	No	niece is in 5 grade and son is in 3 grade
20	Sin	F	26	monkhood 4 years	level 3	

**Table 2 Numbers of Family's Members and Married Kids**

No.	Household Head	No of Family Member*	Married				Inheritance	
			Daughter	Son	Live with	Live out	from own parent	from spouse parent
1	Lao	8	2	0	0	2	household land, cattle and ricefield	buffalo, house
2	Sam	7	0	0	0	0		
3	Em Noeurn	1	2	2	0	4	household land	Ricefield
4	Puch	4	2	1	0	3	household land, cattle and ricefield	ricefield, cattle
5	Mom	5	1	2	1	2	household land, ricefield and buffalo	Ricefield
6	Pheap	6	0	0	0	0		
7	Hart	7	0	1	0	1	Ricefield, 1 cattle and motorbike	1 cattle and ricefield
8	Sorn	4	2	1	1	2	Ricefield, 1 cattle and motorbike	Cattle
9	Chham	3	0	0	0	0		
10	Chhin	7	0	1	0	1	household land, cattle and ricefield	ricefield and a cow
11	Phal	5	0	0	0	0		
12	Laing	3	2	2	0	4	household land, cattle and ricefield	Ricefield
13	Prem	3	3	2	0	5	Ricefield and cattle	ricefield and cattle
14	Nub	6	2	2	3	0	not yet distributed	household land, ricefield
15	Sa Chhoan	7	0	3	0	3	none (his son married far from home)	household land, ricefield, cattle
16	Neak	4	2	2	0	4	Ricefield and cattle	ricefield and cattle
17	Poch	7	0	0	0	0		
18	Lai	11	0	1	0	1	cattle and 1 ricefield	2 ricefields
19	Learm	3	0	0	0	0		
20	Sin	4	0	0	0	0		

\* this members are including the present members who live in the house and unmarried kids who live away.

14: those son/daughters were migrated to work in a province borders with Thailand, they got married there, and just early 2005 they returned home.

Families have no kids marry: 7

Families have kids marry and live out: 12 [one family has a son and two daughters married, just recently (early 2005) two married daughters moved back to live with, perhaps they temporary stay with the parents.]

**Average members (pers/family): 5.25**

**Table 3 House Condition**

No.	Household Head	House Condition				
		House Type	Roof Code	Room Inside	Kitchen	Storage
1	Lao	two roof with tile	1	2	outside	Outside
2	Sam	one roof with tile	1	0	inside	Inside
3	Em Noern	on the ground with zinc roof	3	0	inside	Inside
4	Puch	thatch roof (cottage type)	2	0	inside	Inside
5	Mom	thatch roof	2	0	annex	Outside
6	Pheap	two roof with tile	1	0	annex	Inside
7	Hart	two roof with tile	1	0	annex	Outside
8	Sorn	two roof with tile	1	0	inside	Inside
9	Chham	thatch roof	2	0	inside	Inside
10	Chhin	two roof with tile	1	1	annex	Inside
11	Phal	thatch roof	2	0	inside	Inside
12	Laing	thatch roof (cottage type)	2	0	annex	Inside
13	Prem	thatch roof	2	0	outside	Inside
14	Nub	two roof with tile	1	2	outside	Inside
15	Sa Chhoan	two roof with tile	1	1	outside	Outside
16	Neak	thatch roof	2	1	annex	Inside
17	Poch	thatch roof	2	1	annex	Inside
18	Lai	zinc with one roof	3	0	annex	Inside
19	Learm	thatch roof	2	0	inside	Inside
20	Sin	thatch roof (cottage type)	2	0	inside	Inside

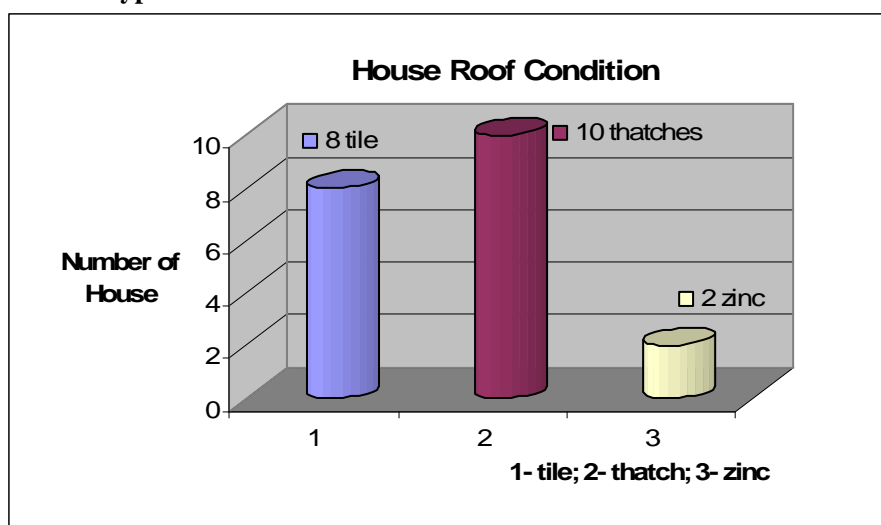
**Figure 1 House Roof Types**

Table 4 Land

No.	Household Head	Household Land				Rice Field (ha) [1]	Chamcar's Land (ha)					Total (ha) [1]+[2]	Grand Total (ha) [1]+[2]+[3]
		Width (m)	Length (m)	Area			Cashew Nut	Water Melon	Rice Field	Free Land*	Total [2]		
				ha [3]	Sq.meter								
1	Lao	15	150	0.225	2,250	2	4	0.3	0	0	4.3	6.3	6.525
2	Sam	12	90	0.108	1,080	1.5	2	0	0	0	2	3.5	3.608
3	Em Noeurn	25	100	0.25	2,500	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.25
4	Puch	25	50	0.125	1,250	0.7	0.232	0	0	0	0.23	0.932	1.057
5	Mom	12	60	0.072	720	0.7	0.14	0	0	0	0.14	0.84	0.912
6	Pheap	12	40	0.048	480	0.2	2	0	0	0	2	2.2	2.248
7	Hart	20	250	0.5	5,000	2	1.5	0	0	0	1.5	3.5	4
8	Sorn	15	30	0.045	450	0.195	1	0	0	2	3	3.195	3.24
9	Chham	10	50	0.05	500	0.45	0	0	0	0.5	0.5	0.95	1
10	Chhin	23	150	0.345	3,450	2	2	0.8	0	1	3.8	5.8	6.145
11	Phal	13	150	0.195	1,950	1	1	0.2	0	0	1.2	2.2	2.395
12	Laing	22	130	0.286	2,860	0.095	0.1875	0	0	0	0.19	0.283	0.5685
13	Prem	11	50	0.055	550	0.48	1.3	0	0.2	0	1.5	1.98	2.035
14	Nub	22	90	0.198	1,980	1	0.7	0	0	0	0.7	1.7	1.898
15	Sa Chhoan	18	40	0.072	720	1	2	0	0	0	2	3	3.072
16	Neak	30	40	0.12	1,200	0.7	1	0	0	0.7	1.7	2.4	2.52
17	Poch	30	40	0.12	1,200	0.2	1	0	0	0.7	1.7	1.9	2.02
18	Lai	20	130	0.26	2,600	3	5	0	0	0	5	8	8.26
19	Learm	20	90	0.18	1,800	0.2	1		0	0	1	1.2	1.38
20	Sin	13	53	0.069	689	0	0.25	0	0	0	0.25	0.25	0.3189

12- He already distributed the household land to his sons

2; 6 - their cashew nut land is included land for potatoes and water melon too.

\* Land which is not cultivate yet. It is a forest land.



**Table 5 Main Statistics Figures of Land (20 samples)**

	H (m2)	R (ha)	C (ha)	Total	Grand total
Mean	1,661	1	2	3	3
Mode	720	2	2	4	#N/A
Median	1,225	1	2	2	2

H- Household land

R- Ricefield land

C- Chamkar or plantation land

**Table 6 Average of Annual Rice Production and Income of a Family (Calculated from Income Table)**

Rice (Kg)	Main income		Additional income		Total (US\$)
	Riel	US\$	Riel	US\$	
1,183	409,775	102	621,400	155	258
Percentage of income		39.74	60.26		

1 U.S Dollar= 4,000 riel

**Table 7 Rice filed and Yield**

No.	Household Head	Rice(kg)		Ricefield (ha)	Rice Field in <i>chamkar</i> (ha)	Total rice field (ha)	Yield	
		Usual	Year 2004				(kg/ha)	(ton/ha)
1	Lao	3,136		2	0	2	1568	1.57
2	Sam	504		1.5	0	1.5	336	0.34
3	Em Noeurn*	224		0	0	0		0.00
4	Puch	168	84	0.7	0	0.7	240	0.24
5	Mom	1,400		0.7	0	0.7	2000	2.00
6	Pheap	980	504	0.2	0.4	0.6	1633	1.63
7	Hart	4,200	1,400	2	0	2	2100	2.10
8	Sorn	1,680		0.195	0.6	0.795	2113	2.11
9	Chham	840	280	0.45	0	0.45	1867	1.87
10	Chhin	3,080	1,400	2	0	2	1540	1.54
11	Phal	1,120	560	1	0	1	1120	1.12
12	Laing	252	84	0.095	0	0.095	2653	2.65
13	Prem	420		0.48	0.2	0.68	618	0.62
14	Nub	1,120	560	1	0	1	1120	1.12
15	Sa Chhoan	1,540	1,344	1	0	1	1540	1.54
16	Neak	840		0.7	0	0.7	1200	1.20
17	Poch	560		0.2	0	0.2	2800	2.80
18	Lai	896	252	3	0	3	299	0.30
19	Learm	700	280	0.2	0	0.2	3500	3.50
20	Sin**	0		0	0	0		
Average		1,183.00	613.45	0.87	0.06	0.93	1,601.03	1.60

\* Em Noeurn: her main income is from grocery selling and she received rice and donation income from her married daughters/sons

Table 8 Annual Family's Income

No.	Main Income (riel)					Additional Income (riel)									Total		
	Household Head	Cashew Nut	Water Melon	Potatoes	Total Main Income	Labor	Carpenter/ Blacksmith	Water Grass/ others vegetable	Fruit tree	Pig	Chicken	Work with NGOs; Gov. or Project	Donation Income	Others	Total Add. Income (riel)	(riel)	US dollar
1	Lao	1,200,000	550,000		1,750,000					360,000	150,000	416,000	6,000		932,000	2,682,000	670.5
2	Sam	800,000	600,000	15,000	1,415,000		390,000			340,000					730,000	2,145,000	536.25
3	Em Noeurn*				0							65,000	240,000		305,000	305,000	76.25
4	Puch			3,000	3,000			46,500				20,000			66,500	69,500	17.375
5	Mom	150,000	600,000		750,000							15,000	1,800,000		1,815,000	2,565,000	641.25
6	Pheap	120,000	500,000		620,000		100,000				945,000				1,045,000	1,665,000	416.25
7	Hart	300,000	400,000		700,000	50,000		120,000		400,000	30,000			60,000	660,000	1,360,000	340
8	Sorn				0			10,000		600,000				1,800,000	2,410,000	2,410,000	602.5
9	Chham				0		4,500	3,000			100,000				107,500	107,500	26.875
10	Chhin	400,000	200,000		600,000		20,000	50,000		200,000	20,000				290,000	890,000	222.5
11	Phal	100,000	50,000		150,000					300,000			450,000		750,000	900,000	225
12	Laing		112,500		112,500						60,000	12,000	324,000		396,000	508,500	127.125
13	Prem	100,000	250,000		350,000						25,000		864,000		889,000	1,239,000	309.75
14	Nub	300,000	145,000		445,000			70,000					17,500		87,500	532,500	133.125
15	Sa Chhoan	200,000	150,000		350,000	40,000	611,000		198,000						849,000	1,199,000	299.75
16	Neak	60,000	60,000	30,000	150,000	16,000									16,000	166,000	41.5
17	Poch	50,000	100,000		150,000	360,000				200,000	40,000		50,000		650,000	800,000	200
18	Lai	100,000	200,000		300,000										0	300,000	75
19	Learm	150,000	200,000		350,000	56,500		10,000			25,000				91,500	441,500	110.375
20	Sin**				0	329,000		9,000							338,000	338,000	84.5
Average (riel)		287,857	274,500		409,775	141,917	225,100	39,813		342,857	50,000	487,000	622,833	622,833	621,400	1,031,175	258
Average (US\$)		71.96	68.62		102.44	35.47	56.27	9.95		85.71	12.5	121.75	155.7083	155.70	155.35	257.79	

riel is Cambodian national currency, 1 US\$ = 4,000 riel

\* Em Noeurn: her main income is from grocery selling and she received rice and donation income from her married daughters/sons

\*\* this family does not have a land for rice cultivation. However, in calculating the average, it is included.

**Table 9 National Poverty Line, CDRI's Poverty Line and Villager's Income (One Person per day)**  
Poverty Line and Villager's Income  
(US\$ per day)

National Poverty line		CDRI's Poverty Line*	Sambo villager's income		Comparison					
Rural	Phnom Penh	Rural	Excluded Rice	Included Rice	R/ER	P/ER	R/IR	P/IR	CD/ER	CD/IR
0.46	0.63	0.38	0.14	0.25	3.29	4.50	1.84	2.52	2.71	1.52

R- for national poverty line in rural area

P- for national poverty line in Phnom Penh

ER- for villager's income excluded rice

IR- for villager's income included rice

CD- for CDRI

Source: National Poverty Reduction Strategy 2003-2005 (CSD 2002: 15), CDRI's Poverty Line (CDRI 2005: 4) and sampling analysis

\* CDRI's poverty line is a poverty line which is adopted from national poverty and modified by CDRI's senior researchers.

**Table 10 Rice Donated by Congregations of Sambo Pagoda after harvesting**

No.	Village name	Rice		Conversion into money	
		<i>thang</i>	ton	<i>riel</i>	US\$
1	Kampong Chhoeuteal	55	1.54	1,078,000	269.5
2	Sambo	30	0.84	588,000	147
3	Kon Kha Ek	40	1.12	784,000	196
4	Samreth	20	0.56	392,000	98
5	Tropeang Chhrouk	30	0.84	588,000	147
6	Chromass	21	0.59	411,600	102.9
7	Dai Kropoat	18	0.50	352,800	88.2
Total		214	5.99	4,194,400	1048.60
Average		30.57	0.86	599,200	149.80

Exchange rate is 4,000 *riel* per 1 US\$ (exchange rate early 2005)

1 *thang*= 28 kg of rice

Price of rice is 700 *riel* per kg (price in early 2005)

Table 11 Expenditure

No.	Household Head	Main Expense ( <i>riel</i> )						Other's Expense ( <i>riel</i> )					Total Expense	
		Kitchen	Health	Child School	Cloth	Agri. Purpose	Total Main Expense	Donation	Gasoline for Motorbike	Battery recharging &/or Petroleum	Others	Total Other's Expense	<i>Riel</i>	US Dollar
1	Lao	900,000	324,000		120,000		1,344,000			52,000	225,000	277,000	1,621,000	405.25
2	Sam	546,300		165,000	300,000	173,000	1,184,300	25,000				25,000	1,209,300	302.33
3	Em Noeurn		28,000				28,000			38,400	200,000	238,400	266,400	66.60
4	Puch	170,400	15,000	24,000			209,400				108,000	108,000	317,400	79.35
5	Mom	177,900	50,000		30,000		257,900				2,400,000	2,400,000	2,657,900	664.48
6	Pheap	418,800	200,000	252,400			871,200			52,000	6,500	58,500	929,700	232.43
7	Hart	174,500	50,000	346,900	48,000		619,400			96,000	195,600	291,600	911,000	227.75
8	Sorn	692,200					692,200		2,736,000	62,400		2,798,400	3,490,600	872.65
9	Chham	483,771			165,000		648,771			161,760	10,200	171,960	820,731	205.18
10	Chhin	498,300		174,000		35,000	707,300			14,400		14,400	721,700	180.43
11	Phal	127,000	95,250	228,000	120,000	36,000	606,250			31,200		31,200	637,450	159.36
12	Laing	382,786	90,000	21,900			494,686			30,000		30,000	524,686	131.17
13	Prem	525,750	192,000				717,750				50,900	50,900	768,650	192.16
14	Nub	387,200	60,000		11,000		458,200	29,000		101,600		130,600	588,800	147.20
15	Sa Chhoan	326,000	250,000	33,600	30,000	74,000	713,600			116,800		83,000	796,600	199.15
16	Neak	106,233	100,000	16,800			223,033					0	223,033	55.76
17	Poch	350,676	109,000	72,000	74,000		605,676				13,040	13,040	618,716	154.68
18	Lai	161,733	3,000				164,733			276,500		276,500	441,233	110.31
19	Learm	279,400	7,000	58,800			345,200			16,000		16,000	361,200	90.30
20	Sin	494,497					494,497			36,500		36,500	530,997	132.75
Average ( <i>riel</i> )		379,129	104,883	126,673	99,778	79,500	569,305	27,000		77,540	356,582	371,105	921,855	230
Average (US\$)		94.78	26.22	31.67	24.94	19.88	142.33	6.75	684.00	19.39	89.15	92.78	230.46	
Percentage		41.13	11.38	13.74	10.82	8.62	61.76	2.93		8.41	38.68	40.26	100.00	

