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PROMISES KEPT?

A Study on the Development of 77
Eviction Sites in Phnom Penh



សមាគមចានត្នោត

Sahmakum Teang Thaut, a Cambodian Urban NGO



សម្រាកប័ណ្ណប្រជាជនកម្ពុជា

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Borei Keila 2011



Source: Ben Woods, 2011

Borei Keila 2016



Source: STT, 2016

Reak Reay 2011



Source: Ben Woods, 2011

Reak Reay 2016



Source: STT, 2016

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List of Abbreviations

BKL.....	Boeung Kak Lake
CDC.....	Council for the Development of Cambodia
FGD.....	Focus Group Discussion
GIZ.....	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Zusammenarbeit
IFC.....	International Finance Corporations
KII.....	Key Informants Interview
LICADHO.....	Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights
MLMUPC.....	Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction
MoP.....	Ministry of Planning
MPP.....	Municipality of Phnom Penh
NALDR.....	National Authority on Land Dispute Resolution
OHCHR.....	The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
RGC.....	Royal Government of Cambodia
STT.....	Sahmakum Teang Tnaut
UPWD.....	Urban Poor Women Development

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Phnom Penh is a rapidly changing city marked by urban development. In 1998 one in every 20 Cambodians lived in Phnom Penh. Within four years, this statistic has become one in every ten Cambodians¹. Between 1998 and 2008 the city's population more than doubled, increasing from 567,860 to 1,237,600 people². Six satellite cities are currently being developed around Phnom Penh and the skyline of the city is increasingly dotted with multi-story buildings, with more under construction. Over the past five years the district boundaries have been changed in order to ease the administrative burden that arises from such expansion, with the number of khans (districts) increasing from eight to 12³. Furthermore, it has been reported that there are plans to extend the city boundaries⁴. As the city has developed, there has been a growing demand for land for commercial and public sector development. Concurrently Phnom Penh has seen a rise in forced evictions from land around the city, particularly areas occupied by the urban poor. While much attention has been brought to specific instances such as that of the former residents of Boeung Kak Lake and Borei Keila, in truth the practice of forced evictions is far more pervasive than such focused media attention would suggest.

In 2011 Sahmakum Teang Tnaut (STT) undertook research on the proliferation of forced evictions in Phnom Penh, identifying 77 sites where evictions had taken place. Among the justifications for these evictions provided by the Municipality of Phnom Penh (MPP) and the Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC) was that the sites were needed for commercial development and beautification of the city⁵. This implies that these developments will bring both economic advantages and improvement of standard of living to Phnom Penh residents. In all aspects of urban development there is clearly a cost-benefit analysis to be made. The decision to evict residents from their lands to make way for development suggests that at that time, it was projected that the benefits arising from this action outweighed any negative impact. However, what is not known now, five years later, is whether this has turned out to be the case.

There is a wealth of research showing the detrimental effects that forced evictions have had on the lives of the urban poor, who have been most affected by this practice⁶. Several studies have highlighted that evictees are frequently placed at relocation sites at a significant distance from their original homes⁷. This has resulted in a worsening of both living standards and livelihoods. Common issues at relocation sites have been poor quality and limited access to infrastructure, including a lack of water, electricity and sanitation, and lack of access to health and education facilities. The remoteness of

¹ Ministry of Planning. (2012). Migration in Cambodia: Report of the Cambodian Rural Urban Migration Project (CRUMP). Retrieved from: <http://www.mop.gov.kh/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=LrGGcGoNsXY%3D&tabid=213&mid=687>

² Ibid.

³ Khuon, N. (2013, December 18). Three New Districts in Phnom Penh Approved. The Cambodia Daily. Retrieved from: <https://www.cambodiadaily.com/archives/three-new-districts-in-phnom-penh-approved-49424/>

⁴ Kang, S. (2015, 21 March). Phnom Penh Municipality Plans City Expansion. The Cambodia Daily. Retrieved from: <https://www.cambodiadaily.com/archives/phnom-penh-municipality-plans-city-expansion-80500/>

⁵ Bristol, G. (2007). Cambodia: the struggle for tenure. Retrieved from:

<http://unhabitat.org/wpcontent/uploads/2008/07/GRHS.2007.CaseStudy.Tenure.Cambodia.pdf>; OHCHR, Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. (2010). Eviction and Resettlement in Cambodia Human Costs, Impacts and Solutions. Retrieved from: http://cambodia.ohchr.org/WebDOCs/DocProgrammes/Resettlement_Study-28_Feb_2012_Eng.pdf

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Mgbako, C., Gao, R., Joynes, E., Cave, A. and Mikhailevich, J. (2010). Forced Eviction and Resettlement in Cambodia: Case Studies from Phnom Penh. Wash. U. Global Stud. L. Rev. 39, 9(1).; Sahmakum Teang Tnaut, (2012). Resettling Phnom Penh: 54 – and counting?. Facts and Figures Report 21. Phnom Penh.

relocation sites has resulted in increased cost of amenities as residents are forced to turn to costly private water and electricity suppliers because state supply is unavailable; loss of employment because the distance from the city and the associated cost of petrol made continuation of their previous job untenable; and reduction in income because of limited employment opportunities at the relocation site. Deterioration of psychosocial circumstances has also been noted. A 2013 study by Strey Khmer Organisation⁸ found that female evictees⁹ reported sadness, increased worry, sleeplessness, lethargy and decreased concentration since the evictions. It also found signs of post-traumatic stress disorder, generalized anxiety disorder, and depression, with some women expressing suicidal ideation.

By contrast, little is known about the benefits brought to Phnom Penh by the developments that took place on these eviction sites. Cambodia's economy has developed significantly, with an average growth of 7% between 1993 and 2013, which has been driven by tourism, the garments industry, rice production/exportation, and construction¹⁰. However, in 2015 the World Bank reported that the contribution of the garment, tourism, and agriculture industries to Cambodia's economy had decreased, and construction was the primary area displaying growth¹¹. This suggests potential immediate benefits of making land available for development in Phnom Penh, but there is no direct evidence that this is the case. Furthermore, it does not address any questions about the long-term benefits of the development of the evictions sites, for the city or its residents.

In terms of development outside of Phnom Penh, there is already emerging evidence that the distribution of Cambodia's lands for commercial enterprise has not seen the long-term benefits to the country that has been anticipated. In April of this year, it was reported that Economic Land Concessions – a mechanism by which the Cambodian government can lease land to agro-business development – generated only \$5 million for the state in 2015 due to the lack of collection capacity and corruption¹². Furthermore, on an anecdotal level, while some eviction sites in Phnom Penh have been fully redeveloped, others have seen partial construction while still others remain an untouched block of weeds. This undermines the suggestion that such developments have contributed to Phnom Penh's economy or the living standards of its residents, in the long or short term. However currently no comprehensive data is available on the extent and manner in which eviction sites have been developed since the evictions took place, making it difficult to analyse such assertions.

The present research seeks to contribute to the cost-benefit analysis of evictions to facilitate urban development in Phnom Penh. STT revisited the 77 eviction sites identified in 2011 to assess what development had taken place, if any over the past five years. Our research found that only 35% of these sites were completely developed; 40% were partially developed and no developments had occurred at 25% of the sites. The results identified that three different types of development were most prevalent across the locations: residential buildings, commercial or business developments, and road rehabilitation or expansion. When interviewing urban poor residents either still living on or nearby the sites, 41% said that they were unsure whether the project had followed what had been proposed, and 47% were even unsure what had actually been developed on the location. Furthermore,

⁸ Strey Khmer Organization. (2013). They took my land, they took my life: A report on the psychosocial impacts of land and evictions on women in Cambodia. Phnom Penh, Cambodia. Retrieved from: <https://streykhmer.files.wordpress.com/2013/02/sko-summary-report-final-27-02-2013.pdf>

⁹ It should be noted that this study looked at evictees in provincial areas as well as in Phnom Penh.

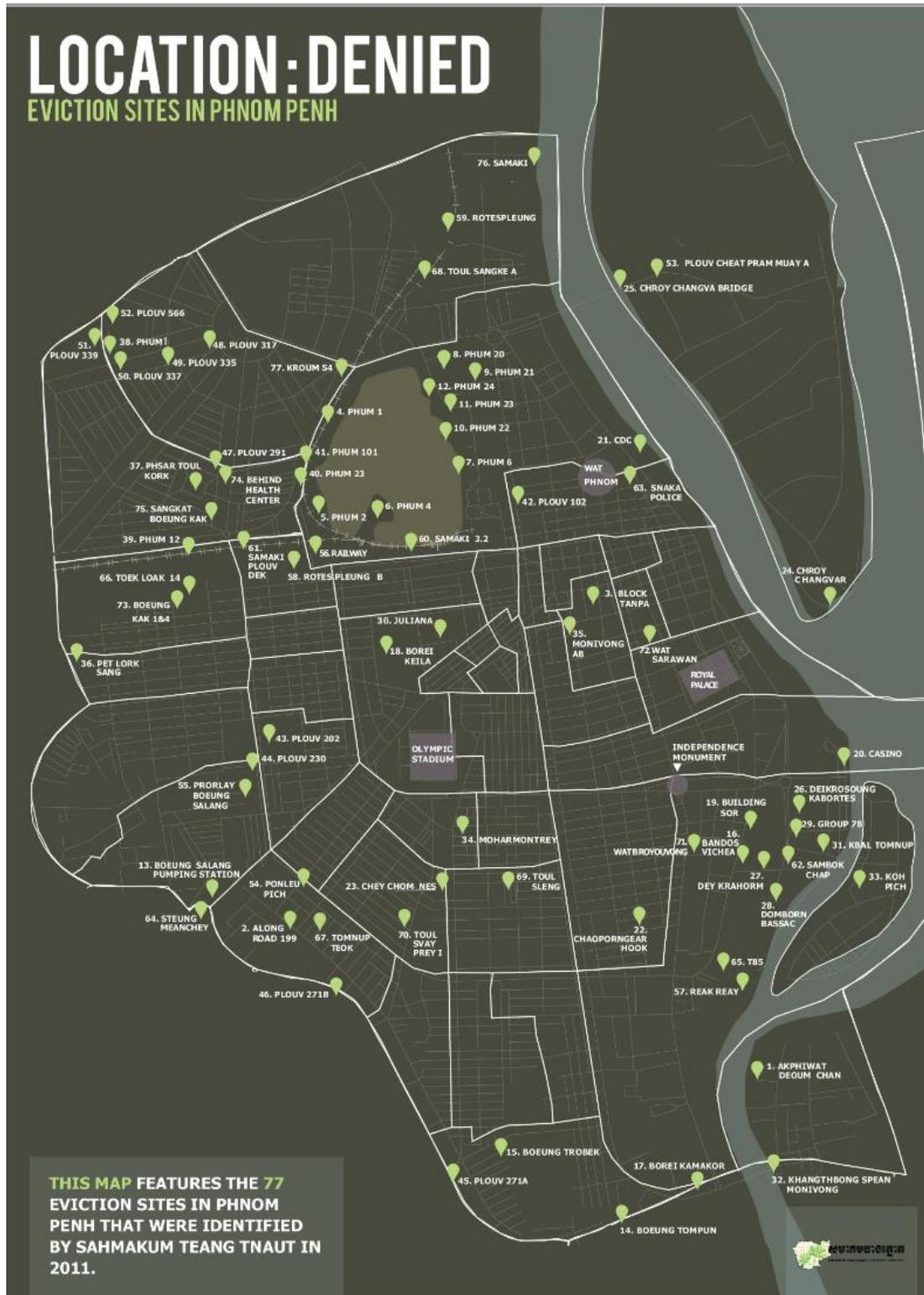
¹⁰ Senghor, S. (2015). Driving Forces of Future Cambodia's Economic Growth. Development Research Forum Synthesis Report. No. 2, July 2015. Retrieved from: <http://www.cdri.org.kh/webdata/policybrief/df/SynthesisReport2-2015.pdf>

¹¹ World Bank Group. (2015). Cambodia Economic Update. October 2015. Retrieved from: <http://www.eurocham-cambodia.org/uploads/a7b60-wb-cambodia-economic-update-oct-2015.pdf>

¹² Baliga A., and Sokheng, V. (2016, April 18). ELCs earn just \$5M for gov't. Phnom Penh Post. Retrieved from: <http://www.phnompenhpost.com/national/elcs-earn-just-5m-govt>

STT examined the impact the evictions/developments had on the living conditions of the urban poor still residing on or nearby the sites. The survey found that overall, their living conditions and livelihoods had generally worsened; yet their access to public services had generally improved; and social cohesion and community relations had generally remained the same.

Figure 1: “Location: Denied” – Eviction Sites in Phnom Penh



1.2. Research Objectives

The research objectives for this report were as follows:

- To establish what developments had taken place at the 77 eviction sites in Phnom Penh, as a follow up report on STT's 2011 'Location: Denied' Map, in an effort to decipher if promises have been kept;
- To analyse the extent to which these eviction sites have been used by developers or the MPP as initially planned;
- To assess the living conditions of communities still inhabiting or living nearby these evictions sites;
- To make clear recommendations to stakeholders (i.e. Cambodian Government, donors, private firms, local communities) about future urban planning based on the findings from this research.

