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*Rosa Hennecke, Frank Bliss
and Oliver Schell*

Land Allocation for the Poorest

**Investigations into Social Land Concessions
in Cambodia**

AVE Study 7W/2018

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Index of abbreviations

BMZ	Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
ELC	Economic Land Concession
AD	Adult
FC	Financial Cooperation
GC	German Cooperation
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNI	Gross National Income
GIZ	Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (a German development agency)
ha	Hectare(s)
HDI	Human Development Index
HDR	Human Development Report
hh	household(s)
ILF	Improving Livelihoods and Food Security (Project)
INEF	Institute for Development and Peace, University of Duisburg-Essen
KfW	Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau
KoC	Kingdom of Cambodia
LASED	Land Allocation for Social and Economic Development
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MLMUPC	Ministry for Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction
MoA	Ministry of Agriculture
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
p.a.	per annum, per year
p.c.	per capita, per head
p.d.	per day
ppp	purchasing power parity
SLC	Social Land Concession
TC	Technical Cooperation
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USD	US Dollar
WFP	World Food Programme

Summary

On 19 March 2003, the Cambodian government issued a legal provision on the establishment and granting of social land concessions, the Sub Decree on Social Land Concessions (cf. KoC 2003). The decree stipulates that land can be granted to poor or vulnerable population groups as property for use. The criteria for awarding the contracts are highly diversified. In addition to the families identified as poor by the national poverty identification programme ID-Poor, war veterans, families of disabled or fallen soldiers, resettlers affected by infrastructure development who have to be compensated, workers in economic land concessions and settlers in less developed and remote areas are eligible to apply.

Land is allocated decentrally by the respective local authority, which indicates an area with land for distribution. In principle, members of the aforementioned groups from villages within the municipality are entitled to apply. The land to be assigned is generally subdivided into residential land and farming areas, but usually both are allocated together. Allocation requires an application and, if the selection criteria are met, the land allocation is decided by lot. As a rule, land that has not been used for agriculture up to now is given away, mostly previously thinned out areas of forest and bush.

The allocation of (preliminary) land titles within the framework of social land concessions was promoted in the years 2008 to 2015 by a World Bank programme (Land Allocation for Social and Economic Development, LASED I), which mainly supported the procurement procedures and contributed to the development of a basic infrastructure in some of the new land areas. However, it soon became clear that many families had not moved to the new territories even years after the allocation of their land, because as (extremely) poor families who therefore had no savings, they did not have the opportunity to bridge the time until the first yields on the new territory (often only possible in the second year). Instead, they had to continue their wage work and had no time to work on the allocated land. The idea of social land concessions was therefore in danger of failing. In order to prevent this from happening and to help save the worthwhile approach, the GIZ, in consultation with the participating Cambodian ministries and development partners, has been committed since 2015 in the framework of the Improving Livelihoods and Food Security Project (ILF) bridging programme in favour of new settlers.

The main goal of the GIZ-ILF project is to enable settlers to use and sustainably cultivate their land in order to secure their own food and generate income. Initially, agricultural assessments were carried out in order to provide data for the optimal use of land in the various concession areas. Based on this, the technical advisors of the GIZ and the agricultural departments of the Ministry of Agriculture (MoA) develop plans for the agricultural use of the areas by new farmers as implementing partners in the provinces. Since the problems of land valuation are multifactorial, the aid approach covers different areas that go beyond pure cultural techniques.

One such area is the construction and expansion of basic infrastructure such as access roads, irrigation channels and wells, with parallels to the World Bank's LASED I project, which has already been partly supported by GIZ. Although LASED had initiated initial infrastructure measures in the new settlement areas at that time, it had not paid enough attention to the establishment of the new farmers, so that they were not technically able to actually cultivate their new areas, apart from the unresolved income problem. For this reason, the ILF project also helps settlers with the initial cultivation of their land, some of which has not yet been cleared, and which must first be cultivated for agriculture.

abilities of the members. GIZ also supports the establishment of community-based organisations (CBOs) such as food security or agricultural groups. The CBO organises training courses and provides its members with seeds, seedlings, breeding animals, etc. A CBO in the village also manages the common implements such as hand tractors, rice mills or water pumps as well as one tractor each, which is used for land cultivation.