Exchange rate is 4,000 *riel* for 1 US\$. Children Schooling: including clothes, shoes, money to school

**Table 12 Annual Calendar of *Sambo* Villagers**

Months <sup>259</sup>	Rice cultivations and other activities	Crops Varieties	Ceremonies
<i>Caet</i> 1 April 30	- Fishing, enter the forest - Fired <i>Chamkar</i> - Plowing at the edge of pond, lake, and lower ground.	- <i>Srau Cha Orng</i>	New Year Opening tomb Demanding for rain
<i>Visak</i> 1 May 31	- Cleared <i>Chamkar</i> (after fired there some tree are still not burned yet) - Plant <i>Chamkar</i> 's rice - Plow then broadcast and plow covering only for lower field - Broadcast for nursery bed near village	- <i>Srau Cha Orng</i> - <i>Srau Sral Kan Tuy</i> - Medium varieties	- Visak Bocie - Weddings (very little) - Ceremony of the Sacred Furrow
<i>Ceh</i> 1 June 30	Pull and transplant the rice seedling		Turn to prepare food for monk <sup>260</sup>
<i>Asat</i> 1 July 31	- Pull and transplant the rice seedling - Harvest and broadcast	- <i>Srau Chang Vay Phdau</i> - - <i>Srau Sral Kan Tuy</i>	- Monks enter Vosa - Ask in marriage <sup>261</sup> (rare, in the past, definitely not)
<i>Srap</i> 1 August 31	- Pull and transplant the rice seedling - Broadcast	- <i>Srau Krem</i>	- Turn to prepare food for monk. - Hunt the wild animal <sup>262</sup>
<i>Potrobot</i> 1 Sept 30	- Some pull and transplant rice - Other activities: daily wage labor, enter the forest, fishing, trading...		Pchum Ben: 15 days stay in monastery during the last two days.
<i>Asoit</i> 1 October 31	- <i>Chamkar</i> 's rice is fully developed, to guard <i>Chamkar</i> . - Fishing, wild animal chasing - Harvest of <i>Chamkar</i> 's rice		- Katun - Turn to prepare food for monk - Monks leave Vosa - Ask in marriage (after Monks leave Vosa)
<i>Kaduk</i> 1 Nov 30	- Harvest of <i>Chamkar</i> 's rice - Harvest of broadcasted rice	- <i>Srau Krem, Srau Chang VayPhdau.</i>	- Weddings - Water Festival, Candle dripping, Phnom Penh) - Katun and <i>Bon Pkar</i> <sup>263</sup>
<i>Miek</i> <sup>264</sup> 1 Dec. 31	- Harvest the transplanted rice - Harvest <i>Chamkar</i> 's plantations	- <i>Srau Neang Kung, Srau Thanoat, Srau Sambok Ang Krorong.</i> - Sesames, coconut's	
<i>Boh</i> 1 January 31	- Harvest Deepwater's rice	- <i>Srau Cha Orng</i>	- Weddings (very busy) <sup>265</sup> - <i>Bon Phkar</i> - <i>Pa Chay Bourn</i> <sup>266</sup>
<i>Miek</i> <sup>267</sup> 1 February 30	- Harvest Deepwater's rice - Land selection to use as <i>Chamkar</i>	- <i>Srau Cha Orng</i>	- <i>Miek Bocie</i> - <i>Loeurng Chas Srok</i> - Weeding (still very busy)
<i>Palkun</i> 1 March 31	- Land clearance ( <i>Kap Chamkar</i> ) by joining labor sharing systems - Enter forest, collect firewood, others - Fishing		- Weddings (latest) - <i>Bon Phka</i>

<sup>259</sup> In *Italic* of this column is the name of Cambodian lunar months.

<sup>260</sup> It is different from the other monasteries in the urban areas, at *Sambo* village the monk cannot get enough food for their daily uses from the morning offering food (*Ben Baat*). Because at the rain season everyone are busy with their field, then peasants have to schedule among them the turn to prepare food for monks.

<sup>261</sup> It is impossible to marry during the Monks enter Vosa, there are many reason, but among those are busy of farm works, monks enter Vosa, no enough food or vegetable at this time.

<sup>262</sup> Can be as catching frog, shooting fishes, rabbit...

<sup>263</sup> Flower's festival, (if directed translation), a traditional festival at which contributions are collected to build a school or temple. Most of the time the flowers are made out of money.

<sup>264</sup> As in Ebihara's work, this month was named as *Mukase* (Abihara, 1968), here *Sambo*'s villagers call *Miek toch* (with a addition "toch-small") and another *Miek* is *Miek thom*.

<sup>265</sup> This month is the richest month and there are dews, plenty of vegetables, new rice with good weather give the opportunity to people to celebrate many festivals.

**Table 13 Participants in *Mom*- sample no. 5 Labor Exchange**

No.	Participants	Blood related						In-law	None-of the two	
		Son Daughter	Brotherhood	Nephew niece	Cousin	Second	Third		neighbor	None but in village
1	Siek/Voeun									y
2	Cho				y					
3	Mien								y	
4	Mao/Siev								y	
5	Sotr								y	
6	Teab								y	
7	Moj/Sou									y
8	Phal	s								
9	Thol									y
10	Chhea									y
11	Len/Siek									y
12	Kem/Nen									y
13	Mao	d								
14	Phum								y	
15	Morn			nph					y	
16	Nab					y				
17	Ny							c		
18	Dom							d		

c- cousin in-law

d- daughter in-law

**Table 14 Participants in *Leam*- sample no. 5 Labor Exchange**

No.	Participants	Blood related						In-law	None-of the two	
		Son Daughter	Brotherhood	Nephew niece	Cousin	Second	Third		Neighbor	none but in village
1	Bo/Mao								y	
2	Sorn									y
3	Rorn/Sok								y	
4	Much/Choeun				y					
5	Vun Hoer				y					
6	Hem/Chhum									y
7	Hem/Chhum*									y
8	Keam									y
9	Turk/Tam									y
10	Chea									y
11	Por/Keat									y
12	Moeun/Yon									y
13	Lev					y				
14	Tha									y
15	Oeun/Lourt									y
16	Ourn/Harn									y
17	Yong/Yeart									y
18	Moeun/Ien									y
18	Liem									
20	Liem's Niece									

\* the son of Hem/Chhum

<sup>266</sup> Donation of fourth to the monks (directed translation). In this festival that four things were donated to the monks.<sup>267</sup> *Miek* but *Miek thom* (Big *Miek*) was called.

**Table 15 Poor and Poorest Characteristics by ADB and in Sambo**

Classification	ADB's Characters	Sambo villagers
Poorest	a- Little or no land (2-3 acres); b- Perhaps one draft animal but no farming implements; c- Housing made of thatch in very poor condition; d- Few household utensils; e- Live on hand-to-mouth basis (food shortages for up to eight months); f- Much reliance on natural resources to meet subsistence needs; g- Accumulated debts and inability to repay or borrow additional amounts; h- No kinship support; and i- Large young families with 5-12 children.	<i>dach bay</i> (hunger) live on other land, no own household land
Poor	a- Have land of less than 2 hectares in unfavorable locations (slopes, no water source); b- Usually have at least a pair of draft animals and at least some farm implements; c- Houses made of thatch sometimes with tile roofs and bamboo walls; d- Limited number of household utensils; e- Food shortages of 3-6 months duration; and f- Able to borrow money for rice farming.	<i>dach bay</i> (hunger) have small plot of chamka have own household land

Source: ADB (2001: 16) with *Sambo's* field note

**Table 16 Poor and Poorest Characteristics by Sambo village Chief\***

	Absolute Poor	Poor	Medium	Rich	Total
Family-No	1	78	127	31	237**
Percentage	0.42	32.91	53.59	13.08	100

Absolute poor- *titoal*

Poor- *Krei*

*Kror*

Medium- *Modhium*

Rich- *Mean*

Source: *Sambo* village chief notebook (2005)

\* Please be understood that classification in table 15 is by villagers and in table 16 by villager chief

\*\* the total family numbers here is more than the actual number. In chief of village record, I didn't find the total but here I just make it into table then I find this differentiation.

**Table 17 World Vision International: Action Plan for Sambo**

No.	Action Plan 2002	Activities completed	Activities left	Action Plan 2003	Budget (US\$)
<b>FOOD SECURITY</b>					
1.	Training course for 10 families on Compost fertilizer	33	0	30	10
2.	Training course for 3 farmers on IPM	3	0	30	700
3.	Set up rice bank with 125 families, 1 ton 200 kg	700 kg	13 ton 200 kg	14 ton 200 kg	0
4.	Provide cattle bank 5 heads	0	5	5	500
5.	Fall tree to get 26 ha of paddy field	20	6	21 (at <i>Prey Taksá</i> )	WFP
6.	Build dam with 800m longer at <i>Boeung Chi Kay</i> 4mx3mx2.5m	0	800m	800m	WFP
7.	Small water gate at above dam (6) for 150 ha of paddy fields			1 place	2000
8.	2 Culverts at above dam (6) with 80 cm diameter			2 places	1000
9.	Training on animal husbandry			0	
10.	Training on vegetable cultivations			0	
11.	Vaccination to the animal 200 heads	164 heads	36 heads	300 heads	500
12.	Provide 70 banana tree to the poor families	0	70	70	30
13.	Training course on fish raising for 3 farmers			3 persons	100
14.	Credit service to 10 families	0	10	0	
15.	Provide vegetable seeds to 10 families	10	0	20	30
<b>EDUCATION</b>					
1.	Provide education material for 20 poor children	30	0	30	20
2.	Explain to 20 parents of children to understand the value of education	30	0	20	20
3.	Ask for opening 2 literacy classes	2	0	2	60
4.	Open 1 kindergartens	1	0	0	100
5.	Create a children group's place	1	0	0	300
<b>HEALTH</b>					
1.	5 Ring wells	5	0	8	550
2.	Repair old wells			15	120
3.	Build 15 toilets	2	13	13	500
4.	Training course on health				30
5.	Support the pregnancies to visit health center				
6.	Support the women who have less than 5 years old to vaccination				
7.	Support villagers to drink the boiled water and sanitation in household	30			
<b>CHILDREN SYSTEMS</b>					
1.	Continue to provide the nutrient to all children in village				
2.	Provide opportunity to children to participate in festival				

Source: World Vision International, *Srok Prasat Sambo* office (2002)



**Table 18 Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and PER CAPITA GDP**

	at constant 2000 prices											
	1993 <sub>r/</sub>	1994 <sub>r/</sub>	1995 <sub>r/</sub>	1996 <sub>r/</sub>	1997 <sub>r/</sub>	1998 <sub>r/</sub>	1999 <sub>r/</sub>	2000 <sub>r/</sub>	2001 <sub>r/</sub>	2002 <sub>r/</sub>	2003 <sub>r/</sub>	2004 <sub>p/</sub>
Per Capita GDP in US \$	326	363	383	357	316	251	273	288	293	303	314	328
Growth Rate in Percent (%)		11.1%	5.5%	-6.6%	-11.6%	-20.5%	8.9%	5.3%	1.9%	3.4%	3.6%	4.6%

r/ - revised estimates

Source: NIS Cambodia

p/ - preliminary estimates

**Table 19 Growth rate of per capita GDP (% per year) by Four Economist Institutions in Cambodia**

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
1- World Bank	5.5	5.2				
2- ADB	3.6	3.5	4.2	0.5	2.2	2.8
3- NIS	5.3	5.6	6.6	n/a	n/a	n/a
4- EIC	5.5	5.3	6.5	3.2	3.0	n/a

Sources: Compiled by Navuth

1- Cambodian office (World Bank 2004: i)

for data of 2002 and 2003 are revised estimated data while 2004 is the preliminary estimated

2- ADB- Asian Development Outlook 2005 (ADB 2005: 304)

3- NIS - National Institute of Statistics of Cambodia; represents government of Cambodia (NIS 2005b)

4- EIC- Economic Institute of Cambodia- an independent institute but actually it is a quasi government institute, the data are extracted from (EIC 2005: 5 of table 1.1)

**Table 20 World Bank Active Project in Cambodia**

Project Name	Country	IBRD/IDA	Status	Approval Date
Provincial and Rural Infrastructure Project (PRIP)	Cambodia	20	Active	11-SEP-2003
Provincial and Peri-Urban Water and Sanitation Project	Cambodia	19.9	Active	22-APR-2003
RURAL INVESTMENT AND LOCAL GOVERNANCE PROJECT	Cambodia	22	Active	22-APR-2003
Health Sector Support Project	Cambodia	27	Active	19-DEC-2002
Economic and Public Sector Capacity Building Project	Cambodia	5.5	Active	25-JUN-2002
Land Management and Administration Project	Cambodia	24.3	Active	26-FEB-2002
Demobilization and Reintegration Project	Cambodia	18.4	Active	23-AUG-2001
Supplemental Credit for Social Fund Project (02)	Cambodia	10	Active	19-JUN-2001
Cambodia: Flood Emergency Rehabilitation Project	Cambodia	35	Active	13-MAR-2001
Forest Concession Management and Control Pilot Project	Cambodia	4.82	Active	05-JUN-2000
Biodiversity and Protected Areas Management Project	Cambodia	1.91	Active	08-FEB-2000
Biodiversity and Protected Areas Project	Cambodia	0	Active	08-FEB-2000
Road Rehabilitation Project	Cambodia	45.31	Active	23-MAR-1999
Social Fund Project (02)	Cambodia	25	Active	23-MAR-1999
Agriculture Productivity Improvement Project	Cambodia	27	Active	28-FEB-1997

World Bank Cambodia web: as access on 12 July 2004

**Table 21 Gross Domestic Product Economic Activity (In constant 1993 prices)**

	1996	1997	1998/R	1999/R	2000/P
	Percent Distribution				
Agriculture, Fisheries & Forestry	40.4	41.2	41.6	40.8	37.6
Industry	14.9	17.3	18.3	19.2	23.5
Services	39.7	36.9	36.1	35.8	35.0
	Growth Rates in Percent				
Agriculture, Fisheries & Forestry	-0.7	5.8	2.5	4.8	-2.7
Industry	11.1	20.4	7.7	12.0	29.0
Services	3.1	-3.7	-0.6	5.8	3.1
	Growth Rate in Percent				
Gross Domestic Product	3.5	3.7	1.5	6.9	5.4

R/ - revised estimates

P/- preliminary estimates

Source: National Accounts of Cambodia 1993-2000 Bulletin No.5 National Institute of Statistics  
May 2001

**Table 22 International Assistance to Cambodia: Pledge and Disbursement**

Date	Forum	Location	Pledge (US \$ million)	Disbursement (US million)
Sep 1993	1 <sup>st</sup> ICORC	Paris	120	324.3
March 1994	2 <sup>nd</sup> ICORC	Tokyo	770	365.2
March 1995	3 <sup>rd</sup> ICORC	Paris	500	418.8
July 1996	1 <sup>st</sup> CG	Tokyo	519	n/a
July 1997	2 <sup>nd</sup> CG	Paris	450	n/a
1998: No meeting but there was disbursement.				433.28
Feb 1999	3 <sup>rd</sup> CG	Tokyo	526	399.71
May 2000	4 <sup>th</sup> CG	Paris	603.30	466.81
2001	5 <sup>th</sup> CG	Phnom Penh	610.71	471.84
Total (1992-2001 excluded 1998)			5,022.72	3,683.07

Sources: CDC 2002, Teramoto et al. 2002 and Conway 1999: 57 Tabel 3.4

**Table 23 Official Structure and Alternative Structure Supporting Development**

Official structure		Structure understood by most rural people (can be used to support Official Development Assistance)	
Administrative organization	Development supporting structure	Buddhism structure	Structure of spirit world
State (Prime Minister)   Ministry of Interior [Dept. of Local Admin. (DoLA)]   Province [Local Admin. Unit (LAU)]   District   Commune (Commune Council- since 2002)   Village chief	Council of Development Committee (CDC)   Provincial (PRDC)   Commune: - Before 2002: CDC - After 2002: CC   Village: - Before 2002: VDC and/or SHG or VDA or CBO - After 2002: PBC, VDC, SHG or VDA or CBO	Monk's king   Chief of provincial monk   Chief of district monk   Abbot	Country representative   Regional representative   Village representative
Note: - VDC: Village Development Committee - PRDC: Provincial Rural Development Committee - CDC: Commune Development Committee - CC: Commune Council - SHG: Self Help Group - VDA: Village Development Association - CBO: Community Based Organization - PBC: Planning and Budgeting Committee		<p>The diagram illustrates an 'Extended web of a family'. At the base are 'individual i1 of fx' and 'individual i2 of fx'. Arrows point up to 'family f1' and 'family f2'. From these families, arrows point to 'neighbor n1' and 'neighbor n2'. Further up, arrows point to 'group 1' and 'group 2'. At the top, 'Reciprocal cooperative' is shown with arrows pointing to 'group 1' and 'group 2'. A large curved arrow on the right side indicates a feedback loop from the village level back to the family level.</p>	

**Table 24 Development structure at village level**

Official structure	Practical structure (is what people know)
Village chief   PBC   Villagers' Representative (man)      Villagers' Representative (woman)	Village chief -----> most important wise man   wise men      spirit medium      ritual coordinator   Buddhist coordinators

Source: Kampong Cham province 19 Dec 2003, Mr. Chan PLG's Senior Provincial Advisor

**Table 25 The geographic location of ODA supported programs/projects activities**

Percent of Total ODA Disbursed		
	2002	2003
Nation-Wide	33.9%	32.7%
Phnom Penh	19.6%	16.0%
Not Reported	11.9%	20.5%
Total	65.4%	69.2%

Source: CDC 2004: 31- table 13

**Table 26 The top ten provinces that have received the most ODA either in 2002 or 2003**

Percent of Total ODA Disbursed		
Province's Name	2002	2003
Kampong Cham	4.4%	3.4%
Battambang	3.1%	3.5%
Kampong Thom	2.8%	2.2%
Kampong Chhnang	2.2%	2.2%
Krong Preah Sihanouk	2.1%	1.3%
Takeo	1.9%	1.4%
Prey Veng	1.9%	1.3%
Kandal	1.7%	1.4%
Kampong Speu	1.7%	1.5%
Kampot	1.2%	1.6%

Source: CDC 2004: 31

**Table 27 The Reciprocal Labor Systems in *Sambo* village**

Owed	Compensation	Others
1 day of transplantation	and broadcast 1 morning	
1 day of transplantation	Pull out seedling - 1 day	
1 day of transplantation	Harrow - 1 morning	Start from 8h30 or 9h
1 day of transplantation	Harvest - 1 day	
1 day of transplantation	Transport seedling – 1 morning	from 8h30 or 9h
1 day of transplantation	Up root stump - 1 day	
Transport seedling 1 <i>sloek</i> <sup>268</sup>	3 or 4 person of a working day	
1 day of transplantation	Can be any work but must be not household work	

Source: Navuth survey data

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<sup>268</sup> 1 *Sloek*= 400 rice sheaves.