1.3. Significance of the Research

Though there is a great deal of research dedicated to demonstrating the negative effects of forced eviction on the urban poor, there is little exploration of both the immediate and long-term benefits of development. Urban development is the driving cause of urban poor evictions in Phnom Penh, and as such, this research is significant in supporting future cost-benefit analyses of urban development. This research is also important in determining whether forced evictions can be justified given the development progress of the 77 eviction sites, which are the subject of this research.

At a general level, this research is a source of information and knowledge to those negatively affected by development – whether this be directly or indirectly – or for those supporting such communities (i.e. NGOs, charities, human rights groups). At a more specific and focused level, this research, along with the recommendations made, are a source of advice to local governments, developers (public and private), and international communities, to be considered when planning or supporting future developments, or implementing laws to protect those harmed by development.

Lastly, the ability to monitor the progress of urban development over time, and to assess its impact on people – particularly the urban poor – will be a salient reference source for future research conducted on this topic.

Chapter 2. Methodology

2.1. Selection Criteria

The research had two subjects – the physical locations of the eviction sites and individuals living on and near those sites.

- The eviction sites were identified by reference to the 2011 ‘Location: Denied’ Map. This map was correlated with five other maps of forced evictions in order to identify the GPS coordinates for the sites¹³.
- Individuals living on and near the evictions sites were selected by purposive sampling of those who were willing to participate in the survey. Respondents were interviewed on their awareness of the current development plans of the site and the impact the development and/or eviction had on their living conditions.

2.2. Data Collection Methods

2.2.1. Primary Data Sources

a. Observational Survey

An observational survey was conducted to determine the current development status of each of the eviction sites. Observations were made regarding the ability to access the site, the extent of development, and the current site usage. Specifically, these observations helped determine the stages and progress of development for each site. The research team consisted of one Research Officer and two Interns who conducted the survey and took photographs. The total time spent at each site for the observational survey averaged between 15 to 20 minutes.

b. Communities Survey

A communities survey was carried out in addition to the observational survey to gather relevant information from individuals impacted by the evictions and/or developments. This survey was conducted during the same site visit as the observational survey, and was carried out once the researchers had completed the observational survey. One survey was carried out at each site with one respondent. The interviewers located respondents by going from household to household or walking around the vicinity of the eviction site, at locations where urban poor residents lived. The research team interviewed 46 respondents at 46 sites. The other 31 sites either did not have any people living on or nearby the area (19 sites), or people at the site were either unwilling (1 site) or unable to participate in the survey due to various reasons such as being unsure of the answers (11 sites). Forced evictions are a contentious issue in Cambodia and activists and staff of STT and other NGOs have been harassed, threatened, and jailed for drawing attention to the issue. Therefore, some potential respondents may have been unwilling to speak with the research team in part because they feared threats, intimidation, or violence if they were seen speaking to NGO researchers about forced evictions. Moreover, many residents who came to the site after the initial evictions were unaware of the issues, and thus were not able to provide sufficient answers to the survey questions. Researchers spent on average 15 to 20 minutes to complete each interview.

¹³ Refer to appendix 1 for the map names and N/A sites.

c. Key Informant Interviews (KII)

Key informant interviews were an essential social tool used to capture the qualitative data and enable the researcher to acquire more information on the current policy and development plans by these agencies. These KIIs were conducted with several stakeholders:

- i. Urban poor residents affected by forced eviction – via a focus group discussion (FGD);
- ii. Urban Poor Women Development (UPWD) – via interview;
- iii. Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defence of Human Rights (LICADHO) – via interview.

An FGD was led by STT to gain qualitative data on their experiences of the evictions and developments on their living conditions, and to acquire an understanding on their views on development on the urban poor¹⁴. Present in this discussion were seven respondents representing six different eviction sites: Chroy Chongvar, Borei Keila, Village 23, Toul Sangke B, Steung Meanchey, and Boeung Kak Lake¹⁵. Each site was represented by one respondent, except Boeung Kak Lake, which had two representatives present. The FGD was conducted over two hours and utilized semi-structured questions facilitated by two STT staff members.

Two semi-structured interviews were held with staff of two NGOs working directly with urban poor communities affected by urban development and forced evictions. STT's Research Officer conducted an interview with the Programme Manager of UPWD and the Manager of Monitoring and Protection from LICADHO¹⁶. Both interviews lasted approximately 1 hour.

2.2.2. Secondary Data

Secondary data used throughout this report had been obtained from various sources which include: organizational reports, government reports, academic papers, media articles and other available publications.

2.3. Scope and Limitation

Throughout the research gathering process and writing of this report, STT faced several barriers in obtaining relevant information and data from various bodies, including local people and government bodies.

Key to the above stated objectives, STT aimed to determine if the initial promises of development have been kept, based on development plans for the 77 evicted sites. However, limited access to such blueprints and development plans from developers and/or MPP have prohibited an in-depth comparison between development plans and actual development. One key example includes a letter submitted to the MPP¹⁷ explaining the research objectives and justification for the plans. However, this request was denied by both the MPP and Ministry of Planning (MoP) under the guise that neither were responsible for the plans.

STT has previously experienced challenges when engaging with government authorities on land and urban rights issues in Cambodia. In 2011, STT was temporarily suspended¹⁸ for 5 months as a repercussion of a report released on the "Rehabilitation of Cambodia's Railways: Comparison of Field

¹⁴ Refer to Annex 3 for the full FGD checklist.

¹⁵ Respondents for the FGD were decided based on who still lived on/near the eviction site.

¹⁶ Refer to Annex 4 for the full UPWD interview checklist, and Annex 5 for the full LICADHO interview checklist.

¹⁷ Refer to appendix 2.

¹⁸ The Phnom Penh Post. (2011). STT blasts its suspension. Phnom Penh, Cambodia. Retrieved from: <http://www.phnompenhpost.com/national/stt-blasts-its-suspension>

Data”, reporting on the lower rates of compensation being offered to urban poor households affected by the Rehabilitation of the Railway Project.

Further problems included locating former residents of the evicted sites for participation in the communities survey. Several sites did not have any urban poor residing near the location, reducing the number of respondents available for interviews. Additionally, in the instances where residents could be located, some were hesitant or reluctant to answer various questions regarding land ownership and living conditions, out of fear that it may impinge on their security and promised compensation may not be received.

Finally, due to limited records of urban settlements, researchers encountered difficulties in locating the exact boundaries of many sites, forcing reliance on estimations. The initial data included a GPS point, but in some cases, there was no other information about the size or boundaries of the eviction site. Estimations were made based on residents’ approximations of their community, when residents could be located for questioning, to aid in the assessment of site boundaries.

Chapter 3. Findings

3.1. Summary of the Evicted Sites

In 2014, STT reported that since 1990 over 29,700 Cambodian families have experienced eviction or displacement from their homes in Phnom Penh, justified in the name of, and, the need for ‘development’. Upon revisiting the 77 eviction locations in 2016, STT found that the level of development that had occurred across the sites varied significantly. For instance, only 35% of sites had been fully developed, such as in Borei Keila, where a commercial development had been built on the site where an urban poor settlement once resided, and 1,426 families were forcefully evicted throughout 2005, 2007, and 2009. Some of the fully developed sites have undergone substantial transformations, such as Koh Pich, where the land mass had been expanded and is populated by private developments (refer to case study ‘1. Koh Pich/Diamond Island’). The remaining 65% of the sites, however, were either partially developed or experienced no development at all (section 3.2.1. below discusses the findings in more detail). In Sambok Chap, for instance in June 2006, over 1000 families were evicted¹⁹, and more than 10 years on, the development of a football pitch and night market has only been partially completed. And, across the Boeung Kak Lake communities a known 2,688 families were evicted from 2008-2011 and the lake only remains filled with no further work having taken place (refer to case study ‘2. Boeung Kak Lake’). Furthermore, in locations Wat Sarawan (570 families were evicted in 1990) and Block Tanpa (refer to case study ‘3. Block Tanpa’) no development had occurred since the forced evictions had taken place. Across the 77 sites, 41% were identified as developments owned by private companies, 26% were under the ownership of the government, and ownership of the remaining 32% could not be determined due to a lack of signage on site or public information available.

A key concern with forced eviction is both the lack of forewarning received by those being evicted, and the compensation said families received. In 45 sites, recorded data shows that evictees were given some form of formal notice (typically this is received from MPP and other local authorities, such was the case in Reak Reay)²⁰.

Additionally, when families were forced from their place of residency to make way for new development, few, if any, received adequate compensation (15% of sites informed STT that some form of compensation was offered, but it is unclear how much compensation was received in 84% of sites²¹). In some instances, the financial compensation offered reportedly ranged between \$250 USD to \$8,000 USD²². In other cases, such as Chroy Changva Bridge site, families were offered small amounts of land (10 meters x 30 meters). Compensation is particularly inadequate when residents are in possession of land tenure documents, such as in Toul Sangke A, where residents had received land tenure documentation from the MPP. Yet, they were only compensated \$500 USD for being forcibly evicted from their land.

¹⁹ LICADHO. (2016). Statement: Forced Eviction of Sambok Chab Village. Retrieved from: <http://www.licadho-cambodia.org/pressrelease.php?perm=118>

²⁰ Sahmakum Teang Tnaut, (2014). Phnom Penh's History of Displacement – Evicted Communities From 1990 to 2014. Facts and Figures #23. Phnom Penh, pp.1-9. Retrieved from: http://teangtnaut.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/FactFigures23_Evicted-Communities-PP-1990-2014_VsFinal.pdf

²¹ Ibid.

²² Communities Survey Data: see appendix 4.

In 2001, revisions were made to Cambodia's land laws²³. These changes allowed individuals residing peacefully on land (that could be privately possessed) to become eligible to submit a request for definitive title of ownership, providing they had resided there for at least five years²⁴. However, eligibility and actuality are not the same. Lack of knowledge on how to obtain land titles, as well as systemic corruption at the local authority level²⁵, prevented many forced evictees from obtaining such documentation.

²³ Council for the Development of Cambodia, (2001). Updated Land Law. Phnom Penh, Cambodia.

²⁴ Sahmakum Teang Tnaut, (2013). Policy for the Poor? Phnom Penh, Tenure Security, and Circular 03. The Urban Initiative. p.34. Retrieved from: http://teangtnaut.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/The-UI_Policy-for-the-Poor_2013.pdf

²⁵ Bristol, G. (2016). Cambodia: the struggle for tenure. Case study prepared for Enhancing Urban Safety and Security: Global Report on Human Settlements 2007. [online] p.11. Retrieved from: <http://unhabitat.org/wpcontent/uploads/2008/07/GRHS.2007.CaseStudy.Tenure.Cambodia.pdf>

3.1.1. Case Studies

Case Study 1: Koh Pich/Diamond Island	
Stage of Development: Complete Location: Island Eviction Cause: Foreign Development	Families: 300 Status: Evicted Relocated: Damnak Trayoung/Ang Snoul (30km from Phnom Penh)
<p>Overview:</p> <p>Rich fertile land, availability of water, and access to markets had lured approximately 300 families to take up residency on the island of Koh Pich, a relatively new location in Phnom Penh. However, its estimated commercial value of \$17 million USD²⁶ has attracted development opportunity in recent years, and in 2005, half of the families residing on the island were relocated. The remaining half were left to resettle by their own means. Led by OCIC/7NG, the island has become a residential and entertainment area.</p> <p>Residents Voice:</p> <p>After hearing rumours of eviction from 7NG, on December 6th 2004, families were presented with an eviction notice from the firm, giving them one month to vacate their homes. Understanding that their land and homes would be taken, families sought after the best deal they could get, though the agreed compensation is inconsistent and varied²⁷.</p>	
Construction in Koh Pich	Completed Structure in Koh Pich
	
Source: Ben Woods, 2011	

²⁶ Rith, S. and Cochrane, L. (2005). Koh Pich: island in a stream of greed. The Phnom Penh Post. Retrieved from: <http://www.phnompenhpost.com/national/koh-pich-island-stream-greed>

²⁷ Ibid.

Case Study 2: Boeung Kak Lake (BKL)

Stage of Development: Partial Development
Location: Lakeside
Eviction Cause: Development

Families: Known 2,688
Status: Evicted
Relocated: Various Locations

Overview:

Boeung Kak Lake encompasses nine different eviction sites that are located either on or by the lake's edge. Yet whilst families have resided here for decades, development opportunities have resulted in the forced eviction of many families. The Phnom Penh based firm Shukaku signed a 99-year lease giving them rights to 133 hectares of the lake and surrounding area²⁸. Through filling the lake with sand, the intended development for most of the area is an "eco-city", which will include housing and business centres, among other things, whilst one site (Phum 2) has been cleared for road development. Residents in three of the nine sites in Boeung Kak Lake were relocated post eviction, whilst two were not. The relocation status of the remaining four sites is unknown. The extent of the injustice imposed on forced evictees is reflected in the imprisonment of four women who were residents in BKL in September 2016. They were imprisoned for protesting the forced eviction.