In the context of the research project of the Institute for Development and Peace (INEF) of the University of Duisburg-Essen, the ILF project was selected because the Cambodian example of social land concessions represents an excellent pedagogic example for the problems of land reform projects in favour of extremely poor people, which is not limited to a legal land title entry alone. The measures currently supported by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) through the GIZ represent the contribution that LASED I should have made years ago in order to make land allocation a successful model. The results show that contributions to land reform have a significant positive impact on food security and the fight against extreme poverty. The potential in Cambodia is far from being fully exploited.

Within the framework of the present study, 402 households in phase I of the ILF project were surveyed who had been granted a social land concession and moved to the new villages. In addition, a focus group discussion was conducted in nine out of ten rural concession villages from three different provinces. The survey, which was carried out between February and June 2017, was rounded off by one-on-one interviews with all major stakeholders, especially the members of participating families, as well as farm and field visits. Supplementary discussions were also held in some villages in Kampong Chhnang province, which had been added in Phase II of the project with the same objectives.

The results of the study show that the application and allocation process for provisional land titles (with LASED support) has been straightforward, fair and free of charge. The majority of the household representatives surveyed were satisfied with the quality of the assigned residential and arable land, but mostly dissatisfied with the existing infrastructure, especially the access.

After the land allocation, families are expected to build accommodation within three months and at least one family member is expected to live there for at least six months a year. Arable land is to be made usable within one year. Only if these requirements are met and the land continues to be inhabited or used will the families have a right to a permanent land title after five years. Due to their poverty, however, the majority of respondents did not have the capacity to work the land as a whole, or at least a majority. Survival pressure ensured that a lot of time was invested in day labour.

The bridge offer of the ILF project at precisely this point, among other things with food aid and technical support for the cultivation of the land owned, is successful and has led to increased land use and thus increased the chance of the final land title registration. Almost all households state that they have received or will continue to receive funding. Almost half of the families surveyed are also actively involved in focused individual ILF measures (poultry breeding, fish farming, vegetable gardens, etc.) aimed at increasing incomes and, above all, diversifying the food supply. Here too, the majority of respondents see improvements. The changes in terms of social cohesion are assessed in a similarly positive light. Continuation of support was also considered important in all discussions, particularly with a view to the development of access roads, education and training in agriculture and the establishment of irrigation systems. The population also demands that the state improves access to school and health care.

In summary, the surveys on the ILF project in three provinces showed that the existing legal basis of the Cambodian government is an important prerequisite for creating the opportunity for poor and vulnerable population groups to acquire land free of charge. It was also found that

the application for and allocation of land is unproblematic and straightforward and that a large proportion of people with disabilities, single parents and previously absolute landless people have been taken into account. This proves that the guidelines were adhered to when selecting the target group. However, it also showed that the approach of providing only land is not sufficient to ensure food security and generate income, as financial resources and technical skills are often lacking for the first land cultivation. In addition, the new settlers need significantly more support for the development of local infrastructure, roads and access roads as well as land reclamation (clearing, ploughing).

From the way in which the social land concessions have been allocated and, above all, handed over to the families selected, the most important lesson to be learnt first of all in the context of land reforms is to combine the allocation of land to extremely poor households with bridging funds. Here the “Vietnamese savings book” approach could be a good model. According to this model, families receive sums of money in accounts that they can access until they can earn their income from their own land's income. In addition, the agricultural land allocated would have to be immediately usable for cultivation rather than having to be laboriously cleared. In addition, it is essential that the families of new settlers receive the necessary know-how for independent agriculture appropriate to their situation (e.g. in relation to the respective potentials of the areas allocated). Similarly, two areas of the infrastructure should be created before moving, (i.) in the economic domain, access routes which can be used all year round and (ii.) in the social domain, a minimum level of school offerings and basic health care on location.