**Table 28 The Division of Labor in Common Activities**

xx = activity performed primarily; x = activity performed; - = activity not performed;  
O = occasionally performed; VR = very rare; OIN = only if necessary

Activities	Males	Females	Children
Selecting forest to be a <i>Chamcar</i>	xx	x	-
Preparing rice fields for planting (including <i>Chamcar</i> )	xx	xx	-
Plowing and harrowing fields	xx	x	O
Pulling seedling	xx	xx	-
Transportation seedling	xx	x	VR
Transplanting	xx	xx	O
Harvesting rice	xx	xx	-
Threshing rice	xx	x	VR
Winnowing rice	x	xx	-
Fishing	xx	O	xx
Gardening	VR	xx	xx
Caring for cattle	xx	x	xx
Caring for pigs and chickens	O	xx	xx
Driving ox-carts	xx	OIN	OIN
Cooking	OIN	xx	x
Cleaning house	O	xx	O
Caring for children	x	xx	O
Sewing and mending	VR	xx	-
Washing clothe	x	xx	x
Gathering firewood and carrying water	xx	x	xx
House construction and carpentry	xx	O	OIN
Weaving	-	xx <sup>269</sup>	-
Making thatch	VR	xx	-
Making wicker baskets	xx	x	-
Making palm leaf bins, mats, etc.	xx	x	-
Ordinary marketing	O	xx	x
Buying or selling of rice, pigs	xx	xx	-
Buying or selling of cows and chickens	xx	xx	-
Buying or selling of land	xx	xx	-
Participating in supernatural ceremonies	xx	xx	xx
Participating in Buddhism ceremonies	xx	xx	xx

**Table 29 Name List of Head of Group of *Sambo* village**

No.	Name	No.	Name
1	Hem	7	Sam Tiv
2	Hart	8	Khim Phat
3	Soeurn	9	Nhang Ngear
4	Kong	10	Mourn Sou
5	Hy Hour	11	Dav Chin
6	Ath	12	Chork Nhov

<sup>269</sup> In the past only, before 1990.

**Table 30 Rice Varieties in SAMBO<sup>270</sup>**

Variety	Name of rice variety	Period of Ripens
<b>a). Latest variety</b> Late Latest variety Latest variety Third rank of latest variety Second rank of latest variety First rank of latest variety	<i>Srau Neang Yourn, Srau Tha Naot</i> <i>Srau Kapol</i> <i>Srau Ka Nhol</i> <i>Srau Cha Orng Sor</i> <i>Srau Cha Orng Kro Horm,</i> <i>Srau Popeay</i>	
<b>b). Medium variety</b> Third rank of medium variety Second rank of medium variety First rank of medium variety Medium variety	<i>Srau Phka Khnhei, Srau Pka Daong</i> <i>Srau Lak Sloeuk</i> <i>Srau Neang Koung</i> <i>Srau Sambok Angkraong</i>	3 months + yyyy, where yyyy>yyy 3 months + yy, where yy>y and 15 days<yy<20 days 3 months + y, where y<10 days
<b>c). Early variety</b> Early-medium variety Early variety Early-early variety Most early-early variety Most and first early variety	<i>Srau Chang Vay Pdau</i> <i>Srau Khead</i> <i>Srau Krem</i> <i>Srau Sral chambak</i> <i>Srau Sral kantuy</i>	M-y, M for the maturity period of Medium variety, y<10 days 3 months + xxx, where xxx<17 days 3 months + xx, where xx< 15 days 3 months +x, where x<10 days 3 months - x, where x=0 or x < 7

**Table 31 Food Items Used by Sambo villagers**

	Food	Food items	How to get	Where to get
1	Daily use*	- Salt - Fish past ( <i>Prahok</i> ) - Oil - Mono Sodium glutamate - Palm sugar  - Garlic - Papaya - Bamboo shooting  - Wild tree leaf	- Exchange with rice  - Self make and occasionally buy - buy (on 100 <i>riel</i> ) - buy (on 100 <i>riel</i> ) and package  - Exchange with rice and buy - buy (on 100 <i>riel</i> ) - get free - get free  - get free	- In front of home (mobile seller) - Village shop & fishing - Village shop - Village shop  - Village shop & mobile seller - Village shop - Back yard & in <i>chamkar</i> - Back yard, in <i>chamkar</i> & in the forest - Back yard, in <i>chamkar</i> & in the forest
2	Rare**	- Smoke fish - Pork and fish - Fish sauce - Pepper - Water grasses (water convolvulus)	- exchange with rice & buy  - buy & fishing  - buy & home make - buy - buy & plant	- Village shop & mobile seller - Village shop & near by water bodies - Mobile seller & fishing - Village shop - back yard gardening & village shop

Source: Extracted from 20 Sample data

\* Daily used food- refer to food which villagers use in normal occasion

\*\* Rare used food- is food used occasionally, for the festival, special occasion, and while they harvest rice, water melon...

<sup>270</sup> The reason that I try to translate and put in order the various varieties, because I want to show to the reader that "peasant's life can be secured and stable in their confronting with the contemporary unexpected change of the environment. Because their life is mainly depend on these vari-form of the traditional rice varieties.

Table 32 Characteristics of Communities

Community type	Purposes	Participation	Ownership	Resources mobilization*	Transparency	Leaders	Recognized by		
							Authority	Media	Villagers
Modern:	Very selective & for sectoral basis	Limited & based on incentive (daily allowance...), from the villagers perspective: feel that the participation is limited	Imposed by the development agents to the villagers	Hard to mobilized and limited	Based on conventional rule/law	Appointed or elected & active with supported NGOs/agencies, young	Official, local authority at least and development agency	Well informed & often printed and aired	A few villagers those who are getting & expecting to get the incentive** from
Indigenous	Broader purposes & mainly religious purposes	Broader and free open to everyone, villagers' perspective- it is free everyone can participate	Self emerged feeling of ownership	Easy to mobilize and available	Based on religious, ritual and merits	Emerged and supported by the majority of villagers, middle age or elders- can be pagoda layman and wiseman in the village	Unofficial, Pagoda monks And the majority of the villager	Very rare	All villagers
Vernacular	For a practical daily requirement	Larger than modern but less than indigenous	Better than modern	Easy as it is coordinated by the indigenous leaders	Belief on coordinator whom are from the indigenous	Co-leader: from the modern and indigenous	At local authority level & sometime NGOs' agent whom responsible for the	None at all	All villagers (as it's newly modified type then it is less than the indigenous)

Source: compiled from research data, recorded from the field through observation

\* Resources here: both tangible resources (money, labor, equipments and others) and intangible (supporting in spirits, feeling toward the projects)

\*\* Incentives here are the daily allowance provided as the price for participation in a meeting, training...

**Table 33 List of Social Community in Sambo village and others three components characteristics corresponding to the social community**

No	Social Organization	Other Three components' characteristics which are responded to Social Organization*		
		Institutional organization	Technology	Essential Condition
1.	Modern			
	1.1 VDC	- VDC term of reference	- Need VDC to apply new technique e.g new rice seed	- Development is needed, the changing in ecological and demography and the others e.g. heath care.
	1.2 Community forestry	- Forestry law and community rule	- Need to map the forestry border	- Forestry is reducing, it needs to be preserved.
	1.3 Commune Council	- Commune council law	- To facilitate the application of the new technology	- The need to have decentralization and development.
	1.4 Village Chief	- Role and responsibility of the village chief	- To assist	- To control the village (in the colonize period it was used to collect labor and tax).
	1.5 Extension Farmer Group	- Role and responsibility: learn and train	- New agricultural techniques	- The poverty and drought
	1.6 Primary School Parent's Association	- Regulation, procedure to get the assistance	- Teaching	- Class attendance, school building and maintenance.
	1.7 Ancient Monuments Guard's Group	- Rule of government staff	- labor intensive techniques	- Looting, damaging, and legally get the fund.
	1.8 Layman Group of Pagoda	- religious law and religious ministry	- Recite	- need to control over monks resources and activities
	1.9 Sambo Prey Kuk community	- Regulation	- Application new skills	- need to have one for legitimacy to get fund and preserving the monuments



**List of Social Community in Sambo village (Conti.)**

No	Social Organization	Other Three components' characteristics which are responded to Social Organization*		
		Institutional organization	Technology	Essential Condition
2.	Indigenous			
	2.1 Reciprocal Labor Exchange	- Religious and ritual belief (cannot cheat others, if one owes someone, one must returns): Pagoda, full moon sacred dripping, <i>Loeung Chas Srok</i> (village spirit festival), Scared Plowing festival ( <i>Chrot Preah Neang Koal</i> )	- Three types of rice cultivations	- Ecological and demographical conditions, and draft animal: e.g. shortage of man power, require larger labor forces to finish work within a particular period because of the rain period.
	2.2 Village Layman's Group	- Buddhism and ritual ceremony	- traditional ways of ceremony celebration	- need to be coordinator in celebrating
	2.3 Ritual Medium Coordinator Group	- Code and procedure of non human: <i>loeung Chas Srok</i> , Sacred plowing ceremony	- traditional ways of ceremony celebration for ritual and rice and other crops plantation both in the forest and rice field	- Forestry, water, rice field, ancient monuments and other natural conditions (thunderstorm, rain, disease)
	2.4 <i>Ta-Yeay</i> (grand father and mother group)	- Code and procedure of Buddhism and rituals: ceremonies	- Recite	- Elders villagers need to be organized into group for religious purposes
	2.5 Dead Ceremony Group	- religious ways (funeral and tomb opening ceremony)	- The corpse needed to be buried	- people will die soon or later and the religious ceremony is needed
	2.6 Pagoda Construction Group	- Religious rule- repair or build religious constructions: pagoda	- construction techniques	- Participation of the villagers and the representative of villagers with construction skills
3.	Vernacular Dike Repair Group	- state law and personal duty mixing together with norm and belief	- Labor intensive and local skills	- need water for rice and animal.

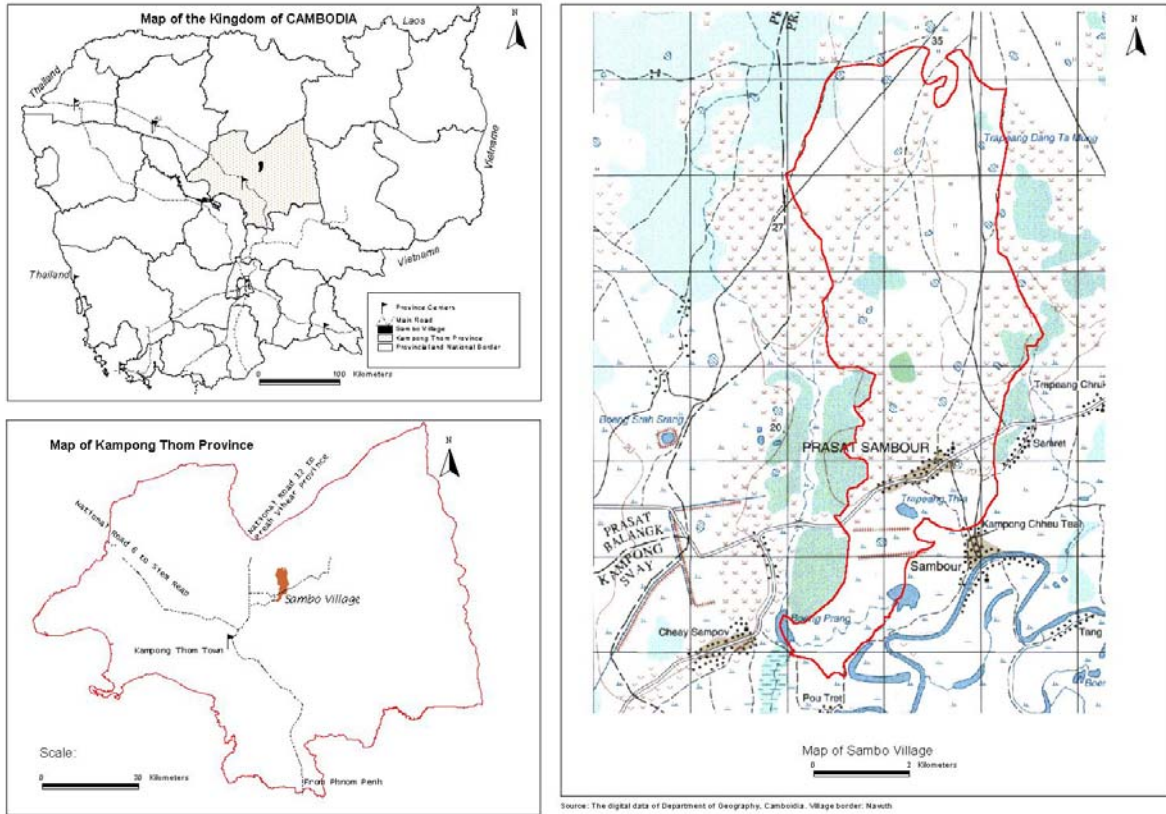
\* this part is about the primary purpose of each components, e.g primary school association was created as it needs the name of this group to submit to the donor to get the assistance (such as to Unicef and/ WFP). The backbone behinds the creation of modern type is not internal initiation but it is the outsiders especially development agents.