Residents Voice:

In a focus group discussion conducted by STT in 2016, families affected by new development plans reported that their lives were worse post-eviction. One participant commented that "it is very difficult for us to survive ... because there is no electricity, water, or health centre". They further added that some community members have been made jobless and have become beggars.

BKL post eviction, lake filled with sand



BKL post eviction



Source: Ben Woods, 2011

²⁸ Titthara, M. (2010). Boeung Kak villagers call on PM to intervene in land case. The Phnom Penh Post. Retrieved from: <http://www.phnompenhpost.com/national/boeung-kak-villagers-call-pm-intervene-land-case>

Case Study 3: Block Tanpa

Stage of Development: No Development
Location: Rooftop
Eviction Cause: Old Building/Fire

Families: 17
Status: Evicted
Relocated: Kraing Angkrong 2

Overview:

Residents at Block Tanpa began to settle on this site shortly after the collapse of the Pol Pot regime in 1979, but due to the building's dilapidated state and a fire in this rooftop community in 2002²⁹, many residents were relocated to an area 11km from Phnom Penh City, whilst others re-settled nearby. Since relocating, living conditions have reportedly improved due to the living area consisting of a considerably wider space. Previously, the narrow and cramped area made living difficult. Access to electricity also improved since relocating. There are however aspects that have made the community arguably worse-off in total: children in the community could no longer attend school, and employment opportunities for the most part vanished. Furthermore, access to markets for the purchase of necessities and selling of goods has become increasingly more difficult.

Residents Voice:

After the fire in this community, the Block Tanpa Village Chief informed STT via telephone that no financial compensation had been provided. Instead, those impacted were offered land in the surrounding area by the local government, however the exact boundaries of this land are unclear to the community. Whilst no financial compensation was issued, residents may sell the land given as compensation for an estimated value of \$20,000 – \$30,000 USD.

Fire at Block Tanpa



Water is thrown on the fire



Source: John Vink, 2002

²⁹ Sahmakum Teang Tnaut, (2014). Phnom Penh's History of Displacement – Evicted Communities From 1990 to 2014. Facts and Figures #23. [online] Phnom Penh, pp.1-9. Retrieved from: http://teangtnaut.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/FactFigures23_Evicted-Communities-PP-1990-2014_VsFinal.pdf

3.2. Key Findings - Promises Kept?

The aim of this report is to examine both the extent of development and the type of infrastructure development that has occurred across the 77 eviction sites, as well as assess the living conditions of the urban poor inhabiting these eviction sites (or nearby). In order to determine whether such promises of development (as outlined in the RGC's Rectangular Strategy³⁰) have been kept, two surveys were carried out at each site: 1. An "Observational Survey" which evaluated the accessibility of the site, the level of development, the type of development and the site's current usage; and, 2. A "Communities Survey" which interviewed respondents living on or nearby the sites to understand their socio-economic background, their awareness level of the planned development project, and the development's / eviction's impact on their living conditions.

3.2.1. Observational Survey's Key Findings

The observational survey was carried out at each of the 77 locations, to establish what developments had taken place at the forced eviction sites identified by STT in 2011³¹. For 11% of the sites, there were barriers restricting access into these locations meaning the observations could only be conducted from the perimeter of the sites.

3.2.1.1. Assessment of the Developments

The key findings from the observational survey indicated the current state of development across these sites: 35% were completed developments; 40% were partially developed and no developments had occurred at 25% of the sites³². The results found that three different types of development to be the most prevalent across the locations, which were: residential buildings, commercial or business developments, and, road rehabilitation or expansion. Further observations found that 76% of the residential developments consisted of low-cost flats. For the commercial and/or business developments, 35% comprised of business centres. This was also the case for 20% of the partially developed commercial sites. An additional 20% were railway developments and another 20% were road constructions. Moreover, the survey identified the Municipality of Phnom Penh (MPP) as the main government body using the developments at 43% of the partially developed sites, and 44% of the completed buildings. The Ministry of Public Works and Transport were also observed to be using 44% of the completed developments. In all, there were no serious hazards observed across the sites, except for signs of poor maintenance such as rubbish (33% of the sites) and road deterioration (at 30% of the sites).

3.2.1.2. Current Site Usage

Table 1 (page 15) provides a breakdown of how many sites were being used for different purposes. Out of the 77, 13 sites had not been developed, and the 64 which had been completed, or partially constructed were (as mentioned in section 3.2.1.1 above) predominantly commercial or residential. And, a high number of the residential (68%) and commercial developments (60%) were occupied and operating. Of these 64, only eight of these sites were developments established to support the welfare and livelihoods of local residents. For instance, five sites were developed into schools, two into pediatric medical centres and one into a hospital. Below depicts examples of some completed developments.

³⁰ Royal Government of Cambodia. (2013). Rectangular Strategy Phase III. Phnom Penh, Cambodia, p.5. Retrieved from: <http://www.cambodiainvestment.gov.kh/content/uploads/2013/11/2013-Rectangular-Strategy-III-En8.pdf>

³¹ 'Location: Denied – Eviction sites in Phnom Penh' 2011, STT (refer to section 1: Introduction)

³² Refer to appendix 3 for the full list of which sites fall under the different categories of development.

Restaurant in Borei Kamakor



School in Chaoporngear Hook



Function Venue in Plouv 202 (44)



Pagoda in Wat Sarawan



Source: STT, 2016

The evictions forcefully carried out across these sites over the last two decades were largely justified in the name of ‘development’ and for the ‘beautification’ of the city³³. This is evident in Table 1 below from the types of developments constructed and their frequency. The RGC’s *Rectangular Strategy Phase III* upholds infrastructural development and modernization as, “... a key factor for supporting economic growth, enhancing economic efficiency as well as strengthening competitiveness and promoting Cambodia’s economic diversification, especially for reducing poverty incidence [*sic*].”³⁴ However, widespread concerns continue to be raised by displaced residents, civil society, and the international community over the socio-economic impact of such rapid infrastructural development on livelihoods, living conditions, and the environment. In particular, the developments and beautification efforts are reinforcing business development and the opportunities they bring. In the case of Sambok Chap community for example, residents were “violently evicted”, despite some residents having documents issued by local authorities recognizing their legal occupation of the land³⁵. The District Office made an official statement declaring the land was required to “contribute to city beautification and development” and the residents were moved to a resettlement area outside of the

³³ Lindstrom, N. (2013). Policy for the Poor? Phnom Penh, Tenure Security, and Circular 03. Sahnakum Teang Tnaut. Phnom Penh, Cambodia, p. 10.

³⁴ Royal Government of Cambodia. (2013). Rectangular Strategy Phase III. Phnom Penh, Cambodia, p.5. Retrieved from: <http://www.cambodiainvestment.gov.kh/content/uploads/2013/11/2013-Rectangular-Strategy-III-En8.pdf>

³⁵ Bristol, G. (2016). Cambodia: the struggle for tenure. Case study prepared for Enhancing Urban Safety and Security: Global Report on Human Settlements 2007. Retrieved from: <http://unhabitat.org/wpcontent/uploads/2008/07/GRHS.2007.CaseStudy.Tenure.Cambodia.pdf>

city³⁶. Even recently, industry experts participating in a property forum in Phnom Penh announced their concerns over the lack of urban planning and the number of permits hastily issued by the government³⁷. They called for stronger regulations on infrastructural planning and better vetting of developers to ensure a more sustainable form of development³⁸.

Description of Sites Current Use ³⁹	Number of sites	Description of Sites Current Use	Number of sites
No development	13	Filled by sand	1
Flat building + apartment	9	Supermarket + central market	2
Community house + house on the royal railway	7	Functions venue	1
Family businesses + small businesses	5	Flat and commercial building	1
Commercial building	4	Bank and flat	1
School and market + hospital and school	5	Villa and flat	1
Royal Railway	3	Football pitch	1
Car park	3	Sewage building	1
Road construction + highway + bridge	4	Flat and guesthouse	1
Flat, restaurant, garden + restaurant	4	Council for the Development of Cambodia (CDC) building	1
Pediatric medical centre	2	Garden	1
Housing development and market	2	Carwash	1
Fence	2	Pagoda	1
Total 77			

Table 1: Description of Sites Current Use

In a greater effort to understand how such developments are contributing to alleviating poverty, as cited in the *Rectangular Strategy III*, it was therefore necessary to acquire further insight into the developments impact on the socio-economic conditions of the urban poor. The following section 3.2.2, discusses the key findings of the ‘Communities Survey’ which assessed the living conditions of people still residing on or near the sites post eviction.

3.2.2 Communities Survey’s Findings

3.2.2.1. Demographic Information and Awareness on the Planned Development Project

A total of 46 respondents were interviewed for the communities survey at 46⁴⁰ sites out of the 77, and 31 of the sites had no respondents available for interviews. This was either due to no urban poor residing on the sites, or some people being unable or unwilling to participate in the survey (see section 2.2.1.b). Just over half (52%) of the respondents were evictees who had come back to reside on or

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Phnom Penh Post. (2016). Property forum slams lack of urban planning. Phnom Penh, Cambodia. Retrieved from: <http://www.phnompenhpost.com/business/property-forum-slams-lack-urban-planning>

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ For the purpose of this report, ‘flats’ refer to low budget flats; ‘apartments’ refer to up-market apartments such as condominiums; and ‘villas’ refer to a large, luxury style country houses.

⁴⁰ Refer to Appendix 4 for the list of sites involved in the Community Survey.

nearby the site, while the remainder were neighbouring residents of the eviction area. The ratio of female to male respondents was 61% female and 39% male. The two main age groups were 24-40 years old (37%), and 51-80 years of age (37%). Furthermore, under half (44%) had settled at the location between 1979-1990, 28% between 1991-2000, and 28% during 2002-2016.

Attributes			77 eviction sites in Phnom Penh	
	Number	Percentage (%)		
Age Groups				
24-40	17	37		
41-50	12	26		
51-80	17	37		
Gender				
Female	28	61		
Male	18	39		
Year of settlement onto the site				
1979-1990	20	44		
1991-2000	13	28		
2002-2016	13	28		

Table 2: Demographic information

The male respondents were mostly self-employed and either ran their own small business or were moto-dop or tuk tuk drivers. The majority of female respondents answered they were home makers, followed by small business owners.

Occupation	Male	Female	Total
Garment worker	0	1	1
Construction worker	0	1	1
Moto-dop/Tuk tuk driver	4	0	4
NGO staff	0	1	1
Government staff	2	1	3
Company staff	1	1	2
Rubbish collector	0	1	1
Stay at home/home maker	3	12	15
Retired	0	2	2
Tailor	0	1	1
Supervisor chief	2	0	2
Small business owner	4	7	11
Teacher	1	0	1
Worker	0	1	1
Total	17	29	46

Table 3: Respondents' Occupations

When the respondents were asked if they had been informed that the land would be developed, 57% answered 'yes', 30% said they were 'unsure' and 13% responded 'no'. Of the 57% which answered 'yes', 73% reported that the authorities had been the main informers, whereas 15% shared they were notified by representatives from 'the private sector' and 12% were 'unsure' who the informers were

representing. Of those informed, 76% reported they had also been informed how the land would be developed. The three most frequent responses when asked 'please tell us what they wanted to develop' consisted of: road rehabilitation or expansion (38%), residential areas (21%), and commercial areas (17%). The respondents' answers correlated with the observational survey's results (in section 3.2.1) which found the same three developments as the most prevalent across the sites. This further substantiates that infrastructural developments have been prioritized for commercial purposes.

Despite over half of the respondents stating they had been informed of the development plans, 41% said they were unsure whether the project had followed what had been proposed. Moreover, when the respondents were asked what had actually been built on the eviction sites they resided on or near, 47% answered they were 'unsure'. Additionally, when surveying who they thought was responsible for the developments, 41% answered a 'private company' and 32% said they were 'unsure'. And over half (52%) answered that the authorities were responsible for carrying out the evictions. These findings convey that even when residents are pre-warned of eviction and the planned usage of the site, there tends to be very little or no information publicly shared beyond such notifications.

The lack of transparency and public information in these instances is evident from the responses by the interviewees. The level of opaqueness within the system precludes such development from having a participatory approach with citizens, and is a key issue always raised by communities facing such threats. For example, in Samaki 3.1, communities residing along the national railway line are under threat of eviction. Some households living adjacent to the railway tracks have their houses marked with red spray-paint by the authorities to indicate their removal. And after some residents contacted MPP in an attempt to apply for land titles, they failed to get any response⁴¹. Similarly, in Block Tanpa, the MPP informed the residents that a representative would visit the site to hold a public forum, after the residents made numerous requests. To this date, no such event has taken place. Additionally, in STT's focus group discussion with community representatives, all seven participants reported that they had asked for more information about their eviction from the government. The participants from Chroy Chongvar community requested holding a public forum with the local authorities in an attempt to find an adequate solution to their situation. All their requests continue to receive no response. Unfortunately, as Cambodia lacks a central authority for citizens to direct their requests for information and support, obtaining greater transparency into the process remains challenging.