In order to create good sustainability conditions, the size of the land to be allocated should also be chosen in such a way that families of users can safely cross the poverty line on the basis of their agricultural income.

1. Brief country analysis: Cambodia

1.1 Socioeconomics and poverty

With just under 16 million inhabitants and a population growth of 1.56% per annum (p. a.) (estimated for 2016) Cambodia is a small country compared to its neighbours Vietnam and Thailand. Nevertheless, the agricultural lowlands are already densely populated and there is a shortage of arable land. Although gross national income (GNI) data have continued to rise steadily over the last 10 years,¹ with industry in particular showing strong annual increases, one in two employed persons continues to work in agriculture, while industry absorbs around 20% of the labour force and the services sector absorbs a good 31%. Officially, there is full employment (with only 0.3% unemployment), but the underemployment of the working population is enormous, especially in rural areas and in the informal sector in cities (cf. CIA 2017, World Bank 2017a).

Cambodia is included in the Human Development Report country list published by the United Nations Development Programme (cf. UNDP 2016) with a Human Development Index (HDI) of 0.563, ranked 143rd out of 188 countries and is thus ranked at the lowest end of the middle-income countries (still behind Bangladesh) in terms of social indicators and economic strength. The average per capita income (calculated as GNI / p. c. / p. a.) is between USD 1,000 and USD 1,200 in nominal terms and, taking into account the purchasing power parity, is currently USD 3,278 and USD 3,700 per annum, respectively.²

With a Gini coefficient of 31.8, the income distribution in Cambodia is similar to that of Germany (30.6) (cf. UNDP 2016).³ However, it should be borne in mind that inequality is increasing and there is generally a considerable disparity between urban and rural areas in the country. In addition, in the countryside, where subsistence farming continues to play a major role, many households, even those that are not extremely poor, have little cash at their disposal. The availability of income in rural areas also depends on the agricultural year and is dramatically influenced by the climate. Income can generally only be generated in the harvest period, but in years of extreme drought this can be entirely lacking due to crop failure.

The rapid economic development has drastically reduced poverty in general and extreme poverty in particular in Cambodia. Seasonal labour for men in the construction sector and in the context of labour migration, especially to Thailand and the expanding textile industry with

¹ Hence the growth between 2000 and 2010 was always over 8% p. a. , and since 2011 it has remained over 7% p.a. (cf. TradingEconomics 2018).

² Statistical figures for Cambodia may vary for the same year according to the source (cf. World Bank: <https://data.worldbank.org/country/cambodia>, Tradingeconomics: <https://tradingeconomics.com/cambodia/gdp>, CIA World Factbook: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/cb.html>, Countryeconomy: <https://countryeconomy.com/gdp/cambodia>) [all 03/2018]. What is always problematic in the different sources is the adjustment of the nominal GNI / p.c. by the World Bank with a purchasing power parity (ppp) formula which is relatively complex and which ignores that poor population groups need to make a large portion of their expenditures for basic foodstuffs such as rice, wheat, millet or maize, the costs of which are almost the same worldwide. Hence the purchasing power of the extremely poor in particular is greatly reduced in relation to the average parity-adjusted purchasing power of other population groups.

³ Gini coefficient: absolutely unequal income distribution = 100, absolutely equal income distribution = 0.

considerable additional employment opportunities for women, has increased the family income of broad sections of the population. In terms of figures, the poverty rate during the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) has more than halved from 30-35% to 13.5%.⁴ However, very many households live just above the poverty line. It can be assumed that one in two families in the country is vulnerable. Vulnerable means that their income does not exceed twice the income of USD 1.9 p. c. /p. d. which is defined as the poverty line. Smaller economic crises, the illness of a full earner or drought in agriculture can rapidly plunge a household back into deep poverty.