**Table 34 List of Provincial NGOs visited**

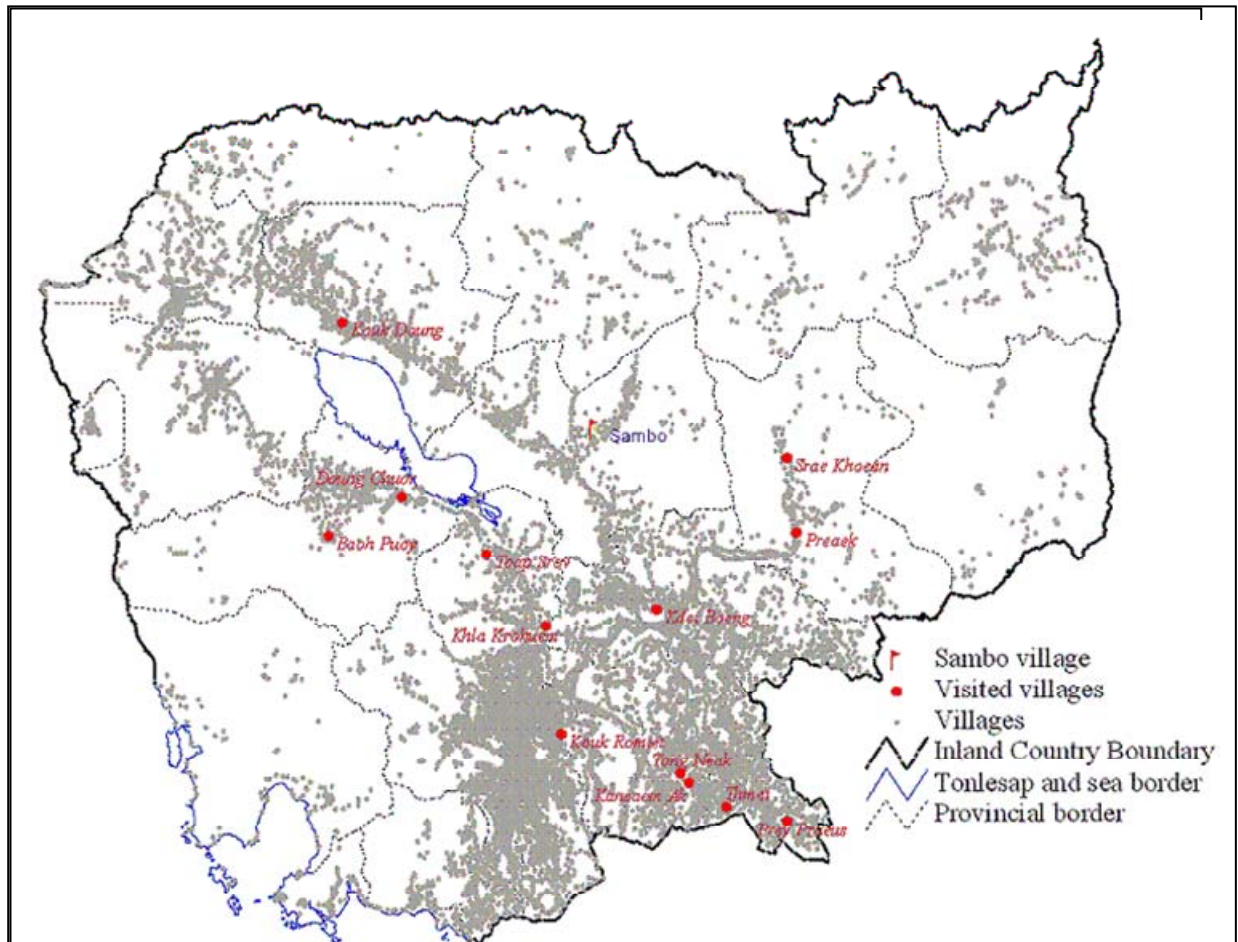
<u>No</u>	<u>Organizational Name</u>	<u>Address</u>
1.	Khmer Association for Development Raising Animal ( <b>KADRA</b> )	Kourk Pring Village, Kourk Pring Commune, Svay Chrum District, <i>Svay Rieng</i> Province.
2.	Cambodia Farmer's Association for Agricultural Development ( <b>CAMFAD</b> ).	Prasat Village, Pourach Commune, Svay Chrum District, <i>Svay Rieng</i> Province.
3.	Association for Development Increase the Family Economics ( <b>ADIFE</b> ).	Thmey Village, Cham Bakk Commune, Svay Chrum District, <i>Svay Rieng</i> Province.
4.	Khmer Association for Development of Country-side Cambodia ( <b>KAFDOC</b> )	Oresey Village, Oresey 1 Commune, <i>Kratie</i> District, <i>Kratie</i> Province.
5.	Vulnerable Support People ( <b>VPS</b> ).	Trapang Pring Village, Kratie Commune, Kratie District, Kratie Province.
6.	Farmer Youth Development Organization ( <b>FYDO</b> )	Pour Bakor Village, Domrey Cheann Khla Commune, Steng Sen District, Kampong Thom Province.
7.	Help Care and Aids Prevention Organization ( <b>HAPO</b> ).	Pour Bakor Village, Kampong Thom Commune, Steng Sen District, Kampong Thom Province.
8.	Dai Kou Kaksekor ( <b>DKK</b> ).	Thnall Bam Bek Village, Trapang Resey Commune, Kampong Svay District, Kampong Thom Province.
9.	Old Ages and Miserable People Help ( <b>HOM</b> ).	Neak Meas Hotel Behind, Kampong Thom Commune, Steng Sen District, Kampong Thom Province.
10.	Support Rural Children Organization ( <b>SRCO</b> ).	Par-e Village, Par-e Commune, Kampong Chhnang District, Kampong Chhnang Province.
11.	Phnom Neang Kangrey Association ( <b>PNKA</b> ).	Lor Tek Trey Village, Kampong Chhnang Commune, Chhnang District, Chhnang Province.
12.	Vulnerability and Illiteracy Reduction ( <b>VIR</b> ).	Slor Kkram Village, Slor Kkram Commune, Siem Reap District, Siem Reap Province.
13.	Human Resource and Natural Development ( <b>HRND</b> ).	Preh En Kousa Pagoda, Slor Kkram Commune, Siem Reap District, Siem Reap Province.
14.	Rural Friend for Community Development ( <b>RFCD</b> ).	Putrem Village, Osandann Commune, Kra Kor District, Pursat Province.
15.	Human Resource Development Center ( <b>HRDC</b> ).	Bah Pouy Village, Leach Commune, Kravanh District, Pursat Province.
16.	Prey Thmey Association ( <b>PTA</b> ).	Cham Bakk Village, Bak Herkhleung Commune, Tombe District, Kampong Cham Province.
17.	Sovann Kiry Association ( <b>SKA</b> ).	Bra Lah Village, Trapang Pring Commune, Tombe District, Kampong Cham Province.



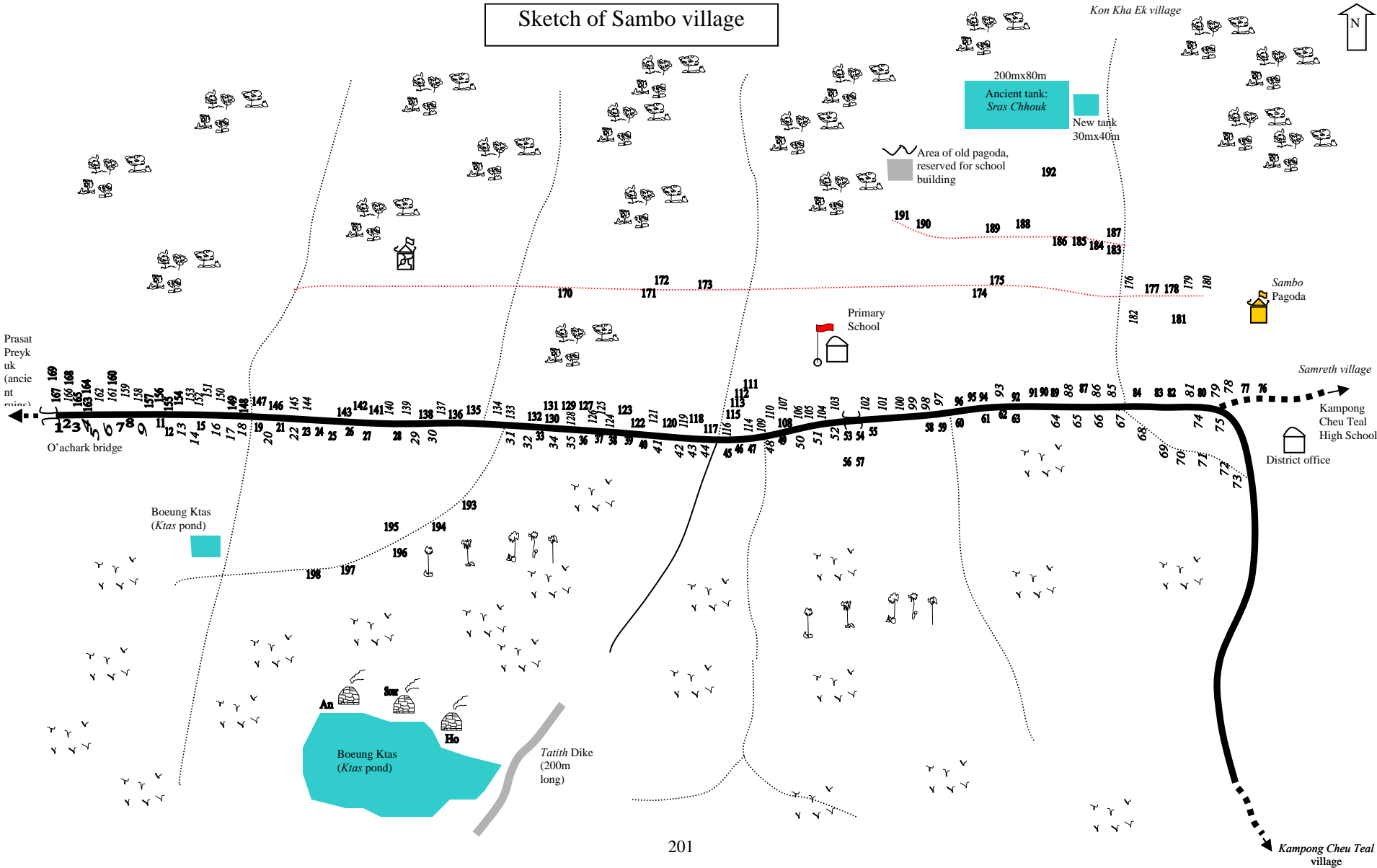
Map 1 Research Location- Sambo village



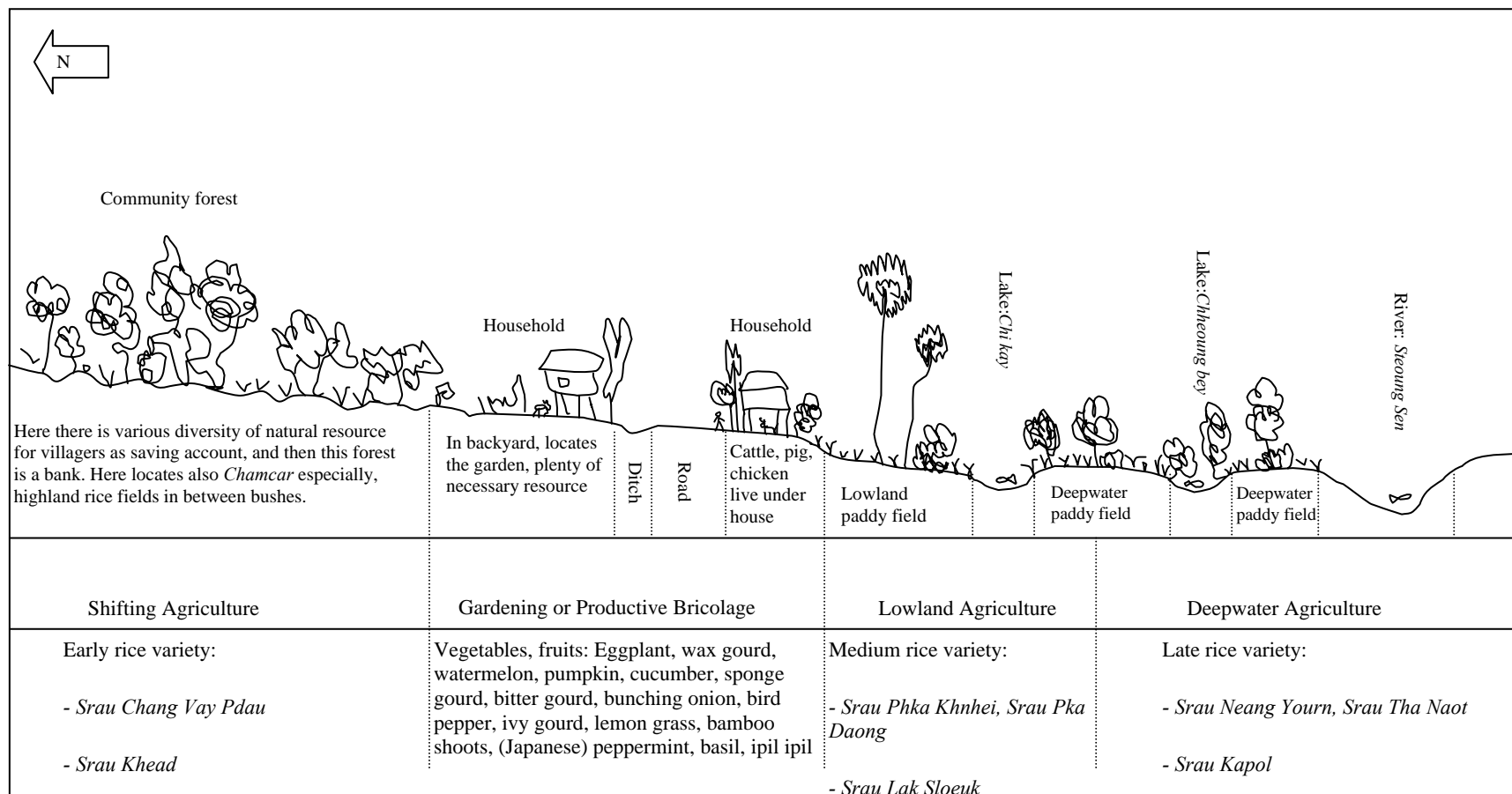
Map 2 Visited Villages in side Cambodia



Map 3 *Sambo* village- Sketched for Sampling



Map 4 Ecological Profile of SAMBO Village



Draw by Navuth, 2003 after the field visit in 2001-2002

Aerial Photo 1 *Sambo* village and Surrounding Area

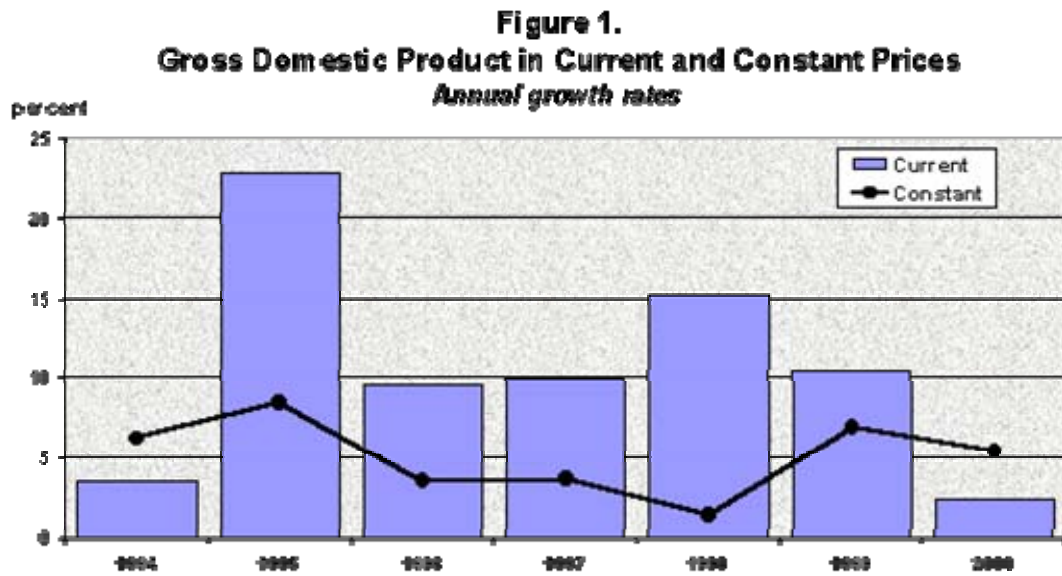


0 400 Meters

A horizontal scale bar with a black outline and a white fill, positioned below the text '0 400 Meters'.