⁴¹ Samaki 3.1 (2015). Site visit to Samaki 3.1 and interview with resident, interviewed by Sahmakum Teang Tnaut, In Person, 19th June, 2015.

3.2.2.2. Living Conditions and Socio-Economic Change since the Eviction or Development

When the respondents were asked how their socio-economic conditions had been affected since the evictions or developments were carried out, the results of their responses were as follows⁴²:

a. Their living conditions and residency had generally worsened:

Attribute	Highest Response Frequency (Percentage)			Second Highest Response Frequency (Percentage)		
		Male	Female		Male	Female
Living condition	Better (39%)	12	6	Same (30%)	5	9
Living environment (waste, smoky)	Worse (45%)	12	9	Same (34%)	5	11
Housing condition	Same (43%)	10	10	Worse (32%)	10	10
Flooding	Worse (43%)	13	7	Same (23%)	3	8
Income	Better (41%)	11	8	Worse (34%)	7	9
Food Security	Worse (58%)	18	9	Same (28%)	8	5

Table 4: Living Conditions and Residency Breakdown of Responses

Two key conclusions can be made from these findings. Firstly, there has been a deterioration in the living environment for the respondents, who reported both the general environment, flooding, and conditions of their housing have worsened or were the same. Moreover, as discussed in section 3.2.1 above, 65%⁴³ of the sites had not been fully developed, meaning some respondents are residing on or near construction sites, or on land that has been cleared and left, such as the residents from the Toul Svay Prey community, along with 35 known others⁴⁴. This reflects an exceedingly slow rate of development, which has had a direct impact on food security, as access to lakes for fishing, or plots of land to grow vegetables on, have been removed. Almost double the number of women reported a worsening in food security, exemplifying the obstacles faced by women, who play a major role in food preparation, processing, and distribution within the household. Furthermore, the worsening of flooding can possibly be attributed to lake infilling carried out to create developable land, which has occurred at 21 of the 77 sites, such as Boeung Kak Lake⁴⁵. Residents near Boeung Kak Lake reported that since the infilling of the lake took place, many houses have flooded⁴⁶. During the interview conducted with UPWD, the interviewee shared that many women in communities affected by flooding – such as Chey Chom Nes – were exposed to bacterial infections and illnesses, transmitted to their body by being waist deep in dirty water. Similarly, children who were forced to swim flooded stretches on their way to school consumed some of the dirty water, making them sick. This, in addition to the lack of an urban master plan, has resulted in uncontrolled development and zoning enforcement⁴⁷. An equal number of men and women felt that housing conditions had remained the same, representing a continuum of circumstance whereby their housing security remains at risk.

Secondly, living conditions and income generation opportunities were reported to have improved, albeit marginally. The aesthetics and general conditions of some locations were better off because of the land clearing and developments, as obstructions and hazards have been cleared and infrastructure

⁴² The full spectrum of results is displayed in the appendix 5.

⁴³ 40% of the sites are partially developed and 35% have experienced no development.

⁴⁴ Refer to appendix 6 for a full list of site residents residing near eviction site.

⁴⁵ Doyle, Shelby. (2012). Phnom Penh City of Water. Sahmakum Teang Tnaut, Phnom Penh, Cambodia, p. 10.

⁴⁶ The Cambodia Daily, (2009). Gov't Officials Stand Firm on Filling of Boeung Kak Lake.

⁴⁷ *Op cit.*

upgraded. Commercial and residential developments in particular have helped to create employment opportunities in some areas, or, generated an increase in customers for small vendors or stalls run by the urban settlers. Furthermore, income rates began increasing in Phnom Penh in the late 2000's. In 2014, the average monthly income totalled 2,856,000 KHR (\$683 USD⁴⁸), compared to a 2009 average monthly income of 2,039,000 KHR⁴⁹ (\$487 USD⁵⁰). This is in line with the increasing GDP of Cambodia, where between 2009 and 2014, national GDP grew from \$10.6bn to \$14.9bn⁵¹. Although Cambodia's GDP and average income per household has risen, it is crucial to understand that the urban poor affected by development and evictions are not proportionally represented in the aggregate figures, nor does national economic growth directly impact their circumstances. Nevertheless, most communities reported income was better, as they ran small businesses at home or had part time jobs elsewhere. Additionally, as shared in the interview with UPWD, when schools are located close to the urban poor settlements children can walk to and from school, saving costs on transportation.

Overall, there was a greater number of women compared to men who had reported their living conditions had improved. However, most women (12 out of 15 respondents) reported their occupations were 'stay at home/home makers', and were therefore worse affected by the previous lack of physical infrastructure or surrounding physical hazards, such as open sewers.

b. Access to public services had generally improved:

Attribute	Highest Response Frequency (Percentage)			Second Highest Response Frequency (Percentage)		
		Male	Female		Male	Female
Access to health services	Better (65%)	17	13	Same (30%)	4	10
Access to electricity	Better (39%)	8	10	Same (37%)	4	13
Access to water supply	Better (43%)	9	11	Same (32%)	10	5
Access to waste collection	Worse (34%)	11	5	Same (32%)	8	7

Table 5: Public and Social Services Breakdown of Responses

The respondents felt that access to public and social services had improved. As discussed in the previous section, the developments consisted of infrastructure upgrades which included the installation or improvement of electricity connections and water supply. And, as reported in section 3.2.1, several of the new developments involved road constructions, hospitals or medical centres and schools, which have helped to create accessibility to services previously unreachable or non-existent near certain sites. However, it is imperative to understand these results within their context. Whilst these developments have created access to some essential services, these were not investments which were made in the direct interest of the urban poor communities that continued to reside at the eviction sites. The respondents are indirectly benefiting from the outcomes of these developments merely by

⁴⁸ Converted using 2014 exchange rate as cited by Oanda. Retrieved from: <https://www.oanda.com/currency/converter/>

⁴⁹ National Institute of Statistics, Ministry of Planning, (2015). Cambodia Socio-Economic Survey 2014. Phnom Penh, p.92. Retrieved from: http://www.ilearnincambodia.net/uploads/3/1/0/9/31096741/cses_2014_report.pdf

⁵⁰ Converted using 2009 exchange rate as cited by Oanda.

⁵¹ Databank.worldbank.org. (2016). World Development Indicators| World DataBank. Retrieved from: <http://databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?source=2&country=KHM#>

their proximity to the developments, and the root causes for their prior inaccessibility have not been addressed.

This is also evident in the responses to the waste collection services, which were reported to have worsened. Waste collection in Phnom Penh is already a contentious issue, as it was outsourced to a private company, Cintri, by the MPP in 2002. The MPP has subsequently scrutinized Cintri over accusations of their inability to tackle the ever-mounting issue of publicly strewn waste⁵². A 2016 report by the Asia Foundation/ODI found that 40% of residents in the Phnom Penh municipality have no garbage collection⁵³, which further exacerbates an already heightened disparity, affected by increasing population rates and overcrowded urban poor settlements. For example, in many of the forced eviction sites, such as Samaki 3.1, residents have resorted to burning or burying their waste garbage in an attempt to manage it⁵⁴. Additionally, waste collection has not occurred in some sites as residents were told the roads to their community were too narrow for the collection truck to access, even though they still pay for the service⁵⁵. More than twice the number of women reported waste collection had worsened. As the domestic heads of households, women play a central role in managing sanitary and hygiene levels of their homes, and are more exposed to the effects of poorly managed waste. During an interview with a representative from Urban Poor Women Development (UPWD), STT was informed the unclean community environment was negatively affecting the health of residents, especially women and children, where they would contract illnesses and become sick from the strewn waste⁵⁶.

c. Social Impact and community relations had generally remained the same:

Attribute	Highest Response Frequency (Percentage)		Second Highest Response Frequency (Percentage)			
	Male	Female	Male	Female		
Relationship with neighbours	Same (73%)	13	21	Worse (15%)	4	3
Community cohesion	Same (43%)	10	10	Worse (37%)	6	11
Participation in community development	Same (39%)	10	8	Worse (34%)	7	9
Social safety net	Worse (43%)	7	13	Same (39%)	8	10
Communication with families in home town	Same (76%)	12	23	Worse (21%)	5	5

Table 6: Social Acceptance Breakdown of Responses

In terms of the social impact on the interviewees, the most frequent response was that conditions predominantly remained the same. What is evident is the majority did not feel any positive impacts had taken place. Women were a large portion of the respondents who felt social attributes were the same, other than for community cohesion which both genders equally felt had remained the same. Furthermore, the respondents consist of returned evictees and neighbours of the sites, which

⁵² Morn, Vanntey and De Carteret Daniel. (2016). Trash Pact in Crosshairs. Phnom Penh Post. Phnom Penh, Cambodia. Retrieved from: <http://www.phnompenhpost.com/national/trash-pact-crosshairs>

⁵³ Denney, Lisa. (2016). *Reforming Solid Waste Management in Phnom Penh*. The Asia Foundation. Phnom Penh, Cambodia.

⁵⁴ Samaki 3.1 (2015). Site visit to Samaki 3.1 and interview with resident, interviewed by Sahmakum Teang Tnaut, In Person, 19th June, 2015

⁵⁵ UPWD, (2016). Semi Structured Interview with UPWD, interviewed by Sahmakum Teang Tnaut, In Person, 28th October, 2016.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

demonstrate that their motivations for returning or remaining were more vital to their livelihoods than other conditions they made compromises for. For example: access to electricity versus a social safety net – residents returning to live near the eviction site face threat of removal again, but do so as access to amenities is better⁵⁷.

This is an issue frequently raised by urban poor residents who have been forcefully relocated because of eviction. The relocation poses an immediate threat to the sustenance and sustainability of their livelihoods, due to inaccessibility of amenities, no income generating opportunities, and no adequate housing. A resident from Boeung Kak Lake, for example, informed STT that at many relocation sites, children could no longer attend school because there were none in close proximity⁵⁸.

Therefore, the urban poor residents who managed to remain or return to the sites could indirectly benefit from the developments and the outcomes they have created. Indirect benefits, which were essentially not part of the wider development plan, even when, as the findings show, their living conditions have not improved. For example, residents from Steung Meanchey community explained how the infrastructure developments taking place on the site – in support of the commercial development – were meant to help address the severe flooding in the area⁵⁹.

⁵⁷ LICADHO, (2016). Semi Structured Interview with LICADHO, interviewed by Sahmakum Teang Tnaut, In Person, 31st October, 2016.

⁵⁸ Forced Evictees, (2016). Focus Group Discussion with forced evictees, interviewed by Sahmakum Teang Tnaut, In Person, 21st October, 2016.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

Chapter 4. Conclusions and Recommendations

4.1 Conclusions

One cannot cast doubt over the direct benefits this landscape of rapid urban growth is creating. Residential buildings, commercial buildings and road rehabilitation are expanding avenues for commercial ventures and investment. Public buses started operating around the capital in 2014 and the railway service from Phnom Penh to Sihanoukville launched in early 2016. However, a significant number of these developments have come at a cost for the hundreds of thousands of families that have been evicted in order for such developments to occur. Especially as only 35% of the 77 sites had been fully developed over the course of two decades, and certain communities, such as Boeung Trobek and Juliana⁶⁰, are still waiting for work to be carried out. It can therefore be argued that justifying evictions in the name of modernization and urban growth is a rather weak and inadequate premise, when progress has been moderate, gradual and slow.

Furthermore, there is a significant lack of transparency throughout the process, both for the evictees and from the side of the authorities or private developers implementing the development plans. As discussed in section 3.2.2.1, the urban poor and general public are normally unsure of who owns the development, who is implementing the development, and the timeframe for the development to occur. The RGC are seen as the primary drivers, as representatives from the local authorities, police or military issue the eviction notices or are directly involved in imposing the evictions. In addition to such an opaque system, there lacks a central body which takes accountability for effectively addressing these grievances. During STT's interview with a representative from LICADHO, the interviewee commented that authorities' lack of accountability and transparency resulted in poor communities being in danger of being mistreated⁶¹. Communities are suppressed when defending their rights to land security, such as residents from Borei Keila for example who were told by MPP they would "never get what [they] have requested"⁶² after taking petitions to the governing body. Additionally, residents of Chroy Changvar have contacted many organizations such as the Senate, Government, Prime Minister's office, and some NGOs, as well as calling for a public forum to be held, in an attempt to gain information⁶³. Finally, many communities (such as Village 23) have submitted numerous petitions to relevant bodies, (i.e. the Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction, the MPP and institutions such as the World Bank) demanding their right to information, but these continue to be disregarded and ignored.