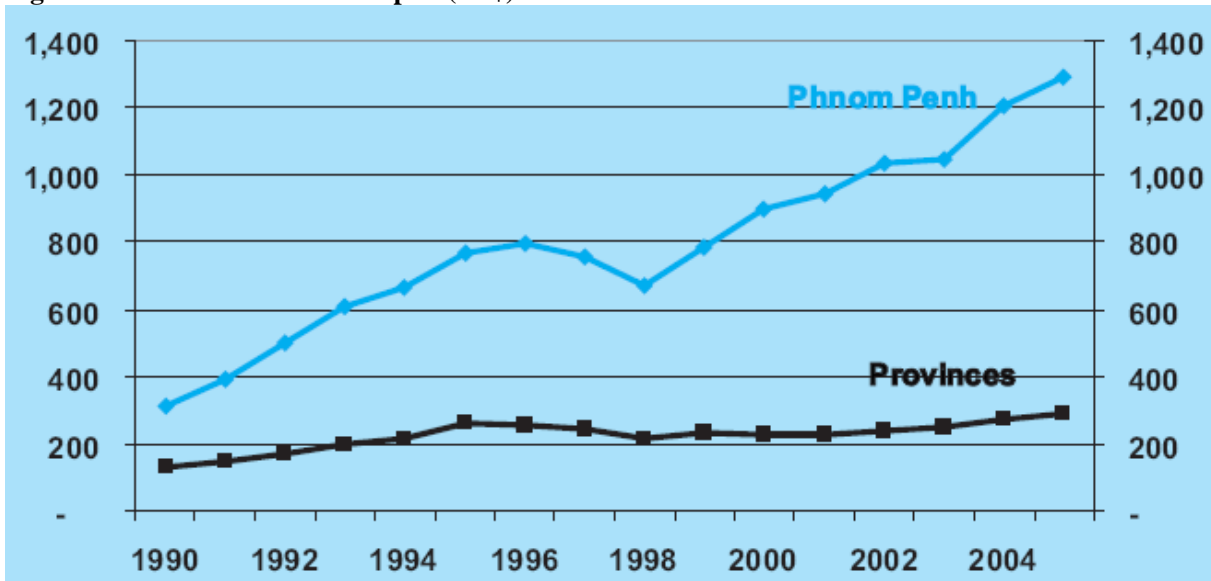
Source: Finnmap Cambodia, December 1992

Figure 2 Gross Domestic Production in Current and Constant Prices



Source: Adopted from National Accounts of Cambodia 1993-2000 Bulletin No.5 Ministry of Planning National Institute of Statistics May 2001

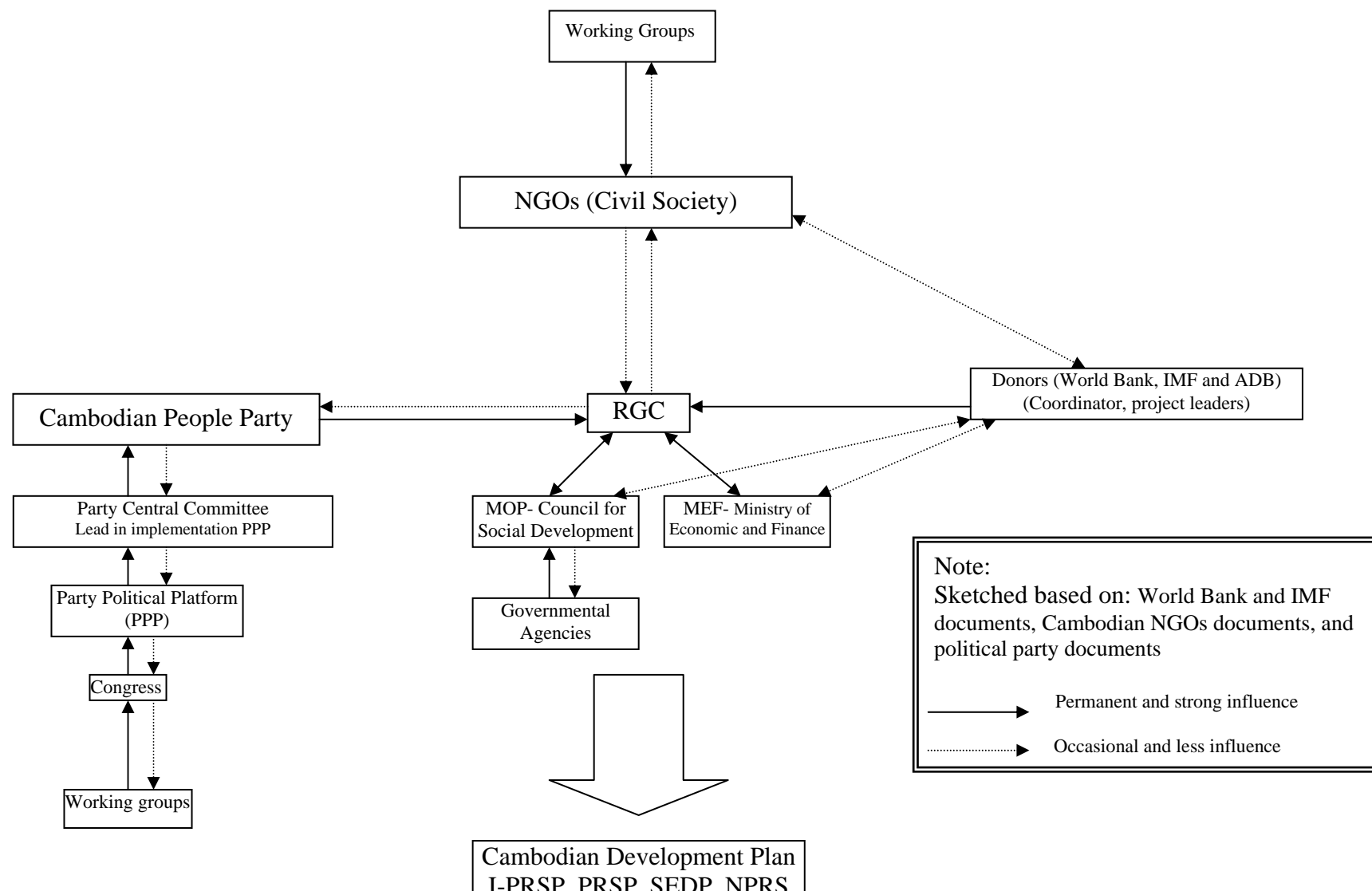
Figure 3 Cambodia GDP Per Capita (US\$)



Source: Adopted from Cambodia Economic Review 8, (2005: 15 –figure 4)

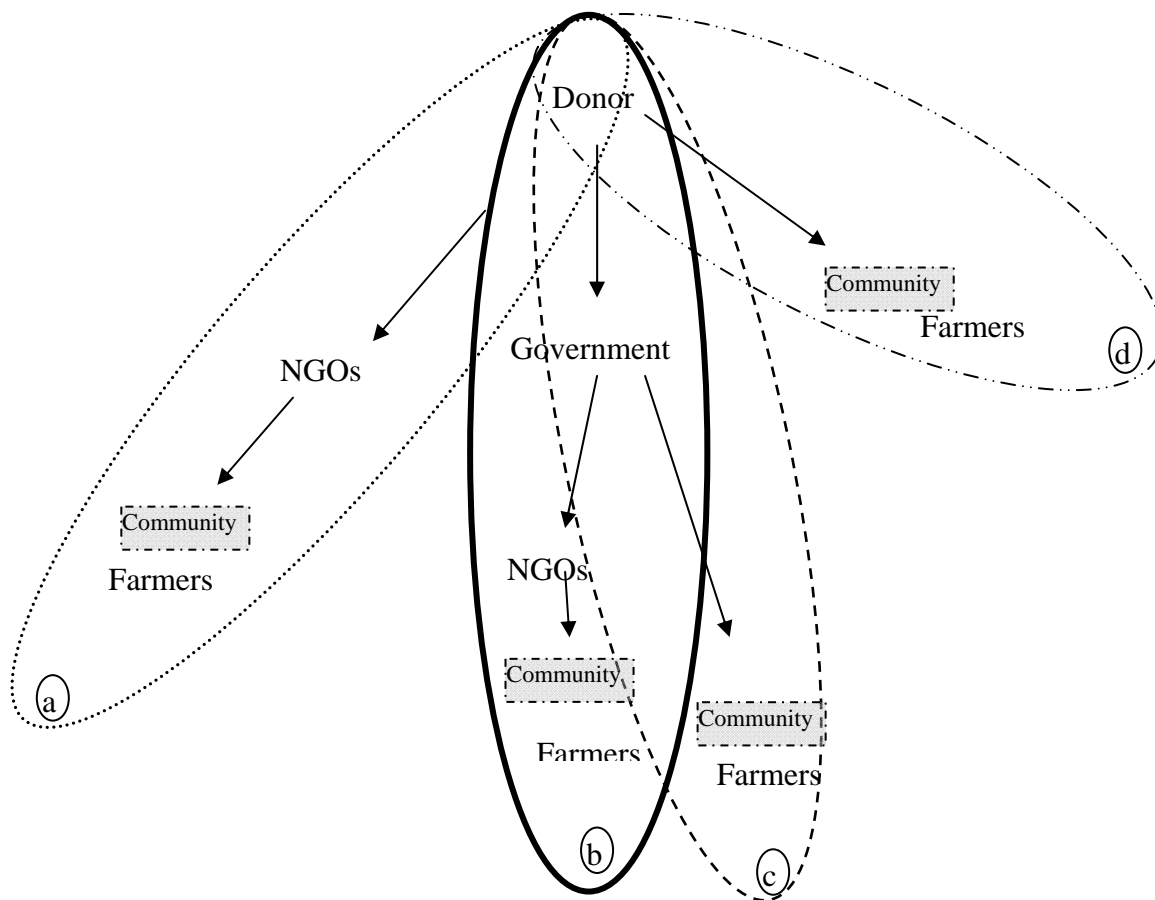


Figure 4 Institutional Arrangement and a basic concept of Cambodian Development Plan designing process

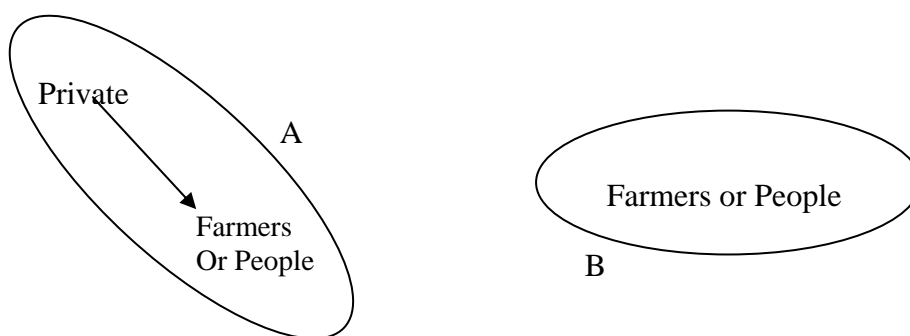


**Graph 1 Development Types- by Involved Actors**<sup>271</sup>

(Drawn after field visit Aug 2004 up in consultation with major development practitioners in Cambodia)

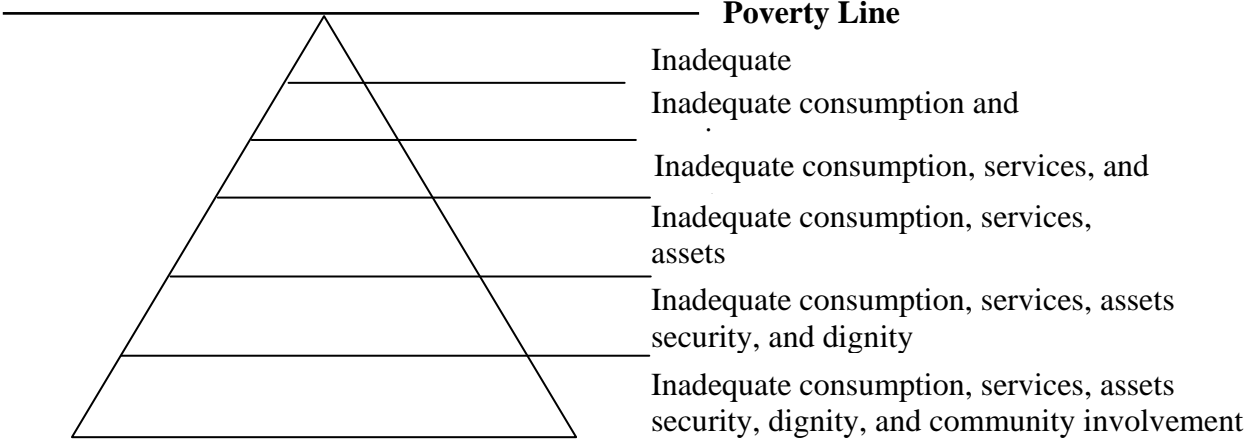


**Graph 2 With private (A) or independent development (B)**



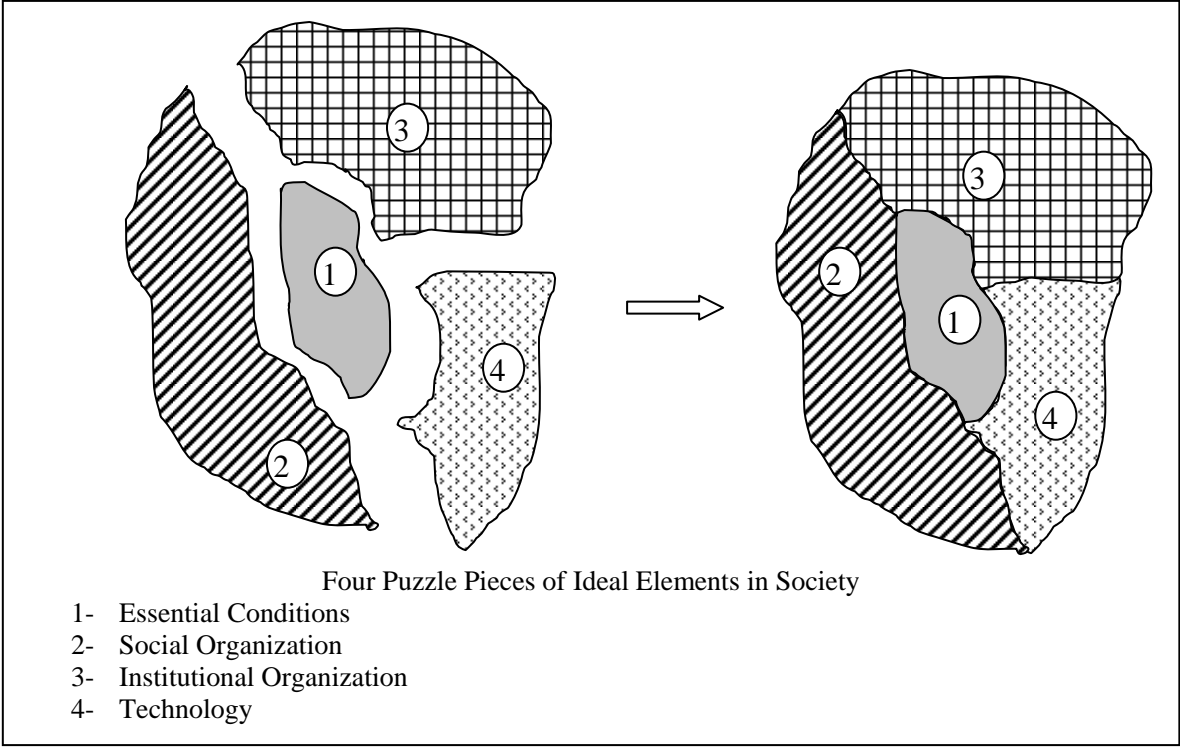
<sup>271</sup> After I sketched this model one year, I found similar chart was made by Katy Gardner & David Lewis (1996) in Anthropology, Development and the Post-modern Change (in page 9).

**Graph 3 Poverty Pyramid**

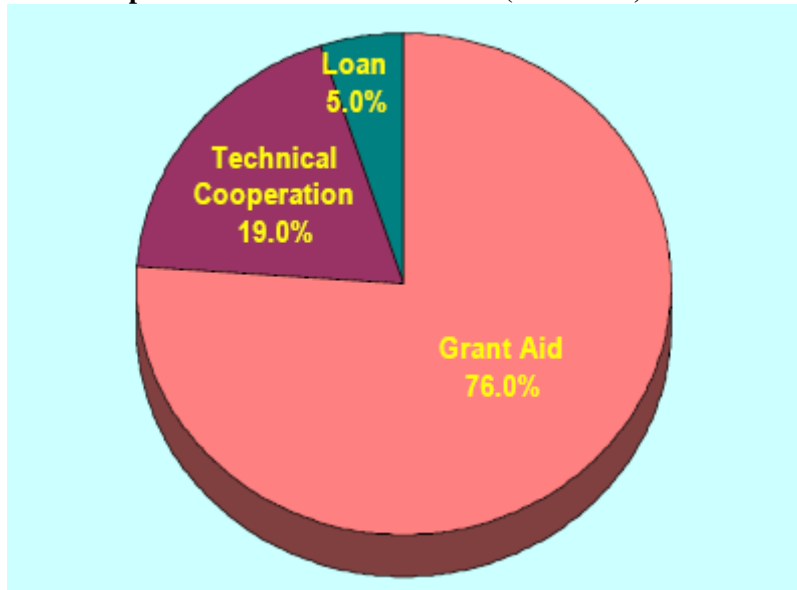


Source: Remenyi, (2004: 205)

**Figure 5 The Ideal Four Components in Society**

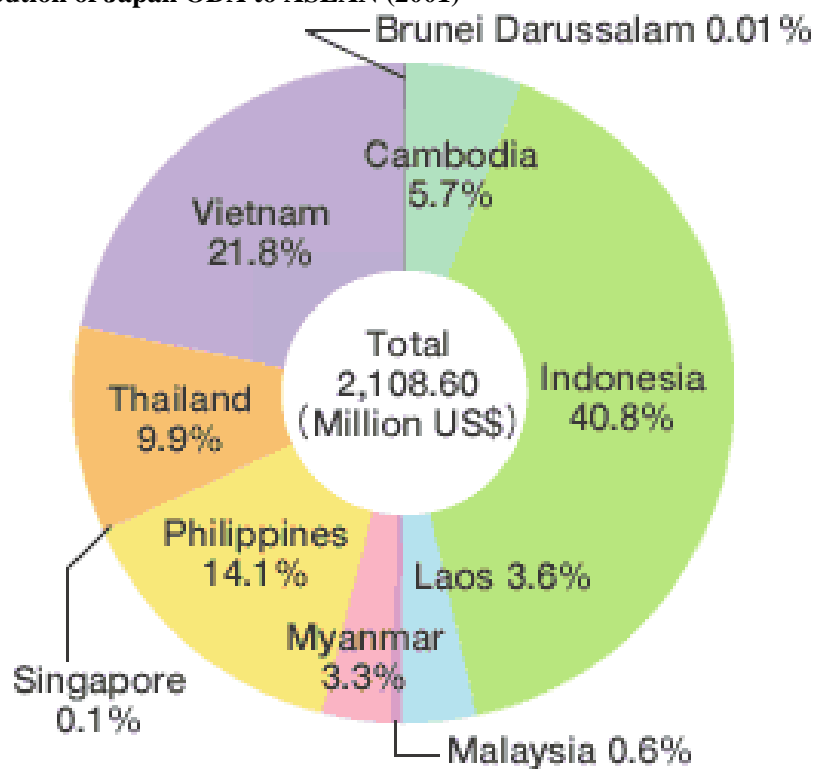


**Graph 4 Proportional of Japan's Total ODA in Cambodia (1991-2001)**



Source: JICA Web [no date]

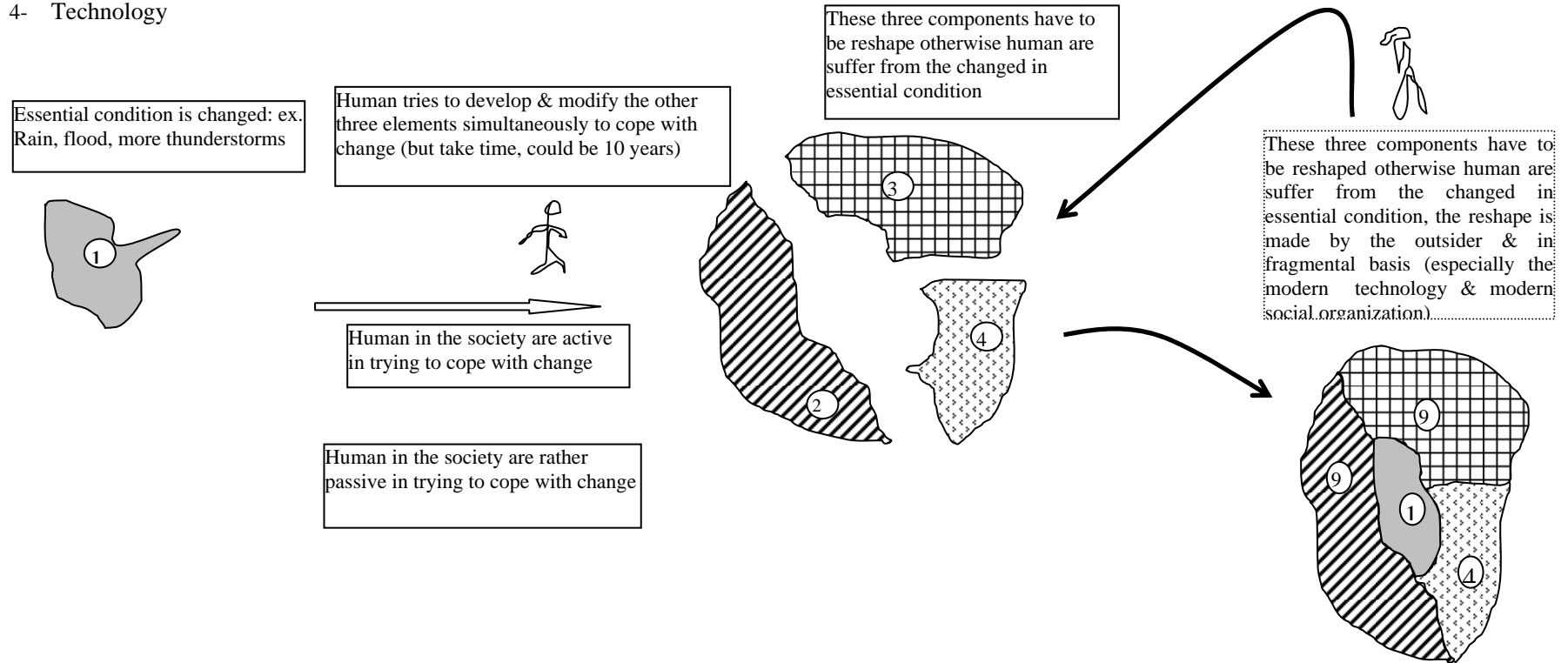
**Graph 5 Distribution of Japan ODA to ASEAN (2001)**



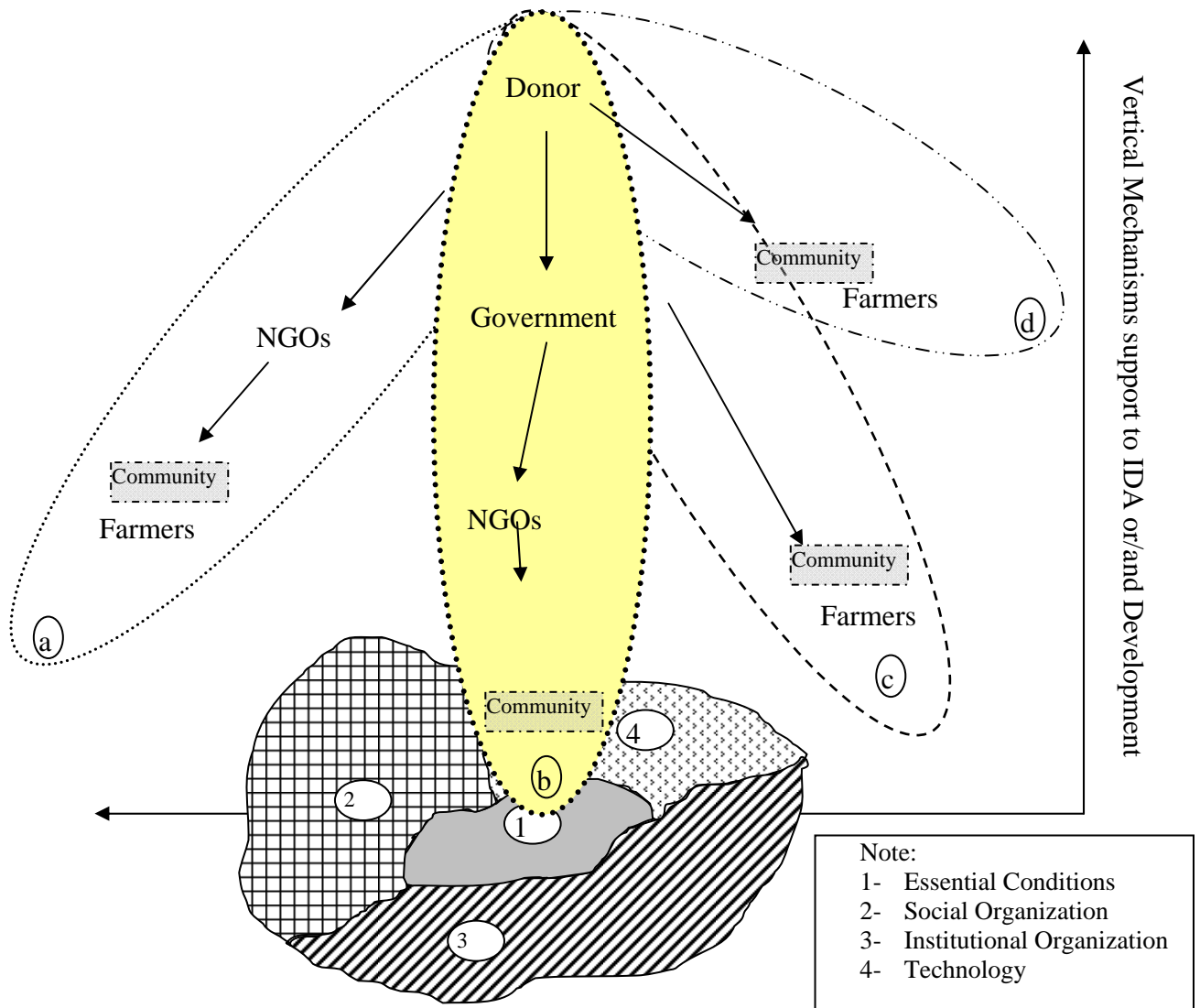
Source: ASEAN Japan Center Web page  
 Note: Net disbursement basis

**Figure 6 Changing in a Society by Development**

- 1- Essential Conditions
- 2- Social Organization
- 3- Institutional Organization
- 4- Technology

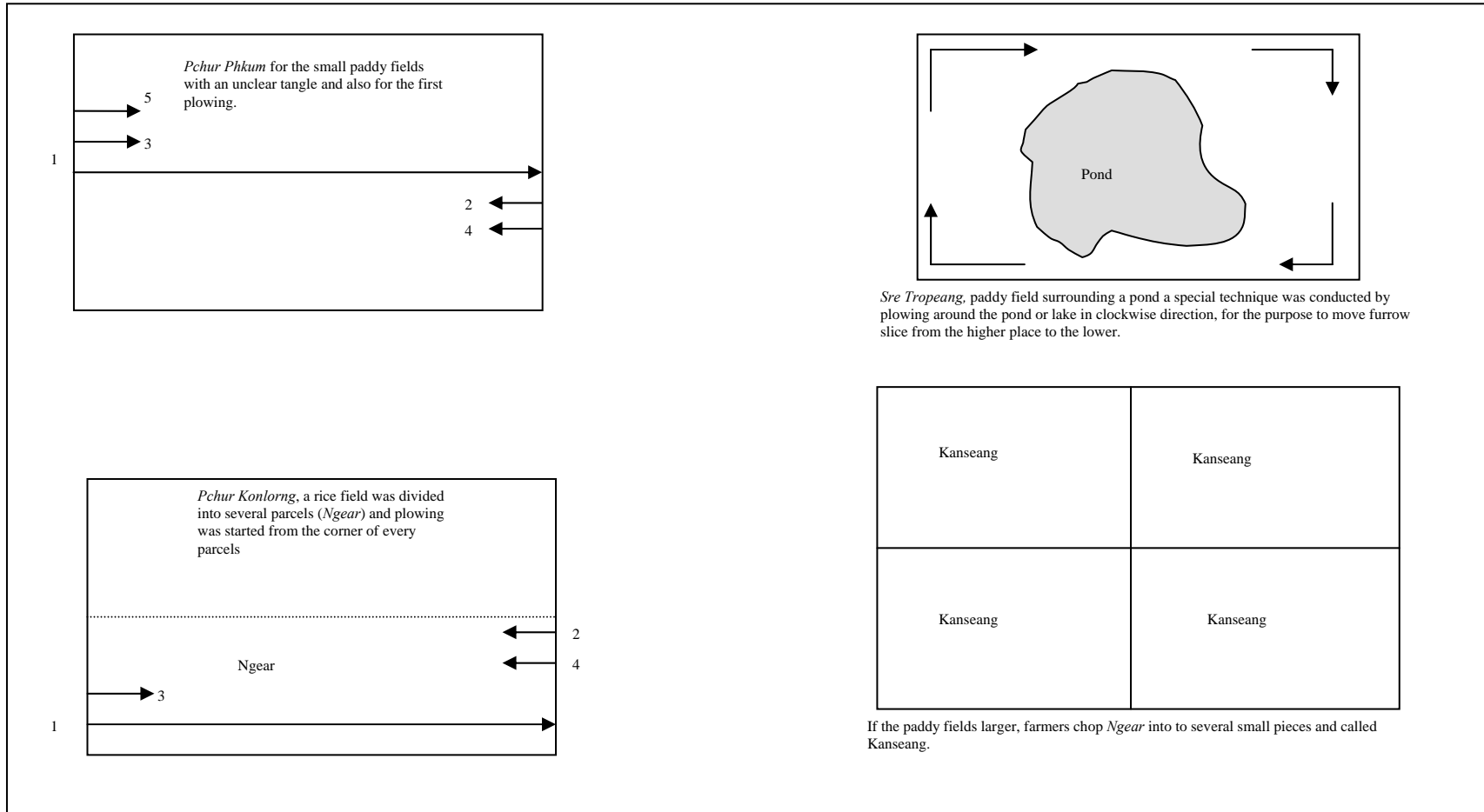


**Figure 7 Vertical and Horizontal Aspects Support IDA and/or Development**



Horizontal Mechanisms support to IDA or/and Development

**Figure 8** Traditional techniques of paddy field plowing practiced by *Sambo villagers*



Source: Field note, sketched by Navuth 2002

## Appendices “B”

### List of Interviewees

The list here is including only the institution’s names. It does not cover the name list of villagers whom I made interview or talking with as I prefer not to publicize their names. I also did not include in this list the farmers whom I met in *Sambo* as well as in other’s villages. However, I really admire their contribution in my research.

#### **Foreign Organizations** (*International and national Officers*)

Social Fund of Cambodia: Advisor

JICA Cambodia office: Project Formulation Advisor

JICA- Technical Service Center for Irrigation System Project: Chief Advisor

Japan International Volunteer Center (JVC): Country Director

The World Bank Cambodia Office: Poverty Specialist, Rural Sector Coordinator for Cambodia and Laos, Operations Officer and Rural Development

FAO (Food and Agricultural Organization): - Agricultural Development and Food Security Officer

UNOPS-PLG (United Nation Office for Project Services- Partnership for Local Governance): - Operations Advisor

Shanti Volunteer Association (SVA): senior advisor

Canadian Cooperation Office- a Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA): - Assistant Director

#### **UN Related Organization** (*Cambodian National Officers*)

UNOPS-PLG (United Nation Office for Project Services- Partnership for Local Governance)

Kampong Cham province office: Senior Provincial Program Advisor

UNOPS-PLG (United Nation Office for Project Services- Partnership for Local Governance),

Ministry of Interior, Department of Local Administration (DoLA):

- Local government policy & Operation Adviser to DoLa

- Decentralization capacity building adviser to DoLA

UNOPS-PLG (United Nation Office for Project Services- Partnership for Local Governance) Siem Reap province office:

Senior provincial program advisor,

Deputy program advisor,

Provincial infrastructure advisor, agricultural advisor

UNOPS-PLG (United Nation Office for Project Services- Partnership for Local Governance)

Kampong Thom Office: Provincial management advisor

UNOPS-PLG (United Nation Office for Project Services- Partnership for Local Governance)

Agricultural Ministry Office: National Agriculture Project Officer to ADESS (Agricultural Development Support to SEILA)

UNDP Cambodia: - Governance Analyst



EU/UNFPA- Reproductive Health Initiative for Youth in Asia (RHIYA): - RHIYA Coordinator  
World Food Program- Kampong Thom Office: Provincial program manager

**Cambodian NGOs**

CCC (Cooperation Committee for Cambodia): Assistance executive director, Administration and financial manager

Fisheries Action Coalition Team (FACT): - Executive Director

Centre d’Etude et de Developpement Agricole Cambodgien (CEDAC):

Director,

Organization development section leader,

Water user group coordinator

Caritas Cambodia: Administration assistant

Swiss Interchurch Aid (HEKS): Team Leader

World Vision International- Prasat Sambo District office Representative of World Vision in the District

**Consultancy Firms**

SAWAC (a Cambodian consultancy firm): Head of environmental department

Mott MacDonald (a consultancy firm) and Ministry of Water Resources and Meteorology, Flood Emergency Rehabilitation Project: - Field and Design Engineer

**Governmental Ministries/departments**

Ministry of Agriculture, forestry and fisheries: - Undersecretary of State

Ministry of Agriculture, forestry and fisheries, Department of Agriculture of Kampong Thom Province: Deputy Director

Ministry of Agriculture, forestry and fisheries, Department of Agriculture of Kampong Thom Province, Prasat Sambo District:

- Director of Prasat Sambo Agricultural District Office

Ministry of Water Resources and Meteorology:

- Deputy Director of Irrigation and Drainage Department

- Director of Planning and International Cooperation Department

Ministry of Water Resources and Meteorology, Kampong Thom provincial Department: Deputy Director

Council for the Development of Cambodia (CDC), the Cambodian Rehabilitation and Development Board (CRDB), Department of Asia-Pacific of Bilateral Aid Coordination& Management:

Visiting Assistant Staff to the Department of Asia-Pacific of Bilateral Aid Coordination& Management

**Commune Council**

Kampong Chhnang Province, Rolear Pha Ear district, Pro Snep Commune:

chief of commune councilor

Kampong Thom Province, Prasat Sambo District, Sambo Commune

chief of Sambo commune councilor

chief of Sambo village

## List Questionnaires

The questionnaires here were designed to supplement the participation and observation methods. All the questions were used in different ways, but the paper based survey (a paper form of questionnaire survey while each respondent has to fill in the form) was not possible to implement.

Three reasons of why I didn't use paper based survey: (i) the literacy of the villagers is limited; (ii) the making a paper based survey- is just a quick process and the quality of the information collected cannot be optimized and maximized; (iii) doing research by myself without assistance, gives me a chance to encounter with the real problem and real information (observation goes together with the questions).

These questionnaires were not recited in front of the informants but rather I memorized it (before the each field works).

At first three main categories of general questions were used: (i) Question toward understanding “concept of development” of all development actors; (ii) Question which is aimed to finding “efficient GLC” (Grassroots Level Community) and (iii) Additional questions (designed for specific actors).