The recent handling of the 'White Building' case however, may be an indication that the 'threat of eviction' type cases which garner wide media coverage and national attention are being handled more openly. For the first time since the community heard of rumours of the potential threat of eviction two years ago, the residents met with village representatives on 30th October 2016. They were informed of the details of the new residential project, being led by the Japanese private company Arakawa, and an initial dialogue was held on the compensation options available (either financial or to take up residency in the new building) with officials from the Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction (MLMUPC). White Building residents have, however, shared that they are fearful of

⁶⁰ Refer to Appendix 3 for the full list of sites which are listed as 'no development'.

⁶¹ LICADHO, (2016). Semi Structured Interview with LICADHO, interviewed by Sahmakum Teang Tnaut, In Person, 31st October, 2016.

⁶² Forced Evictees, (2016). Focus Group Discussion with forced evictees, interviewed by Sahmakum Teang Tnaut, In Person, 21st October, 2016.

⁶³ Ibid.

a repetition of the case of Borei Keila, where the private company Phanimex promised to provide ten apartment blocks adjacent to the development, to house the evicted community members. A decade after Phanimex's promises were made, only eight of the blocks have been built, housing only some of the previous evictees. Hundreds remain unhoused and Phanimex claim to have run out of funds to build the remaining two promised blocks⁶⁴.

Therefore, based on the findings of the surveys, interviews and focus group discussion conducted to research the extent and impact of promised development across the 77 sites, the results show there is considerable progress still to be made. Of greater concern are the violations which continue to take place in order for such 'developments' to occur. Urban poor communities and evictees are not against development. They understand the need for urban growth and modernization, as they experience the adverse effects of such shortcomings first hand as urban poor dwellers. For instance, during STT's focus group discussion one participant from Steung Meanchey concluded that "development is good, if the government keeps their promises". For now, however, sentiments of trauma and adversity were more strongly associated with development among the urban poor. As one representative from Chroy Changvar put it "development is people's tears".

4.2 Recommendations

In the context of rapid urbanization, population growth and increasing foreign and private investment in Cambodia, evictions will inevitably occur. Modernization and development are key attributes which contribute to increasing living standards and national income in Cambodia. However, development, urban planning, and the eviction and relocation of urban poor communities need to be practiced in a law abiding, just, and equitable manner so as to form the basis of long-term sustainable development. STT therefore urges for the following recommendations to be implemented by various stakeholders who play an imminent role in addressing the implications of development raised in this report:

The Royal Government of Cambodia:

1. To apply a human rights-based approach to the implementation of development in Phnom Penh and Cambodia, in conjunction with the interest of private investments and property development that drives urbanization. As reflected in the National Housing Policy and Article 31 of the Constitution, the RGC has committed to implement the principle of human rights, and in accordance, guarantee the right to adequate housing and protection against arbitrary interference with one's home.
2. Practice transparency as stated in 'Side 3' of the '4 Strategic Rectangles' in the Rectangular Strategy Phase III "Further distributing and using state land, especially the confiscated economic land concessions and cleared minefields, in a transparent and equitable manner, for development purposes that respond to the needs of the poor..."⁶⁵. Moreover, strengthen efforts and avenues to accessing information, such as through public consultations as a first step in engaging residents living on state land with relevant stakeholders managing and investing in the development of the capital. For instance, Phnom Penh's Master Plan 2035 was approved in 2015, however, only a summarized version was made publicly available⁶⁶, and no

⁶⁴ Narim, K. (2016). New Building, Broken Promises at Borei Keila. The Cambodia Daily. Retrieved from: <https://www.cambodiadaily.com/news/new-building-broken-promises-at-borei-keila-113303/>

⁶⁵ The Royal Government of Cambodia. (2013). The Rectangular Strategy Phase III. Phnom Penh, Cambodia, p.20.

⁶⁶ Phnom Penh Post. (2016). Phnom Penh's 2035 Master Plan in Minimal Use. Phnom Penh, Cambodia. Retrieved from: <http://www.phnompenhpost.com/post-property/phnom-penhs-2035-master-plan-minimal-use>

consultations were held with the public or with civil society groups during the Plan's development.

3. Fair, independent and transparent practices and procedures of the National Authority on Land Dispute Resolution (NALDR) – clear and publicly available proceedings on the processes utilized to review and refer cases heard and dismissed by the NALDR; inclusive of a conflict of interest policy applied to regulate high profile cases.
4. Issue sufficient and fair compensation - as outlined in Cambodian Land Law, whereas of 2001, adequate and fair compensation is described as “at market prices or replacement price”⁶⁷. Additionally, as outlined in Article 5, compensation must be given in advance⁶⁸.
5. Conduct Environmental Impact Assessments and Social Impact Assessments in compliance with international standards and in cooperation with affected communities, prior to authorizing development projects.

Private Sector:

1. Practice standards such as those set by the International Finance Corporation's (IFC; a World Bank group) Guidance Notes⁶⁹, whereby developers are required to provide sellers with information on current property values and methods of value appraisal, plus a supplemental resettlement plan to meet IFC standards if the sellers are to lose their houses; or a compensation framework when livelihoods are at risk.
2. Adhere to the United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights⁷⁰ when undertaking urban developments in Cambodia. While the government has its own obligations to respect human rights, the private sector must inform themselves of the impact of their operations on human rights, by conducting human rights due diligence (i.e. talking to communities who are affected by their operations) and then taking concrete steps to respect those rights that are impacted.
3. Provide avenues and mechanisms for complaints, remedies and accountability by urban poor communities when urban developments encroach on their human rights. These mechanisms need to be accessible, transparent, effective, and efficient, they cannot be slow, expensive, in accessible, or fraught with corruption⁷¹.

International Community:

1. Greater scrutiny and accountability is required by the international community on the Cambodian authorities to prevent and resolve abuses over land tenure, inequitable development, and urban fragmentation. Cambodia has received levels of support from various bodies, which can result in different approaches toward addressing these issues, and conflicting outcomes. For instance, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) announced in 2016 it was ending its work with the MLMUPC on a land rights project, after

⁶⁷ Office of The High Commissioner For Human Rights, (2012). Eviction and Resettlement in Cambodia: Human Costs, Impacts and Solutions. Phnom Penh, p.24. Retrieved from: http://cambodia.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Thematic-reports/Resettlement_Study-28_Feb_2012_Eng.pdf

⁶⁸ MLMUPC Cambodia, (2002). Cambodian Land Law. Retrieved from: <http://www.metheavy.com/File/Media/Land%20Law%202001.pdf>

⁶⁹ IFC (International Finance Corporation). 2012. Guidance Note 5 – V2 Land Acquisition and Involuntary Resettlement. Washington, D.C: IFC.

⁷⁰ Business-humanrights.org. (2016). UN Guiding Principles | Business & Human Rights Resource Centre. Retrieved from: <https://business-humanrights.org/en/un-guiding-principles>

⁷¹ Ibid., as outlined by the third pillar of the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights.

more than 20 years, due to frustrations over slow implementation of reforms⁷². Only a few months later, the World Bank approved \$130 million in new loans to the RGC, a reverse of a lending freeze they issued Cambodia in 2011 as a sanction against forced land evictions. \$25 million of the loan is to be allocated to a second phase of the controversial Land Allocation for Social and Economic Development project⁷³.

Urban Poor Communities:

1. Strengthen collective networks among urban poor communities (both evictees and residents under threat of eviction), to develop avenues of support, information sharing and knowledge exchange.
2. Communities are most vulnerable when they are unformed. Therefore, be informed of your legal rights, current land tenure status, the value of your land, avenues of assistance when negotiating with authorities/property developers, and organize and maintain your legal documents (family book, residents book, title application, community land title, Khmer Identity Card). A World Bank study noted the preconditions for genuinely voluntary settlements: the sellers should be “aware of their rights, the value of their land, and ways to contract and have assistance in analysing investment proposals, negotiating with investors, monitoring performance, and ensuring compliance”⁷⁴. The same study, however, found investors actively seeking out states marked by weak governance and weak protection of vulnerable landholders⁷⁵.

Civil Society:

1. Distribute legal advice to vulnerable and urban poor settlements subject to, or victims of eviction and insecure land tenure;
2. Assist communities with monitoring and recording any cases which violate their legal, housing and human rights, and provide support with raising such cases to the relevant authorities.

⁷² Zsombor, P. (2016). In Frustration, Germany Ends Land Rights Work. The Cambodia Daily. Retrieved from: <https://www.cambodiadaily.com/news/in-frustration-germany-ends-land-rights-work-107406/>

⁷³ Paviour, B. (2016). World Bank Will Resume Funding to Cambodia. The Cambodia Daily. Retrieved from: <https://www.cambodiadaily.com/news/world-bank-will-resume-funding-to-cambodia-112866/>

⁷⁴ World Bank, (2011). Rising Global Interest in Farmland: Can it Yield Sustainable and Equitable Benefits?. Agriculture and Rural Development. Washington DC: World Bank, p.XL Overview. Retrieved from: <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/998581468184149953/pdf/594630PUB0ID1810Box358282B01PUBLIC1.pdf>

⁷⁵ STT notes the study was conducted by the World Bank in 2011, and the recent actions of unfreezing loans to Cambodia happened subsequently in 2016 (as mentioned in the prior section under ‘International Community’).

Appendices

Appendix 1. Methodology for Identification of the Five “N/A” Communities:

The map of 77 eviction sites in Phnom Penh produced by STT in 2011 included five sites labelled as “not available” (N/A). The final data set for the 2011 research was not available to the present study, therefore it was not possible to use this to ascertain the name of these five communities and their GPS location. In order to identify them, three data sets produced during the course of the 2011 research and maps of urban poor communities produced by STT between 2008 and 2014 were analysed and cross referenced, as was raw data from STT’s 8 Khan Survey and Phnom Penh Survey research, conducted in 2008 and 2014 respectively.

Five maps were referred to during this process:

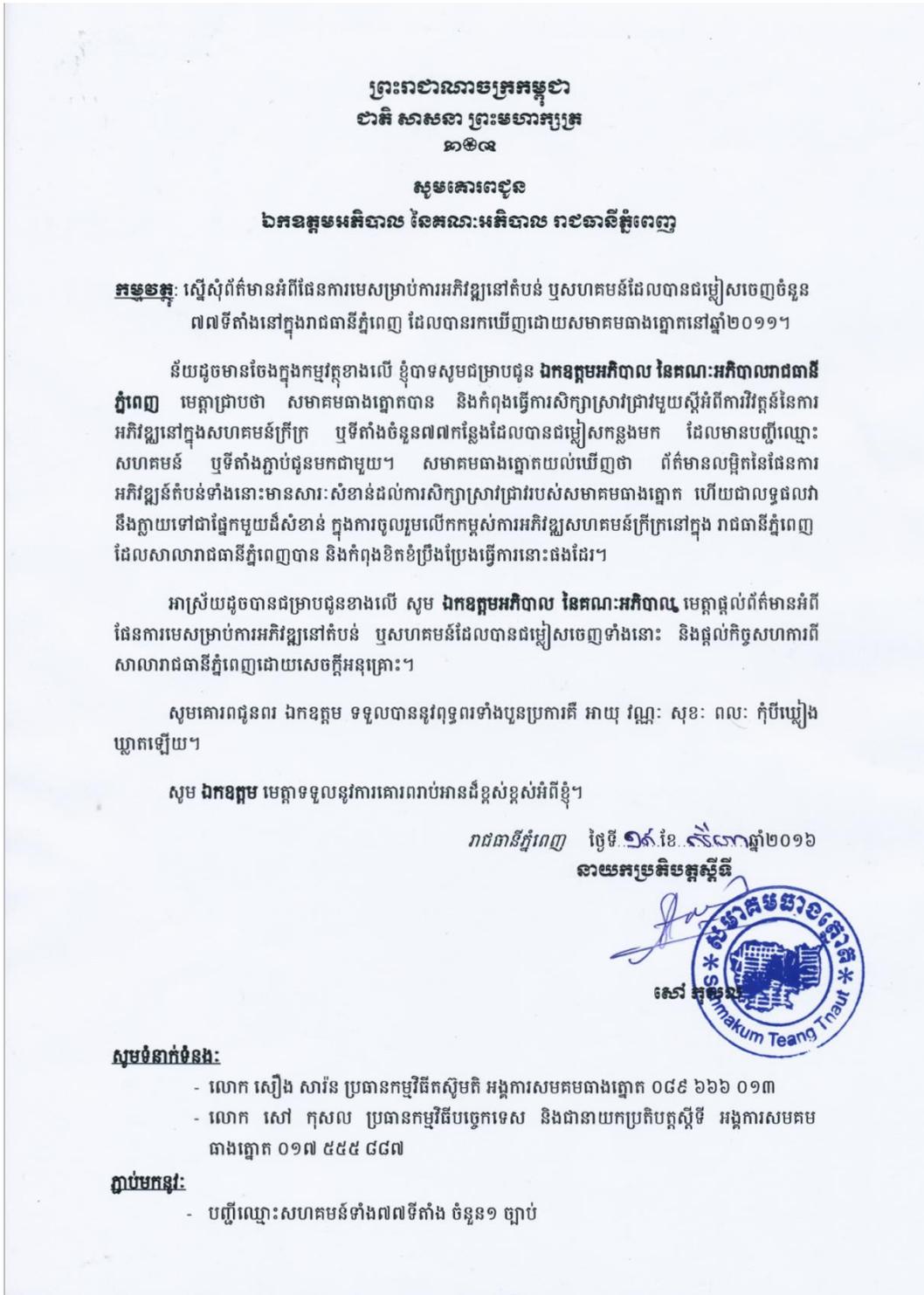
- Maps pinpointing the location of urban poor communities in Phnom Penh, which appeared in the 8 Khan Survey, conducted in 2008;
- The 2011 map of 77 eviction sites in Phnom Penh;
- A map of evicted communities across all of Phnom Penh, which had been produced concurrently with the 2011 study;
- A map of communities under threat of eviction across all of Phnom Penh, which had been produced concurrently with the 2011 study; and
- Maps pinpointing the location of urban poor communities in Phnom Penh, which appeared in the Phnom Penh Survey, conducted in 2014.