While at the village (to say so, it doesn't mean the previous three groups questionnaires were not used in the village), the questions concerning with specific subjects were employed. Those questions are: concerning with ancient monuments, religions, annual calendar of the village, the division of labor, flora, land procession, rice seed characteristics, and rice cultivation methods.

The questionnaires for the sample were separately set.

### GENERAL QUESTIONNAIRE

#### **Question toward understanding “concept of development” of all development actors**

Representatives of four stakeholders were interviewed. The question is different from person to person, from stakeholders to stakeholders. While asking to a person from one side, I tried to ask about his her opinion and belief toward the other three.

#### *Warming up questions*

How are you?

Are you busy with your work?

Organization responsibility

You are the only one in charge this work?

Can you tell me how the work is preceded?

***Familiarity to the job;*** (author assumes that through contact with grand-parent; parent; relatives; friend: interviewee can get influence from them for his or her social understanding and decision making or policy making)

*- by working and education*

How long have you been in this position?

Before you came here, where were you been working?

What is your educational background?

How often you go to the field (rural village, project site)? For what purpose you go to the field? How long you spend time there? Whom you often meet in the field?

- *by birth and contact (outside job and formal education)*

[Birth]

Where were you born?

You remember your natal place? Was it nice; beautiful? You like it? You visit there sometime?

Where were you live during your youth?

[Parent]

If you don't mind can you allow me to ask about your family?

What is you parents job?

Are they originally from city?

[Grand Parent]

Where were you grand parent live? They are still alive? You visit them sometime (how often)? what are they doing now?

[KR period]

Where was your family live during Khmer Rouge (KR)?

How old were you during KR time?

What was your job during KR? Was it hard?

[After KR]

After KR; how many relatives alive? Still have connection with them? Who is the most frequently you contact? What is s/he doing?

[Friends]

What are you doing during weekend?

If you go out, you go out with your family or friends? Who are those friends (job, nationality)?

[Religion]

Are you going to church or to pagoda? How often you go there? When you go there? With whom you go there? Have you meet someone there? can you tell me the most interesting point that you want others to know?

**General understanding about Cambodian society**

In your opinion what is Cambodian civil society?

What is a poor Cambodian farmer?

What is the most need of Cambodian farmers? And in the name of we are a development agent, so what is the most important things that we shall help them?

What is the first priority shall development agency helps the farmers first? Or What is the most importance that we have to help farmers?

Why the farmers are still poor?

What a Cambodian farmer's family look like in your image? (foreigner)

**General understanding about Cambodian development**

- what is the goal of development of our country? Or what do you want our country be?
- What do you think about agricultural development which is currently in practice?

Do you think it is in the right way? If yes (not) why? Then what shall it be?

- What do you mean by poor? Why they are poor?

**Concepts about other actor**

How often you meet government (or NGOs, donors, farmers)?

What do you think about the way that “people” do in development?

**Working procedures**

- Who and what government institutions you are working with as partners?
- How often you contact to those partners?
- Fund for the project (sources, flowing of fund, how to get fund)
- How often you go to the field?
- The process of a project cycle (from initiation to the final, eg. how a project was initiated?)
- How to organize or coordinate a meeting with the farmers? How to gather the farmers to participate a meeting?
- The interviewee’s knowledge about the other’s organization or other’s project work? (eg. While I interview one who works in NGO ‘a’, I ask her/him, how about NGO ‘b’)

**Others**

How difficult while you are in this position? Why?

How you can make World Bank different or out of criticizing? (for World Bank and ADB only)

Is there any forum where all the donors are meeting, talking each other? (ask to interviewees who are working in the donor or NGO) and how often they meet? What they are talking about?

**Special question to the farmers**

[village]

Village name; population (man; children; age; education)

Chief of village (his/her personality has to be known)

The geographical characteristic of the village (border with; pond, river; canal; rice field; forest; bridge; road...)

Social service infrastructure: health; school...

Pagoda; church; ritual medium...

Annual Village Calendar (all activities of the villagers)

Rice plantation (privately or cooperate based on reciprocal systems)

Take attention (observation) on the overall picture of the village

- visual: how farmers live; how their house is look like? How farmers wearing?...all activities in the villages

[Modern development]

NGOs in the village: name NGOs, who is the key person of the NGOs (work with; or cooperated with)  
VDC or CBO or SHG is existed there?

[villager]

Talking to Old and young; men and women (the goal of talking is to find):

- any solidarity existed
- any village festival is celebrated?
- who is the key person or the wise man? (to whom village listen and follow)
- the opinion about development made (initiated) or being make by NGOs?
- what is the most need
- Opinion about SEILA and commune council
- Satisfaction about the development
- what shall it be?
- opinion toward NGOs; CC; village chief, VDC; SHG; CBO

**Question which is aimed to finding “efficient GLC” (Grassroots Level Community)**

Efficient is defining by: full participation; full representation; transparence; accountability; sustainability...

**The present GLC**

List all type

Was it evolved or created?

How it was created or evolved?

Who was involved in the process of creation?

Who was the initiator in the creation?

Key persons behind the creation or evolution?

Reasons behind creation or evolution?

Farmers view about each GLC

Who are the leader or committee members of the GLC? How farmers view about those leaders?

**Finding the invisible GLC**

How farmers construct, repair, a house (road, bridge...)

How farmers celebrate village’s festival

How farmers cultivate rice

How a decision is made inside the village?

Who is the most preferable person now? Why?

Observe the gathering activities (in pagoda, in school...)

Incuse your child becomes sick? To whom you have to consult with at first? Why?

**Go back to the past**

How to repair a village “road”?

Who was the most preferable person in the village? Why?

How a village festival was celebrated?

Which place used to be a gathering place?

**Additional questions (designed for specific actors)**

**NGO**

**Development**

How long the NGO was created

Funding from where

NGOs activities

Target area

Policy of the NGO (objective, criteria for an effective development)

The organization structure

Working procedures from the headquarter to the people

How the NGO works with people, via what?

*Agriculture*

what are the most farmers need?

Why these are the most needs

how to solve these needs

what are the reasons that lead farmer poor?

**Donor**

*Background*

Policy of the donor or for giving fund

Organization structure of the donor

How many foreign officers

If multilateral, getting fund from where?

How long been involved in Cambodian development

Project that considers to be granted

*Donor-government*

Does donor gives fund to government?

How many project and what type? Why give to this project?

In order to get fund from your, what kind of procedure shall proceed?

**Government**

This question is aimed to officer at ministries: agriculture, rural development, water, council development

Government development policy

What are the most farmer needs?

[same as NGO/agriculture]

**SPECIFIC QUESTIONNAIRES**

**Prasat (Ancient Monument)**

**a- Your parents or grant parents (Interviewee’s parents or grand parents)**

How did they (your parents or grand parents) believe in Prasat? Any specific gods did they believe in?

Name of those gods

Why did they believe in?

For what purpose did they believe those gods?

Were those gods strong and efficient?

Was it different between today and during your youth of people going to Prasat?

Where did your parent/grand parent feed the animal?

*How often your parent went to Prasat?*

- for what purpose

- with whom?

- for how long he/she spent their time in the prasat

- do you have any story related to this Prasat?

From whom you know this story?

**b- Yourself (Interviewee)**

Does the Prasat give any interest to you or your family?

How often you go to Prasat?

with whom?

For what Purpose?

At what time you go to Prasat

How do you believe in Prasat? Any specific gods do you believe in?

Name of those gods

Why do you believe in?

For what purpose you believe these gods

Those gods are strong and efficient?

Where do you feed the animal?

for how long do you spend your time in the prasat

do you have any story related to this Prasat?

**Religion**

Interview with *Nak Chol Rup*- the spirit medium and *Achar* (layman in a Buddhist monastery)

Festival name:

When, Where, Who manage?

For what purpose this festival

How (tell me very descriptive of this festival from preparation till final)

Do you still celebrate this festival?

If yes, why

If no, why

How important for you and for the village as your opinion

The other data are collected through participation observation.

### The Annual Calendar of Sambo Villagers

Months <sup>272</sup>	Rice cultivations and other activities	Crops Varieties	Ceremonies
<i>Caet</i> 1			
April 30			
<i>Visak</i> 1			
May 31			
<i>Ceh</i> 1			
June 30			
<i>Asat</i> 1			
July 31			
<i>Srap</i> 1			
August 31			
<i>Potrobot</i> 1			
Sept 30			
<i>Asoit</i> 1			
October 31			
<i>Kaduk</i> 1			
Nov 30			
<i>Miek</i> <sup>273</sup> 1			
Dec. 31			
<i>Boh</i> 1			
January 31			
<i>Miek</i> <sup>274</sup> 1			
February 30			
<i>Palkun</i> 1			
March 31			

<sup>272</sup> In *Italic* of this column is the name of Cambodian lunar months.

<sup>273</sup> As in Ebihara’s work, this month was named as *Mukase* (Abihara, 1968), here Sambo’s villagers call *Miek toch* (with a addition “*toch*- small”) and another *Miek* is *Miek thom*.

<sup>274</sup> *Miek* but *Miek thom* (Big *Miek*) was called..



The division of Labor in common activities

xx = activity performed primarily; x = activity performed; - = activity not performed;

O = occasionally performed; VR = very rare; OIN = only if necessary

Activities	Males	Females	Children
Selecting forest to be a <i>Chamcar</i>			
Preparing rice fields for planting (including <i>Chamcar</i> )			
Plowing and harrowing fields			
Pulling seedling			
Transportation seedling			
Transplanting			
Harvesting rice			
Threshing rice			
Winnowing rice			
Fishing			
Gardening			
Caring for cattle			
Caring for pigs and chickens			
Driving ox-carts			
Cooking			
Cleaning house			
Caring for children			
Sewing and mending			
Washing clothe			
Gathering firewood and carrying water			
House construction and carpentry			
Weaving			
Making thatch			
Making wicker baskets			
Making palm leaf bins, mats, etc.			
Ordinary marketing			
Buying or selling of rice, pigs			
Buying or selling of cows and chickens			
Buying or selling of land			
Participating in supernatural ceremonies			
Participating in Buddhism ceremonies			

Flora Cultivated in Sambo

English name	Cambodian name	Scientific name
Note:		

**Land**

Type of land, present condition of land, land tenure, land holding by family (or average)

Rice field

Before: the number of plots, size, the water source, the soil type

Present: the number of plots, size, the water source, the soil type

Chamka field

Before: the number of plots, size, the water source, the soil type

Present: the number of plots, size, the water source, the soil type

House land

Around your house, was there any changes of household tree/plantation?

Note (differentiation between before and today)

Problem related to land:

Cause of decreasing/increasing land (sell/buy, distribute to their son/daughters, others)

Please draw your field (rice field and chamkar) down here:

No.	Name of Household Head	Household Land				Rice Field (ha) [1]	Chamcar's Land (ha)					Total (ha) [1]+[2]	Grand Total (ha) [1]+[2]+[3]
		Width (m)	Length (m)	Area			Cashew Nut	Water Melon	Rice Field	Free Land*	Total [2]		
				ha [3]	Sq.meter								
1													
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Characteristic of Rice

Household head name:

Date:

Please tell me the name of rice variety that you used to use?

Please tell me the name of rice variety that you are using?

Characteristic of rice

Variety name:

Is it a late/medium or early variety?

When this will it use?

For what type of ecological condition (rain rate) or  
example for the year which has pest invasion?

For what kind of rice field (the lower type or higher type rice field)?

For what soil type?

The physical feature of this rice grain? – color of the rice? Size of the grain (long, or fat)?

The husked rice feature: color, the grain is small or big?

The taste of the rice while cooked?

If eaten, the feeling of fullness is long or short time?

The price in the market

The health condition receives from eating this rice

The method of cultivation this variety

1)- Seedling

How to preparing the rice bed?

The method of rice seedling maintenance?

The method of pulling the rice seedling (when it is mature enough to be pulled for transplantation)?

the soil preparation for rice transplantation: plow, harrow, level the ground, water high

2)- Transplanting, maintenance and threshing

- how many trunks have to be used for each bunch?
- how far should it makes between the bunches?
- the rice field maintenance: water and disease (pest or insect)
- the maintenance method at each stage of rice develops: tillering, fully developed, pollinated and blooming stages...
- at what age the rice has to be harvested?
- How to thresh and store the rice?

The opinion regarding to this variety (in cultivation, disease resistance):

how is the growing rate of rice

water requirement: is it resistance to the short drought? or long flooding?

Harvest- difficult to be harvested as it high tile is shorter or taller or when it is mature the rice trunks are fallen?

The maintenance? Is it difficult?

Any other opinions about this variety different from which I just mentioned earlier?

History of the variety

still villagers cultivate this variety?

Still, why?

If not, why?

If this variety is available, do villagers prefer to use?

Please if you know, describe the story of this rice variety? (the origin name or the person who brought it into the village?

- why the variety has this name?
- when did it available in the village? Or just found it since you were born?
- Other story relates to this variety?
- From whom or where you know this story?

Comparison

The variety is easy to cultivate if comparing with other varieties?

The variety is easy to cultivate if comparing with newly or modern varieties?

Do you want to add something?

*Farmer opinion on rice quality type*

Because Cambodian farmers produces rice for the own consumption then this part is aim to identify the differentiation character between traditional crop and modern crop

	New crop	Traditional crop
The amount of rice for a lunch for one person		
Their feeling after eating		
Period of feeling full		
Energy gained		
Disease frequently cached when eating this rice		
Other notification		

**Rice Cultivation Techniques**

This question covers not only the techniques of rice cultivation, but also includes the labor mobilization.

**Before (your parent or grant parent did)<sup>275</sup>**

Starting from selecting the rice seed.

**PREPARATION**

When did they decide to prepare land and tool to work (any specific natural signal/indicator that can make them decide to start their work) (cut or burn or plowing, leveling)

When did they start to prepare tools for work?

What type of tools did they prepare for?

How did they select the field for nursery bed?

How did they prepare the rice nursery bed for seedling?

How did they prepare the land for planting?

How to inform their neighbors to come to share labor?

Was the food provided for the participant? If yes, how did they prepare food?

**Plowing and Harrowing**

When did they decide to re-plow the field for seedling (*Das Thanal Samnab*)?

When did they decide to re-plow the rice field (*Das Sre*)?

Any religious events were celebrated before plowing is started?

If yes, how did they celebrate this event? (Please describe in details)

Did they using labor sharing or reciprocal labor to plowing and harrowing?

How many times did they plowing the field? Harrowing?

*Technique of plowing:*

How to hold the plow? In which degree if the soil is hard/soft

What method did they use to plow? (*Puh Troung* or others method)

How dept of plowshare did they make? This is according to the field and/or rice seed?

for how long did they keep the plowed soil to be deteriorated (*Pha-ap Dey Tuk*)?

Did they left over the corner part of the field un-furrowing? For what purpose or not?

What did they do for the last moment of their plowing? (how did they build/dig water way inside the field?)

*Technique of harrowing:*

What did they do for the last moment of their plowing/harrowing? (how did they build/dig water way inside the field)

**Sowing Seed**

Was rice for sowing (rice seed- *Srov Puch*) saved from each year’s harvesting? Or borrow or purchase?

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<sup>275</sup> The question is break down into two type: their (interviewee) parent or grand parent and themselves. However the almost the same questions were asked .

How much of rice were needed to be sown for transplanting 1 hectare of rice?

How many people that they need to pull 1 hectare of rice seedling?

How long did your parents keep the seedling before transporting to transplant?

How did they transport?

How did they take care the rice seedling (the rice seedling is believed to have own spirit, special care have to be made otherwise the spirit of seedling goes away leaving unhealthy rice seedling, which will produce bad harvesting)?

## TRANSPLANTING

Method of rice transplantation

### **Technique of caring rice disease and preventing**

Prevention

What did they do to prevent from disease or insect? (eg. To prevent from disease or insects invasion, villagers have to give the gift or have to recite a special prayer which aims to prevent the disease or insect invasion)

*Curing rice disease*

What did they do when their rice have problem such as insect invasion?

## TRANSPLANTING

Method of broadcasting

## BROADCASTING

Method of broadcasting

PLANTING high land rice (*Srov Chamkar*)

*How to Choosing the field to be a Chamkar*

When we watch from the far, what kind of bushes that make them to choose to be a *chamkar*

What kind of tree which can leads them to select this field to be a *chamkar*

what kind of soil type that can be a criteria to choose to be a *Chamkar*

*Preparation of the field*

- What did they do before start to clear the bushes? Any pray were made or give to the spirits?
- What did they do before start to clear the bushes? Announcement to the authority or other people in the village were made?
- When did they start to clear land? At what season?
- What were the criteria that can lead them to start to plant rice or other crop (bean...)

How did they plant rice?

What did they do to care their plant?

How to prevent from wild animal? any specific animal or tree or method were used?

Did they use different rice seed in different year?

How did they choose a specific rice seed for a specific year (more raining/shortage of rain or disease, or animal or insect invasion year)

#### HARVESTING

Rotation time or fallow period (method)

*If this year, this place were used by us then next several years can we use this field again?*

#### **Today (you are doing every year)**

From selecting the rice seed,

#### PREPARATION

When do you decide to prepare land and tool to work (any specific natural signal/indicator that can make you decide to start your work) (cut or burn or plowing, leveling)

When do you start to prepare tools for work?

What type of tools do you prepare for?

How do you select the field for nursery bed?

How do you prepare the rice nursery bed for seedling?

How do you prepare the land for transplanting?

How to inform your neighbors to come to share labor?

Is the food provided for the participant? If yes, how do you prepare food?

#### PLOWING AND HARROWING

When do you decide to re-plow the field for seedling (*Das Thanal Samnab*)?

When do you decide to re-plow your rice field (*Das Sre*)?

any religious events are celebrated?

If yes, how do you celebrate this event? (please describe in details)

Do you plowing and harrowing in the sharing labor?

How many times do you plowing the field? Harrowing?

#### **Technique of plowing:**

How to hold the plow? In which degree if the soil is hard/soft

What method do you use to plow? (*Puh Troung*- a method of rice field plowing or others method)

Dept of plowshare? According to the field and/or rice seed?

For how long did you keep the plowed soil to be deteriorated (*Pha-ap Dey Tuk*)?

Do you left over the coner part of the field un-furrowing? You do this for what purpose or not?

What do you do for the last moment of plowing a field? (how do you make/dig water way inside the field)

#### **Technique of harrowing:**

Tell me the technique of harrowing

#### **Sowing Seed**

Is rice for sowing (*Srov Puch*) saved from each year's harvesting? Or borrow or purchase?



How much of rice for sowing are needed for transplanting 1 hectare of rice?

How many people do you need to pull rice seedling for 1 ha

Does the people who come to participate in the reciprocal labor exchange, were provided something during pulling rice seedling?

How long do you keep the seedling before transporting to transplant?

How do you transport the rice seedling?

How do you carrying seedling from field to put on the ox-cart

How do you care the seedling (spirit of seedling?)

#### TRANSPLANTING

Method of rice transplanting

#### **Technique of curing rice disease and preventing**

##### *Prevention*

What you do to prevent your rice from disease or insect? (eg. To prevent from disease or insects invasion, villagers have to give the gift or have to recite a special prayer which aims to prevent the disease or insect invasion)

##### *Curing rice disease*

What you do when your rice have problem such as insect invasion?

#### BROADCASTING

Technique of rice broadcasting

#### PLANTING rice *Srov Chamkar*

##### *How to Choosing the field to be a Chamkar*

When we watch from the far, what kind of bushes that make you to choose to be a *chamkar*

What kind of tree which can leads you to select this field to be a *chamkar*

what kind of soil type that can be a criteria to choose to be a *Chamkar*

##### *Preparation of the field*

- What do you do before start to clear the bushes? Any pray were made or SEN?
- What do you do before start to clear the bushes? Announcement to the authority or other people in the village were made?
- When do you start to clear land? At what season?
- What are the criteria that can lead them to start to plant rice or other crop (bean...)
- How do you plant rice?
- What do you do to care your plant?
- How to prevent from wild animal? any specific animal or tree or method were used?
- Do you use different rice seed in different year?
- How do you choose a specific rice seed for a specific year (more raining/shortage of rain or disease, or animal or insecticide?)

#### HARVESTING

Land Use

*Rotation time or fallow period*

If this year, this place were used by us then next several years can we use this field again?

QUESTIONNAIRES FOR EACH SAMPLE

Each sample was asked by the following questions:

Household property:

1-1 Agricultural related: cattle, pig, chicken, buffalo, ox-cart, harrow, plough, rice field, *chamkar*, back yard gardening.

1-2 Entertainment: TV, radio, battery for TV or radio

1-3 Transportation: bicycle, motorbike, (ox-cart)

1-4 well, fruit tree surrounding the house

1-5 Job: carpenter, seasonal wage laborer...

1-6 Others: electrical lamp, kerosene lamp, fishing and hunting equipment

Education: the head of the family, and the eldest son/daughters

Marriage and Inheritance: to whom your son/daughter marries? Where is your in-law son/daughter coming from? where the young couple is going to live? What kind of present were given to the young couple?

Religious related: go to pagoda? How often?

Income: rice production, water melon, cashew nut and others such as daily wage work for forest clearance.

Expenditure: children schooling (education), buy medicine (health care), food purchasing (daily, weekly...expense on salt, vegetable, meat, fish sauce, palm sugar, monosodium glutamate, oil, garlic and fish paste), agricultural purposes (fertilizer, pesticide...), expense for donation and religious purposes (donation to elders and festival contributions), other expenditures such as for tobacco, betel...

Annual calendar of each sample

Genealogical and local relationship of each sample

Reciprocal labor exchange

Community or NGOs: do you know that “A” community? How do you know? Have you participate in the election of the village chief? What do you think? Why you know?

**Assumption**

Where there is no detail, or informants cannot give detail data that helps to calculate into annual statistic, then to ease the calculating the annual income, expenditure of a family, I have to make assumption based on Cambodian local culture, preference, and general tendency.

- 1). An average will be used, e.g. 200 *riel*- 300 *riel* then I take 250 *riel* as an average.
- 2). Supposed s/he uses **oil** 15 days in a month
- 3). Supposed s/he uses **sugar or skor sor** only 4 months in a year and other 8 months s/he uses **palm sugar**)
- 4). Supposed s/he uses **fish** 15 days in a month and **pork** 5 days in a month, 5 days **smoked fish** and 5 days **other foods** in a month
- 5). **Papaya**: 2,000 *riel*/time and 2 times in a week (supposed available only for 5 months in year)
- 6). **Fish paste**: 0.5 kg = 1,300 *riel* for 2 months (supposed s/he uses 10months/year)
- 7). **Fish sauce**: 1 liter= 500 *riel* for 5 days, (suppose use 5 days in a week)
- 8). **Cabbage**: 500 *riel*/day (almost everyday- supposed 10 days/months)
- 9) **Melon**: 800 *riel*/day (most often than cabbage- supposed 20 days/month)
- 10). **Garlic**: 2g= 500 *riel* for 1 week (suppose s/he uses 10 months/year)
- 11) To be motorcycle taxi driver: 5,000 *riel*/day (but very rare- occasionally get 30,000 *riel*/day) then (suppose he gets 30,000 *riel*/day in three times within two months and he does motor driver for 8 months/yea

## **Term of Reference of Village Development Committee**

### **A. Village Development Committee Formation**

1. The Village Development Committee (VDC) is formed through an election in accordance with the procedures of the Ministry of Rural Development. Two members of the VDC will represent the Village on the Commune Development Committee (CDC): one man and one woman. The VDC Chief will be one of the members and the other member will be chosen by the VDC.

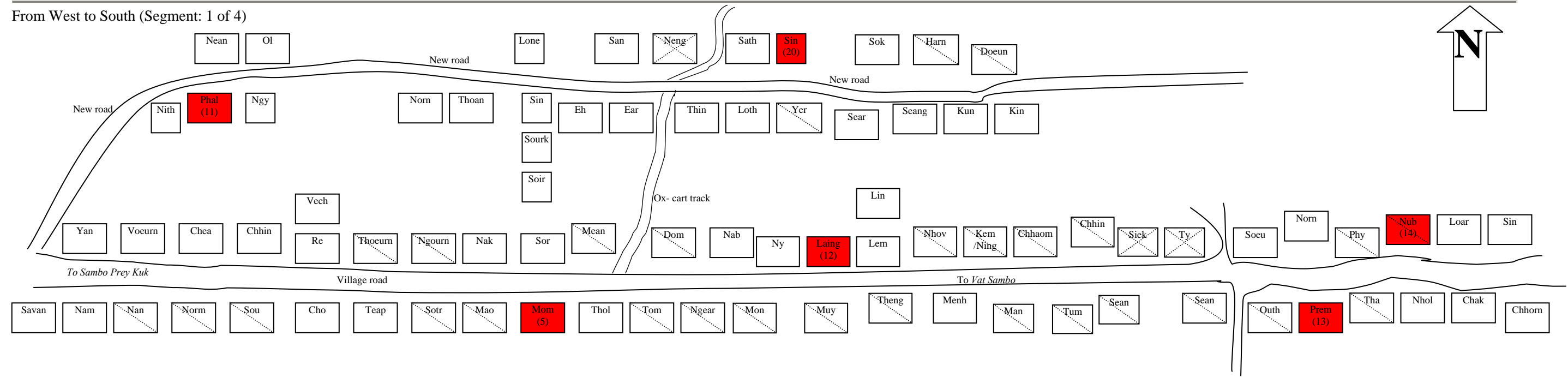
### **B. Village Development Committee Formation**

2. The responsibilities of the VDC and its members are as follows:
  - Ensure the VDC is represented in all CDC meeting and activities including the formation of the Commune Development Plan; preparation for the District Integration Workshop; decision on allocation of commune resource; and monitoring, evaluation and documentation of activities;
  - Assist in the collection/verification of data and assessment of needs and priorities in the village;
  - Disseminate information and raise the awareness at village level of the local development process and all decisions made by the CDC;
  - Assist and facilitate the preparation of project proposals and work plans undertaken by the CDC;
  - Assist in the collection of local contributions and the mobilization of unskilled labor for CDC projects;
  - Assist in the monitoring of project implementation including progress reporting and certification of works;
  - Assist in the maintenance of project undertaken by the CDC;
  - Ensure the smooth interaction between provincial departments, development agencies, the CDC and the village in support to development of the village.

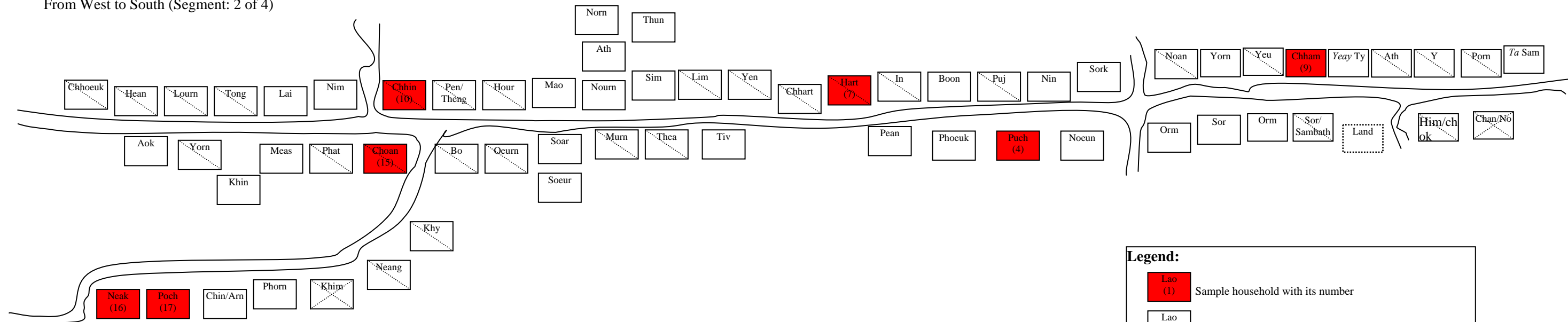
Source: IFAD 2000: attachment 5

Sketch of Sambo village with location of Sample

From West to South (Segment: 1 of 4)



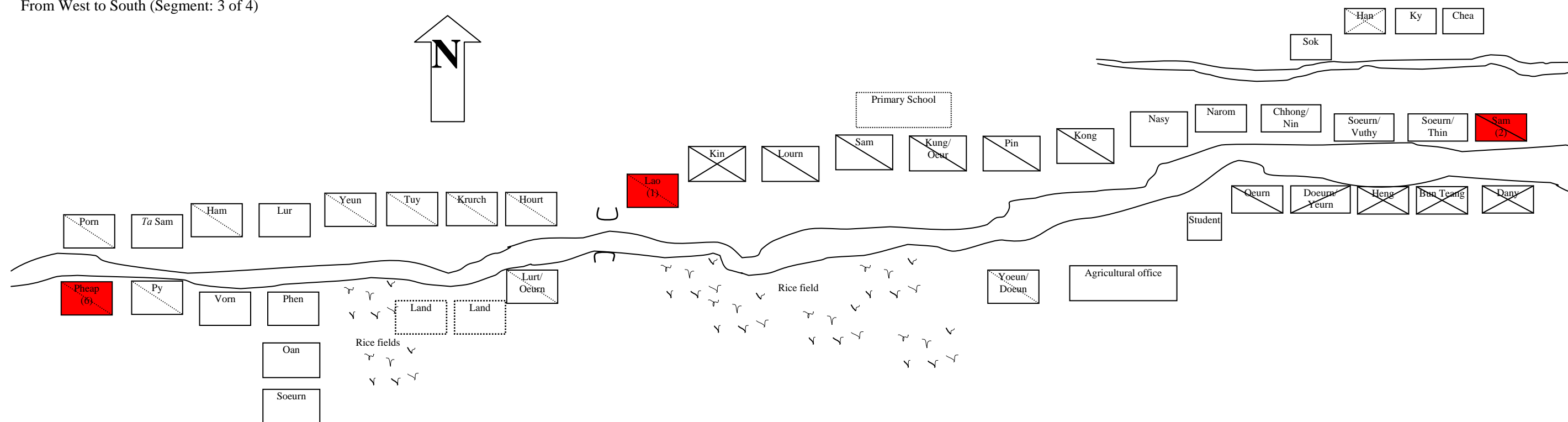
From West to South (Segment: 2 of 4)



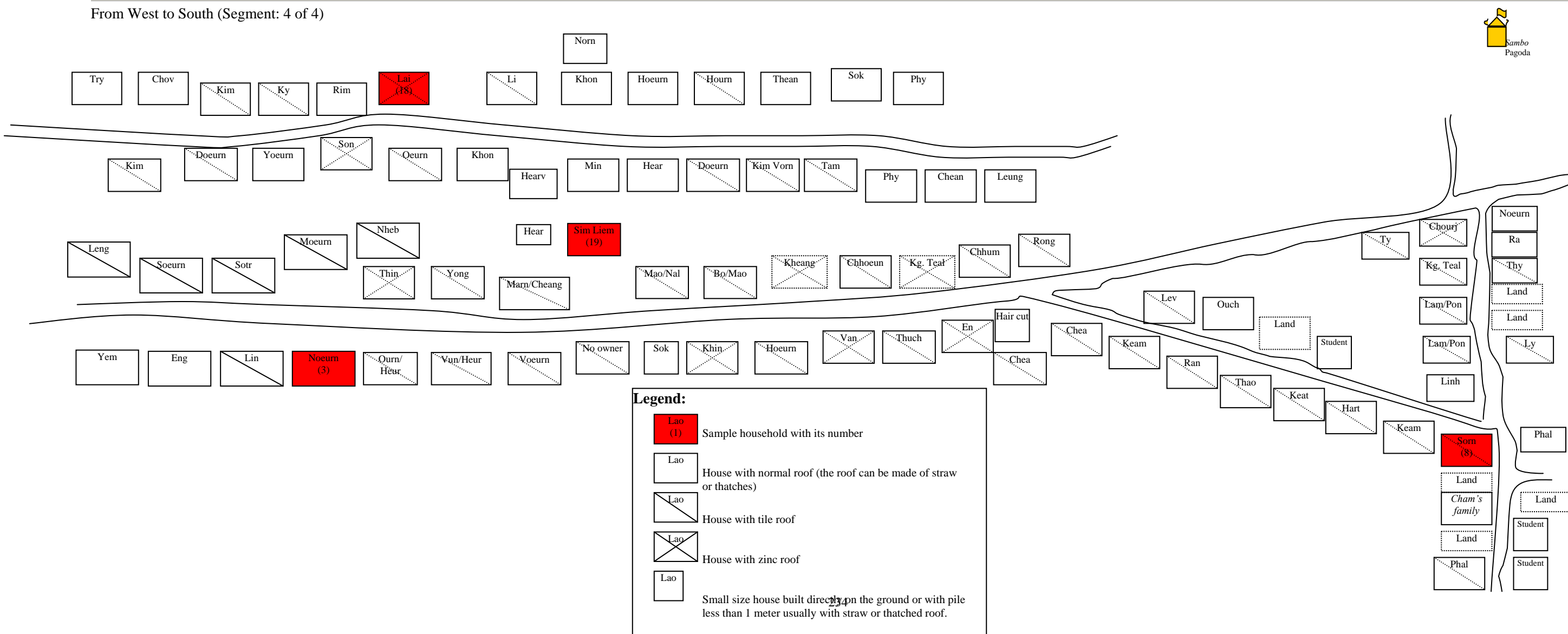
**Legend:**

- Lao (1) Sample household with its number
- Lao House with normal roof (the roof can be made of straw or thatches)
- Lao House with tile roof
- Lao House with zinc roof
- Lao Small size house built directly on the ground or with pile less than 1 meter usually with straw or thatched roof.

From West to South (Segment: 3 of 4)



From West to South (Segment: 4 of 4)



**Legend:**

- Lao (1) Sample household with its number
- Lao House with normal roof (the roof can be made of straw or thatches)
- / House with tile roof
- X House with zinc roof
- Lao Small size house built directly on the ground or with pile less than 1 meter usually with straw or thatched roof.

## Appendices “C”