Comparison of the three maps produced in 2011 highlighted four communities that appeared in the same positions as points labelled “N/A” on the 77-eviction site map. These were Boeung Kak Village 1 & 4 (Toul Kork), Behind Health Centre (Toul Kork), Sangkat Boeung Kak (Toul Kork), and Samaki (Russei Keo). Comparison of the maps in the 8 Khan Survey and the Phnom Penh Survey and the 77 evictions map suggested Kroum 54 was situated at the fifth site.

The three data sets – a list of 83 eviction sites in Phnom Penh, a list of 52 sites that had received eviction notices, and a list of 92 communities - were then cross referenced for overlap with communities listed on the 2011 map of 77 eviction sites in Phnom Penh, and sites that did not appear on this map were listed separately. Behind Health Centre and Sangkat Boeung Kak appeared on both the list of 83 eviction sites and the list of 92 communities. Boeung Kak Village 1 & 4 appeared on the list of 92 communities and Samaki appeared on the list of 52 sites that had received eviction notices. It was felt that this was sufficient evidence to accept these as the correct names for the four respective “N/A” sites.

Kroum 54 did not appear in any of these data sets. Raw data for the 8 Khan Survey and the Phnom Penh Survey was checked to see whether this community was known by any other name, and this was not found to be the case. However, this community is situated next to the railway line and next to Boeung Kak Lake, two of the most high profile sites of evictions in Phnom Penh, which means that it is highly probable that this community was subject to eviction. As such, it was concluded that Kroum 54 was the most likely to be the fifth “N/A” location on the map.

Appendix 2a. Letter to the Municipality of Phnom Penh:



Note: The MPP responded to STT via phone call, thus there is no letter to include in these appendices.

Appendix 2b. Letter to the Ministry of Planning:

ព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា
ជាតិ សាសនា ព្រះមហាក្សត្រ
២០២៤

សូមគោរពជូន
ឯកឧត្តម នាយ ថន ទេសរដ្ឋមន្ត្រី រដ្ឋមន្ត្រីក្រសួងផែនការ

កម្មវត្ថុ: ស្នើសុំព័ត៌មានអំពីផែនការមេសម្រាប់ការអភិវឌ្ឍនៅតំបន់ ឬសហគមន៍ដែលបានជ្រៀសចេញចំនួន ៧៧ទីតាំងនៅក្នុងរាជធានីភ្នំពេញ ដែលបានរកឃើញដោយសមាគមធាងត្នោតនៅឆ្នាំ២០១១។

នីយជូនមានចែងក្នុងកម្មវត្ថុខាងលើ ខ្ញុំបាទសូមជម្រាបជូន ឯកឧត្តម មេត្តាជ្រាបថាសមាគមធាងត្នោត បាន និងកំពុងធ្វើការសិក្សាស្រាវជ្រាវមួយស្តីអំពីការវិវត្តន៍ នៃការអភិវឌ្ឍនៅក្នុងសហគមន៍ក្រីក្រ ឬទីតាំងចំនួន ៧៧កន្លែងដែលបានជ្រៀសកន្លងមក ដែលមានបញ្ជីឈ្មោះសហគមន៍ ឬទីតាំងភ្ជាប់ជូនមកជាមួយ។ សមាគម ធាងត្នោតយល់ឃើញថា ព័ត៌មានលម្អិតនៃផែនការអភិវឌ្ឍតំបន់ទាំងនោះមានសារៈសំខាន់ដល់ការសិក្សាស្រាវ ជ្រាវរបស់សមាគមធាងត្នោត ហើយជាលទ្ធផលវា នឹងក្លាយទៅជាផ្នែកមួយដ៏សំខាន់ ក្នុងការចូលរួមលើកកម្ពស់ ការអភិវឌ្ឍសហគមន៍ក្រីក្រនៅក្នុង រាជធានីភ្នំពេញដែលក្រសួងផែនការបាន និងកំពុងខិតខំប្រឹងប្រែងធ្វើការ នោះផងដែរ។

អាស្រ័យជូនបានជម្រាបជូនខាងលើ សូម ឯកឧត្តម មេត្តាផ្តល់ព័ត៌មានអំពីផែនការមេសម្រាប់ការ អភិវឌ្ឍនៅតំបន់ ឬសហគមន៍ដែលបានជ្រៀសចេញទាំងនោះ និងផ្តល់កិច្ចសហការពីក្រសួងផែនការ ដោយ សេចក្តីអនុគ្រោះ។

សូមគោរពជូន ឯកឧត្តម ទទួលបាននូវពុទ្ធពរទាំងបួនប្រការគឺ អាយុ វណ្ណៈ សុខៈ ពលៈ កុំបីឃ្លៀង ឃ្លាតឡើយ។

សូម ឯកឧត្តម មេត្តាទទួលនូវការគោរពរាប់អានដ៏ខ្ពស់ខ្ពស់អំពីខ្ញុំ។

រាជធានីភ្នំពេញ ថ្ងៃទី ០៧ ខែ តុលា ឆ្នាំ២០១៦
នាយកប្រតិបត្តិស្តីទី



សូមបំភ្លឺចំនង:

- លោក សៅ កុសល ប្រធានកម្មវិធីបច្ចេកទេស និងជំនាញប្រតិបត្តិស្តីទី អង្គការសមគម ធាងត្នោត ០១៧ ៥៥៥ ៥៨៧
- លោកស្រី គាំ ចាន់រស្មី មន្ត្រីស្រាវជ្រាវ នៃអង្គការសមគមធាងត្នោត ០៩៦ ៣៣ ៦៥៥ ៣៩

ភ្ជាប់មកនូវ:

- បញ្ជីឈ្មោះសហគមន៍ទាំង៧៧ទីតាំង ចំនួន១ ច្បាប់

Appendix 2c. Letter from the Ministry of Planning:



ក្រសួង ផែនការ

លេខ : ៥៧៩ ធ.ក.

ព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា
ជាតិ សាសនា ព្រះមហាក្សត្រ

រាជធានីភ្នំពេញ ថ្ងៃទី ១២ ខែ តុលា ឆ្នាំ ២០១៦

ជម្រាបជូន

លោកនាយកប្រតិបត្តិ សមាគមធានាភ្នំ

កម្មវត្ថុ ÷ ករណីស្នើសុំផ្តល់ព័ត៌មាន អំពីផែនការមេសម្រាប់ការអភិវឌ្ឍ នៅតំបន់ឬសហគមន៍ដែលបានជម្រៀសចេញចំនួន៧ទីតាំង នៅក្នុងរាជធានីភ្នំពេញ ដែលបានរកឃើញដោយសមាគមធានាភ្នំនៅឆ្នាំ២០១១ ។

យោង ÷ លិខិតចុះថ្ងៃទី០៧ ខែតុលា ឆ្នាំ២០១៦ របស់សមាគមធានាភ្នំ។

សេចក្តីដូចមានក្នុងកម្មវត្ថុនិងយោងខាងលើ ខ្ញុំសូមជម្រាបលោកនាយកជ្រាបថា ក្រសួងផែនការ មិនមានជាប់ពាក់ព័ន្ធនឹងការរៀបចំផែនការមេសម្រាប់ការអភិវឌ្ឍនៅតំបន់ ឬ សហគមន៍ក្រីក្រ ដែលបានជម្រៀសចេញពីទីតាំងក្នុងរាជធានីភ្នំពេញ នាពេលកន្លងមកនោះទេ ។

អាស្រ័យហេតុនេះ សូមលោកនាយកជ្រាបជាព័ត៌មាន ។

សូមលោកនាយកទទួលនូវសេចក្តីរាប់អានដ៏ស្មោះអំពីខ្ញុំ។

[Handwritten signature]
លោកជំទាវ ជួន វណ្ណៈ
រដ្ឋមន្ត្រី ទទួលបន្ទុកក្រសួងផែនការ

នាយ ផន

N

Appendix 3. Extent of Development in 77 Eviction Sites (source – Observational Survey):

No development	Partial development	Development is complete
Akphiwat Deoum Chan	Along Road 199	Bandos Vichea
Block Tanpa	Behind Health Centre	Boeung Kak Lake Phum 2
Building sor (White Building)	Boeung Kak Lake Phum 23	Borei Kamakor
Boeung Kak Lake Phum 20	Boeung Kak Lake Phum 1	CDC
Boeung Kak Lake Phum 21	Boeung Kak Lake Phum 22	Chaoporngear Hook
Juliana	Boeung Kak Lake Phum 24	Chey Chom Nes
Khangthbong Spean Monivong	Boeung Kak Lake Phum 4	Chroy Changvar
Kroum 54	Boeung Kak Lake Phum 6	Chroy Changva Bridge
Moharmontrey	Boeung Kak Village 1&4	Deikrosoung Kabortes
Pet Lork Sang	Boeung Salang Pumping Station	Koh Pich
Phsar Toul Kork	Boeung Tompun	Monivong AB
Phum 23	Boeung Trobek	Plouv 202 (44)
Railway Community	Borei Keila	Plouv 230
Rotes Pleung B	Casino near Cambodiana	Plouv 271 A
Rotespleung	Dey Krahorn	Plouv 335
Samaki	Domborn Bassac	Plouv 337
Samaki Plouv Dek	Group 78	Plouv 339
Snaka Police	Kbal Tomnup	Plouv 566
Toul Sangke A	Phum 1	Plouv 317
	Phum 101	Plouv Cheat Pram Muay A
	Phum 12	Ponleu Pich
	Plouv 102	Reak Reay
	Plouv 271 B	Sangkat Beoung Kak
	Plouv 291	Steung Meanchey
	Prorlay Boeung Salang	Toul Sleng
	Samaki 3.2	Toul Svay Prey
	Sambok Chap	Wat Sarawan
	T85	
	Toek Loak 14	
	Tomnup Teok	
	Wat Broyou Vong	

Appendix 4. List of Sites Involved in the Communities Survey (Source – Communities Survey):

No	Sites Name	No	Sites Name
1	Akphiwat Deoum Chan	24	Phum 1
2	Along Road 199	25	Phum 101
3	Block Tanpa	26	Building 43
4	Boeung Kak Phum 1	27	Plouv 271A
5	Boeung Kak Phum 2	28	Plouv 271 B
6	Boeung Kak Phum 4	29	Plouv 317
7	Boeung Kak Phum 6	30	Plouv 335
8	Boeung Kak Phum 20	31	Rotespleung B
9	Boeung Kak Phum 21	32	Rotespleung
10	Boeung Kak Phum 22	33	Samaki 3.2
11	Boeung Kak Phum 23	34	Samaki Plouv Dek
12	Boeung Salang	35	Sangkat Boeung Kak
13	Boeung Tompun	36	Snaka Police
14	Bondos Vichea	37	Steung Meanchey
15	Borei Keila	38	T85
16	Building Sor (White Building)	39	Tomnop Teok
17	Dey krahorm	40	Toul Sangke A
18	Juliana	41	Toul Sleng Phum 3
19	Khangthbong Spean Monivong	42	Toul Svay Prey 366
20	Moharmontrey	43	Wat Broyouvong
21	Monivong AB	44	Railway Community
22	Petlork Sang	45	Boeung Kak Phum 1&4
23	CDC	46	Behind Health Centre

Appendix 5. Full Spectrum of Results from Community Survey (Questions 17-31) – Living Conditions and Socio-Economic Change Since the Eviction or Development:

Attribute	Response														
	Much Better			Better			Same			Worse			Much Worse		
	Male (#)	Female (#)	Total (%)	Male (#)	Female (#)	Total (%)	Male (#)	Female (#)	Total (%)	Male (#)	Female (#)	Total (%)	Male (#)	Female (#)	Total (%)
17. Living condition	0	0	0	6	12	39.1	5	9	30.4	6	7	28.3	1	0	2.2
18. Living environment (waste, smoky)	0	0	0	4	4	17.3	5	11	34.8	9	12	45.7	0	1	2.2
19. Housing condition	0	0	0	3	7	21.7	10	10	43.5	4	11	32.6	1	0	2.2
20. Flooding	0	0	0	6	5	23.9	3	8	23.9	7	13	43.4	2	2	8.8
21. Income	0	0	0	8	11	41.3	3	8	23.9	7	9	34.8	0	0	0
22. Food security	0	0	0	4	2	13	5	8	28.3	9	18	58.7	0	0	0

Attribute	Response														
	Much Better			Better			Same			Worse			Much Worse		
	Male (#)	Female (#)	Total (%)	Male (#)	Female (#)	Total (%)	Male (#)	Female (#)	Total (%)	Male (#)	Female (#)	Total (%)	Male (#)	Female (#)	Total (%)
23. Access to health services	0	0	0	13	17	65.2	4	10	30.4	1	1	4.4	0	0	0
24. Access to electricity	0	0	0	10	8	39.1	4	13	37	4	7	23.9	0	0	0
25. Access to water supply	0	0	0	11	9	43.5	5	10	32.6	2	9	23.9	0	0	0
26. Access to waste collection	0	0	0	5	7	26.1	7	8	32.6	5	11	34.8	1	2	6.5

c. Social acceptance and community relations had generally remained the same: (Communities Survey questions 27 - 31)

Attribute	Response														
	Much Better			Better			Same			Worse			Much Worse		
	Male (#)	Female (#)	Total (%)	Male (#)	Female (#)	Total (%)	Male (#)	Female (#)	Total (%)	Male (#)	Female (#)	Total (%)	Male (#)	Female (#)	Total (%)
27. Relationship with neighbours	0	0	0	1	4	10.9	13	21	73.9	4	3	15.2	0	0	0
28. Community cohesion	0	0	0	2	6	17.4	10	10	43.4	6	11	37	0	1	2.2
29. Participation in community development	0	0	0	3	8	23.9	8	10	39.1	7	9	34.8	0	1	2.2
30. Social safety net	0	1	2.2	3	2	10.9	8	10	39.1	7	13	43.4	0	2	4.4
31. Communication with families in home town	0	0	0	1	0	2.2	12	23	76.1	5	5	21.7	0	0	0

Appendix 6. Summary of Eviction Sites (Source – STT¹; Communities Survey)

No.	Site Name	Relocated	Compensation	Still live near yes / no	Cause of Eviction				Heard rumour of eviction / receive formal eviction notice
					Unsure	F.Dev	G.Dev	Both	
1	Akphiwat Deoum Chan	Not relocated	Unsure	Yes	X				Unsure
2	Along Road 199	Tuol Pich or Aphiwat Prey Ingor (16km from PP)	Unsure	Yes		X			MPP
3	Block Tanpa	Unsure	Unsure	Yes			X		MPP
4	Boeung Kak Lake Phum 1	Borey Santepheab II	8000USD and 2,000,000 KHR	Yes		X			MPP
5	Boeung Kak Lake Phum 2	Unsure	Unsure	Yes		X			MPP
6	Boeung Kak Lake Phum 4	Chaom Chao	Unsure	No	X				MPP
7	Boeung Kak Lake Phum 6	Damnak Trayoung	8000USD	No			X		Unsure
8	Boeung Kak Lake Phum 20	Unsure	Unsure	Yes			X		MPP, Shukaku, Erdos
9	Boeung Kak Lake Phum 21	Unsure	8000USD and 2,000,000 KHR	Yes			X		MPP, Shukaku, Erdos
10	Boeung Kak Lake Phum 22	Unsure	8000USD and 2,000,000 KHR	Yes				X	Unsure
11	Boeung Kak Lake Phum 23	Not relocated	Unsure	Yes			X		MPP, Shukaku, Erdos
12	Boeung Kak Lake Phum 24	Not relocated	Unsure	Yes				X	MPP, Shukaku, Erdos
13	Boeung Salang Pumping Station	Kok Banh Chorn , Dangkor (10kms to PP)	Unsure	Yes		X			MPP
14	Boeung Tompun	Unsure	Unsure	Yes		X			MPP

No.	Site Name	Relocated	Compensation	Still live near yes / no	Cause of Eviction				Heard rumour of eviction / receive formal eviction notice
					Unsure	F.Dev	G.Dev	Both	
15	Boeung Trabek	Not relocated	Unsure	Yes			X	MPP	
16	Bandos Vichea	Samki 1,2,3	Unsure	No	X			MPP	
17	Borei Kamakor	Unsure	Unsure	No	X			Unsure	
18	Borei Keila	Phnom Bat	5,000-10000 USD	Yes	X			MPP, Phanimex, Ministry of Tourism	
19	Building Sor (White Building)	Samki 5	Unsure	Yes		X		MPP	
20	Casino near Cambodiana	Phnom Penh Thmey	Unsure	No	X			MPP	
21	CDC	Unsure	Unsure	No	X			Unsure	
22	Chaopongear Hook	Unsure	Unsure	No	X			Unsure	
23	Chey Chom Nes	Not relocated	Unsure	No		X		Unsure	
24	Chroy Changvar	Capital's Meanchey district	Unsure	Yes		X		MPP	
25	Chroy Changva Bridge	Unsure	500USD and 10m x 30m land	Yes	X			MPP	
26	Deikrosoung Kabortes	Aphiwat Thmey 32 (16 km from PP)	Unsure	No	X			Unsure	
27	Dey Krahorm	Damnak Trayoung 20 km from PP	20000	No		X		7NG	
28	Domborn Bassac	Trapang Anhchanh	Unsure	No		X		Unsure	
29	Group 78	Roka Koh, Trapang Krosaing	Unsure	No	X			MPP	
30	Juliana	Unsure	Unsure	Yes	X			Unsure	
31	Kbal Tomnup	Unsure	Unsure	No	X			Unsure	
32	Khangthbong Spean Monivong	Unsure	Unsure	Yes	X			Unsure	

No.	Site Name	Relocated	Compensation	Still live near yes / no	Cause of Eviction			Heard rumour of eviction / receive formal eviction notice
					Unsure	F.Dev	G.Dev	
33	Koh Pich	Damnak Trayoung/Ang Snoul 30km from PP	Unsure	No		X		7NG
34	Moharmontrey	Unsure	250-3000USD	Yes	X			Private Company
35	Monivong AB	damnak trawyeung	Unsure	Yes		X		Royal Group/ Ministry of Interior
36	Pet Lork Sang	Unsure	Unsure	Yes	X			Local Authority
37	Phsar Toul Kork	Unsure	Unsure	No			X	Unsure
38	Phum 1	Unsure	Unsure	No		X		Unsure
39	Phum 12	Unsure	Unsure	Yes			X	Government(IRC)
40	Phum 23	Unsure	Unsure	Yes	X			Government(IRC)
41	Phum 101	Unsure	Unsure	Yes		X		Unsure
42	Plouv 102	Unsure	Unsure	No	X			Unsure
43	Plouv 202	Chambok Thom	Unsure	No			X	Tycoon/Senator Kong Tri
44	Plouv 230	= Phum Veal/Samaki 6 at Trapaing Kraisaing	Unsure	Unsure			X	MPP
45	Plouv 271A	relocated to Kraing Angkrong	Unsure	No	X			MPP
46	Plouv 271B	Unsure	Unsure	No			X	MPP
47	Plouv 291	Khmer Leu or Aphiwat Thmey	Unsure	No	X			Unsure
48	Plouv 317	Khmer Leu or Aphiwat Thmey	Unsure	No		X		Unsure
49	Plouv 335	Khmer Leu or Aphiwat Thmey	Unsure	No	X			Unsure
50	Plouv 337	Prey Moul or Aphiwat Thmey 4	Unsure	No		X		MPP

No.	Site Name	Relocated	Compensation	Still live near yes / no	Cause of Eviction			Heard rumour of eviction / receive formal eviction notice
					Unsure	F.Dev	G.Dev	
51	Plouv 339	Unsure	Unsure	No		X		Unsure
52	Plouv 566	Khmer Leu or Aphiwat Thmey	Unsure	No		X		Unsure
53	Plouv Cheat Pram Muay A	Unsure	10000	No		X		MPP
54	Ponleu Pich	Krapoue 2 Community	Unsure	No		X		7NG
55	Prorlay Boeung Salang	Kork Khleang	Unsure	Yes			X	MPP
56	Railway Community	Prey Sala	Unsure	Yes		X		Unsure
57	Reak Reay	Various locations	Unsure	No	X			MPP
58	Rotes Pleung B	Prey Sala	Unsure	Yes			X	Othsam Hassan Cambodia Development Company
59	Rotespleung	Prey Sala	Unsure	Yes	X			Government(JRC)
60	Samaki 3.2	Unsure	Unsure	Yes	X			MPP
61	Samaki Plouv Dek	Unsure	Unsure	Yes		X		Unsure
62	Sambok Chap	Trapaing Anchanh	Unsure	No			X	MPP
63	Snaka Police	Unsure	Unsure	No	X			MPP
64	Steung Meanchey	Unsure	Unsure	No		X		MPP
65	T85	Dongkor district	US\$1,700 per square metre.	Unsure	X			Sangkat and Police
66	Toek Loak 14	Kork Khleang1	Unsure	No		X		MPP
67	Tomnup Teok	Kandal province	Land 4m x 6m	Yes			X	Khan chief officer
68	Toul Sangke A	Trapaing Anchanh	500 USD	Yes	X			Unsure
69	Toul Sleng	Unsure	Unsure	Yes			X	Unsure
70	Toul Svay Prey	Aphiwat Meanchey	Unsure	Yes		X		Land Owner

No.	Site Name	Relocated	Compensation	Still live near yes / no	Cause of Eviction			Heard rumour of eviction / receive formal eviction notice
					Unsure	F.Dev	G.Dev	
71	Wat Broyouong	Unsure	Unsure	Yes		X		Unsure
72	Wat Sarawan	Kob Srov dike;	Unsure	No	X			MPP
73	N/A 1: Boeung Kok Village 1&4	Unsure	Unsure	Unsure	X			MPP
74	N/A 2: Behind Health Center	Aphiwat Thmey 2	Unsure	No	X			MPP
75	N/A 3: Sangkat Boeung Kak	Unsure	Unsure	No		X		Unsure
76	N/A 4: Samaki	Unsure	Unsure	Unsure	X			Unsure
77	N/A 4: Kroum 54	Unsure	Unsure	Unsure		X		Government officer
Total		Not Relocated = 5.2% Relocated = 50.6% Unsure = 44.2%	Received = 15.6% Unsure = 84.4%	Y = 46.8% N = 46.8% U = 6.5%	27.3%	41.5%	27.3%	3.9%

Annexes

Annex 1. Observational Survey:

Observational Survey of Eviction Site

Questionnaire Code: / ___/ ___/ ___/

Promises Kept?

Research Objectives:

- To establish what developments had taken place at the 77 eviction sites in Phnom Penh, as a follow up report on STT's 2011 'Location: Denied' Map, in an effort to decipher if promises have been kept;
- To analyse the extent to which these eviction sites have been used by developers or the MPP as initially planned;
- To assess the living conditions of communities still inhabiting or living nearby these evictions sites;
- To make clear recommendations to stakeholders (i.e. Cambodian Government, donors, private firms, local communities) about future urban planning based on the findings from this research.

Name of Researcher: _____ Date of Observation: _____

Location: Village _____ Sangkat _____ Khan _____

1. Site access

1.	Could the researcher access the site?	1. <input type="checkbox"/> Yes	2. <input type="checkbox"/> No
2.	If no, what were the barriers to access? (Please tick all that are relevant)		
	1. <input type="checkbox"/> Fence	2. <input type="checkbox"/> Security staff	3. <input type="checkbox"/> Local authority
	4. <input type="checkbox"/> Site users	5. <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Please Specify) _____	

2. Assessment of development

3.	To what extent has the site been developed?		
	<input type="checkbox"/> No development	<input type="checkbox"/> Partial development	<input type="checkbox"/> Development is complete

If partially developed:			
4.	Is the site still actively under construction?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No
5.	What are the signs of partial construction? (Please tick all that are relevant)		
	<input type="checkbox"/> Land cleared, but not developed	<input type="checkbox"/> Lake filled in, but not developed	<input type="checkbox"/> Infrastructure (e.g. roads) incomplete
	<input type="checkbox"/> Buildings still under construction	<input type="checkbox"/> Construction staff, materials, and/or equipment on site	<input type="checkbox"/> Other (Please specify) _____
6.	What has been constructed? (please tick all that are relevant)		
	1. <input type="checkbox"/> Road rehabilitation or expansion	2. <input type="checkbox"/> Residential area	3. <input type="checkbox"/> Commercial area
	4. <input type="checkbox"/> Canal rehabilitation or expansion	5. <input type="checkbox"/> Garden development	6. <input type="checkbox"/> Government building
	7. <input type="checkbox"/> Other infrastructure (please specify) _____	8. <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) _____	
7.	For residential developments, please describe what type of residences have been constructed:		
8.	For commercial developments, please describe what types of businesses are operating at this site:		
9.	For government buildings, please state which department uses this building:		

If development is complete:			
10.	What has been constructed? (please tick all that are relevant)		
	1. <input type="checkbox"/> Road rehabilitation or expansion	2. <input type="checkbox"/> Residential area	3. <input type="checkbox"/> Commercial area
	4. <input type="checkbox"/> Canal rehabilitation or expansion	5. <input type="checkbox"/> Garden development	6. <input type="checkbox"/> Government building
	7. <input type="checkbox"/> Other infrastructure (please specify) _____	8. <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) _____	
11.	For residential developments, please describe what type of residences have been constructed:		
12.	For commercial developments, please describe what types of businesses are operating at this site:		

13.	For government buildings, please state which department uses this building:	
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14.	Are there any hazards on site? (please tick all that are relevant)		
	1. <input type="checkbox"/> Potholes/road deterioration	2. <input type="checkbox"/> Standing water	3. <input type="checkbox"/> Large amounts of electrical wiring
	4. <input type="checkbox"/> Rubbish	5. <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) _____	

3. Current site usage

15.	Are there urban poor people living there?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No
If yes:			
16.	Approximately how many people live there?		
17.	Did they live here before the eviction, or have they moved here since the eviction?		
18.	For residential areas, are residences occupied?		
	<input type="checkbox"/> Unoccupied	<input type="checkbox"/> Partially occupied (please estimate percentage occupation) _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Fully occupied
			<input type="checkbox"/> Unable to obtain information
19.	For commercial areas, are business spaces fully occupied?		
	<input type="checkbox"/> Unoccupied	<input type="checkbox"/> Partially occupied (please estimate percentage occupation) _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Fully occupied
			<input type="checkbox"/> Unable to obtain information
20.	Please describe how the site is currently being used?		

4. Other information

21.	Is there any signage stating who is responsible for developing this site?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes (Please specify name) _____	<input type="checkbox"/> No
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Annex 2. Communities Survey – Household Survey:

Evicted Communities Survey

Questionnaire Code: /___/___/___/

Promises Kept?

Research Objectives:

- To establish what developments had taken place at the 77 eviction sites in Phnom Penh, as a follow up report on STT’s 2011 ‘Location: Denied’ Map, in an effort to decipher if promises have been kept;
- To analyse the extent to which these eviction sites have been used by developers or the MPP as initially planned;
- To assess the living conditions of communities still inhabiting or living nearby these evictions sites;
- To make clear recommendations to stakeholders (i.e. Cambodian Government, donors, private firms, local communities) about future urban planning based on the findings from this research.

Name of Interviewer: _____ Date of Interview: _____

Location: village _____ Sangkat _____ Khan _____

Respondent’s Phone number: _____ From _____ Province

1. Demographic Information

1.	Name of respondent: _____		
2.	Age of respondent:	_____ Years	
3.	Gender:	1. <input type="checkbox"/> Male	2. <input type="checkbox"/> Female

2. Socio-economic

4.	What is your current primary occupation?			SA
	1. <input type="checkbox"/> Garment worker	2. <input type="checkbox"/> Construction worker	3. <input type="checkbox"/> Moto-dop/Tuk tuk driver	
	4. <input type="checkbox"/> NGOs staff	5. <input type="checkbox"/> Government staff	6. <input type="checkbox"/> Company staff	
	7. <input type="checkbox"/> Rubbish collector	8. <input type="checkbox"/> Unemployed	9. <input type="checkbox"/> Retired	
	10. <input type="checkbox"/> No longer able to work	11. <input type="checkbox"/> Home-maker	12. <input type="checkbox"/> Other _____	

3. Awareness on initial plan of development project

5.	Which year did you firstly move onto settle down in this house?		Year _____	
6.	Were you informed that this land would be developed?	0. <input type="checkbox"/> No	1. <input type="checkbox"/> Yes	2. <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know
7.	If yes, by whom?	1. <input type="checkbox"/> Authority	2. <input type="checkbox"/> Private	3. <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know
8.	Do you know how they wanted to develop the land?	1. <input type="checkbox"/> Yes	0. <input type="checkbox"/> No (If no skip to question 10.)	
9.	If yes, please tell us what they wanted to develop. (tick all that are relevant)			MA
	1. <input type="checkbox"/> Road rehabilitation or expansion	2. <input type="checkbox"/> Residential area	3. <input type="checkbox"/> Government building	
	4. <input type="checkbox"/> Canal rehabilitation or expansion	5. <input type="checkbox"/> Commercial area	6. <input type="checkbox"/> Garden development	
	7. <input type="checkbox"/> Other infrastructure (please specify) _____	8. <input type="checkbox"/> No development plan	9. <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) _____	
10.	When was this settlement subject to eviction?		Year _____	
11.	Who evicted this community?	1. <input type="checkbox"/> Private Company	2. <input type="checkbox"/> Authority	3. <input type="checkbox"/> Government
12.	Currently, who has responsibility to develop this settlement?			SA
	1. <input type="checkbox"/> Authority (Please specify, if known) _____	2. <input type="checkbox"/> Private Company (Please specify, if known) _____		3. <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know
13.	Did the project follow what it proposed?	1. <input type="checkbox"/> Yes	2. <input type="checkbox"/> No	3. <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know

4. Development since the eviction

14.	What development has taken place at this site?	
15.	What was the timeline for this development? <i>Think about:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When did construction start? • How long did it take to finish this work? • Were there any breaks between current stages? If so, for how long? • How often did workers come to this site? 	
16.	How have you been treated by the developers and their workers since the eviction?	

5. Living conditions and socio-economic change since eviction/development

Attributes		Degree of changes				
		MW	W	S	B	MB
Living conditions and residency						
17.	Living condition	1. <input type="checkbox"/>	2. <input type="checkbox"/>	3. <input type="checkbox"/>	4. <input type="checkbox"/>	5. <input type="checkbox"/>
18.	Living environment (waste, smoky, ...)	1. <input type="checkbox"/>	2. <input type="checkbox"/>	3. <input type="checkbox"/>	4. <input type="checkbox"/>	5. <input type="checkbox"/>
19.	Housing condition	1. <input type="checkbox"/>	2. <input type="checkbox"/>	3. <input type="checkbox"/>	4. <input type="checkbox"/>	5. <input type="checkbox"/>
20.	Flooding	1. <input type="checkbox"/>	2. <input type="checkbox"/>	3. <input type="checkbox"/>	4. <input type="checkbox"/>	5. <input type="checkbox"/>
21.	Income	1. <input type="checkbox"/>	2. <input type="checkbox"/>	3. <input type="checkbox"/>	4. <input type="checkbox"/>	5. <input type="checkbox"/>
22.	Food Security	1. <input type="checkbox"/>	2. <input type="checkbox"/>	3. <input type="checkbox"/>	4. <input type="checkbox"/>	5. <input type="checkbox"/>
Public and social services						
23.	Access to Health service	1. <input type="checkbox"/>	2. <input type="checkbox"/>	3. <input type="checkbox"/>	4. <input type="checkbox"/>	5. <input type="checkbox"/>
24.	Access to Electricity	1. <input type="checkbox"/>	2. <input type="checkbox"/>	3. <input type="checkbox"/>	4. <input type="checkbox"/>	5. <input type="checkbox"/>
25.	Access to Water supply	1. <input type="checkbox"/>	2. <input type="checkbox"/>	3. <input type="checkbox"/>	4. <input type="checkbox"/>	5. <input type="checkbox"/>
26.	Access to Waste collection	1. <input type="checkbox"/>	2. <input type="checkbox"/>	3. <input type="checkbox"/>	4. <input type="checkbox"/>	5. <input type="checkbox"/>
Social acceptance						
27.	Relationship with Neighbours	1. <input type="checkbox"/>	2. <input type="checkbox"/>	3. <input type="checkbox"/>	4. <input type="checkbox"/>	5. <input type="checkbox"/>
28.	Community Cohesion	1. <input type="checkbox"/>	2. <input type="checkbox"/>	3. <input type="checkbox"/>	4. <input type="checkbox"/>	5. <input type="checkbox"/>
29.	Participation in Community Development	1. <input type="checkbox"/>	2. <input type="checkbox"/>	3. <input type="checkbox"/>	4. <input type="checkbox"/>	5. <input type="checkbox"/>
30.	Social Safety Net	1. <input type="checkbox"/>	2. <input type="checkbox"/>	3. <input type="checkbox"/>	4. <input type="checkbox"/>	5. <input type="checkbox"/>
31.	Communication with Families in Home Town	1. <input type="checkbox"/>	2. <input type="checkbox"/>	3. <input type="checkbox"/>	4. <input type="checkbox"/>	5. <input type="checkbox"/>

Note: 1. MW= Much Worse 2. W= Worse 3. S= The Same 4. B= Better 5. MB= Much Better

Is your life better or worse since the eviction/development of this site? In what ways?

Annex 3. Focus Group Discussion Checklist:

A. Development since the eviction:

1. What has been developed?
2. Is the development complete or still ongoing?
3. Who is responsible for the development? (Private company or the government and name if possible).
 - 3.1. How do they know this information? Direct first-hand knowledge, signage or rumour?
4. Is the development the same as the plan?
5. Have the developers or the workers on site ever spoken to you?
 - 5.1. If 'yes' what did they say?
 - 5.2. If 'yes' how often?
6. Have you asked for more information from the government about the development?
7. If 'yes' did they respond and what did they say?

B. Living conditions and impact on your life

1. Is your life (a) Better, (b) Worse, (c) The same?
2. Are your living conditions (a) Easier, (b) Harder, (c) The same?
 - 2.1. Why?
3. Is your environment (a) Better, (b) Worse, (c) The same?
 - 3.1. Why?
4. Are there less people you must share the area with?
5. Is crime (a) Better, (b) Worse, (c) The same?
9. What does the word "Development" mean to you?
10. What do you think the word "Development" means to the government?

Annex 4. UPWD Interview Checklist:

During this interview, a UPWD representative was asked by a STT researcher to comment on their experiences of eviction sites based on STT’s findings from the Communities Survey. Attention was to be given to their experience particularly regarding impact on women, and asked to provide examples of sites where appropriate and available.

E.g. “STT research has shown living conditions were generally better post eviction. Can you comment on UPWD’s experience of this, providing examples where available? Focus specifically on the impact on women”

The areas of focus for comment and discussion from the Communities Survey are listed below:

Living Conditions and Residency

Attribute	Highest Response (Percentage)
Living condition	Better (39%)
Living environment (waste, smoky)	Worse (45%)
Housing condition	Same (43%)
Flooding	Worse (43%)
Income	Better (41%)
Food security	Worse (58%)

Access to Public and Social Services

Attribute	Highest Response (Percentage)
Access to water supply	Better (43%)
Access to waste collection	Worse (34%)

Social Acceptance and Community Relations

Attribute	Highest Response (Percentage)
Social safety net	Worse (43%)
Communication with families in home town	Same (76%)

Annex 5. LICADHO Interview Checklist:

1. Which sites does LICADHO have experience with?
2. Does LICADHO know the government's plans to develop these sites:
 - a. Koh Pich.
 - b. Boeung Kak Lake.
 - c. Borei Kiela.
3. Does LICADHO have any example of compensation provided to:
 1. Evictees with no land title.
 2. Evictees with land title.
4. What is LICADHO's experience of the lack of transparency with authorities?
 1. Comment on LICADHO's experience/understanding on lack transparency regarding eviction.
 2. What does LICADHO understand to be the general response from authorities when evictees request more information?
5. STT's findings show that 43% of sites reported that they felt the social safety net had worsened post eviction – does LICADHO have any key examples of where this is true?
6. Based on eviction issues and reducing the impact on the urban poor, what would be LICADHO's recommendations for Government, Private firms, NGO's etc. when dealing with this in the future?
7. What are LICADHO's recommendations for dealing with transparency issues? Focus specifically on the governments provision of information, and NGO's and evictees access to information.
8. What is LICADHO's experience of community cohesion post eviction? Does LICADHO have any examples / quotes from evictees feelings on community cohesion?
9. Given that access to waste collection has generally worsened, and given that many females are responsible for maintaining the household environment, can LICADHO comment / give examples on how the health of forced evictees has changed since being evicted because of poor waste management?
10. In LICADHO's experience, what is the main reason for delay in sites where development has not yet begun?



សមាគមធានាគ្រួសារ

Sahmakum Teang Tnaut, a Cambodian Urban NGO