Using the newer Multidimensional Poverty Index, the poor population is estimated to be 33.8% (= 5.180 million adults (AD) for 2014) and a further 21.6% nearly poor (3.306 million AD). As a result, 55.4% of Cambodia's population (= 8.486 million individuals) live below or near the poverty line (cf. UNDP 2017) and many who managed to leave the poverty line behind find themselves again below the poverty line shortly afterwards.⁵

Poverty has an extreme urban-rural divide. Around 90% of the poor live in rural areas, but there are also considerable pockets of poverty in the cities (medium-sized and small slums on railway lines, swamps/lakes, riverbanks, etc.). Apart from income, poverty in the countryside is manifested by poor social infrastructure. For example, health services are often difficult to reach (bad tracks and expensive transport) and they offer poorer service.⁶ The same applies to schools (long distances and poor or unmotivated teaching staff).

The country's social indicators have developed positively and the MDGs have been achieved in almost all areas. Life expectancy today is 68.8 years, and infant mortality is 24.6 (for each 1000 live births). Nearly all children are enrolled in school, with around 82% achieving a primary school leaving certificate. However, a quarter of the population, especially in rural areas, still do not have hygienically safe drinking water and even more than 57% do not have access to modern sanitary services (cf. CIA 2017). Child labour is still relatively widespread, affecting up to 20% of 5 to 17-year-olds.⁷ The HDR Gender Index rates Cambodia very poorly in the global comparison, with a value of 0.89. In



Photo 1: Very simple yet stable house in one of the new settlement villages in Kampong Chhnang

⁴ For 2004 see the data of the *Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper* (PRSP) of 22/12/2005 in the version of the International Monetary Fund (IMF 2006: 93); for 2012 then 17.7% according to the last published data of the World Bank (see World Bank 2017a), as well as the World Factbook of the CIA (see CIA 2017), or 13% according to ADB 2017.

⁵ See Tej Parikh in *The Cambodian Daily* of 15/12/2015, who demonstrates the continuing vulnerability of the population, which relativises many of the impressive figures relating to the drop in poverty rates.

⁶ This was recently improved through the Health Equity Fund (HEF), which offers free healthcare provision, from the health centre in the countryside up to the Referral Hospitals in the provincial capitals.

⁷ While in 2001 52% of children between 5 and 17 years of age had to work (approx. 1.4 million, see UNICEF 2006), the corresponding figure in 2012 was 19.1%, or 755,000 children (see KoC.NioS/ILO 2013). However, a drop down to 9.4% by 2016 (approx. 276,600 children, cf. USDoL 2016) does not seem very plausible, in the context of the widespread lack of labour, particularly in rural households.

terms of income, discrimination against women (USD 2,650 in GNI / p.c. / p.a.) can be seen compared with men (USD 3,563). However, it is unclear why the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) gives Saudi Arabia a better gender rating than Cambodia, even though in Cambodia women are at least not subjected to any legally fixed discrimination (cf. UNDP 2016). Domestic and sexual violence against women and girls, on the other hand, is widespread and reports of organised trafficking in human beings (especially women and girls) are repeatedly confirmed.

22% of all households in the country are run by women. These have on average less land and are much more vulnerable than households with male heads (ADB 2014:7f.). It has also been observed that girls have to work more often than boys in such households. But even for “complete” households, the question arises as to whether the resources are always divided equally between male and female members: the malnutrition and anaemia of many women (and girls) speak against this.

The country's economic upturn must not hide the fact that Cambodia is badly positioned to deal with external shocks. With minimum wages of 145 USD in the textile industry (2017), which are to be raised to 160-170 USD by 2018 at the latest, many foreign companies are already thinking of moving on to Myanmar, for example, where less than 90 USD are paid. Concepts of the future such as Industry 4.0 make locations with low technical expertise even less attractive in the long term for the outsourcing of industries, something which is likely to have a significant impact on Cambodia.

Poor governance is particularly detrimental to development. Admittedly corruption is less pronounced on a lower level than in countries where civil servants virtually paralyse at least the formal sector of the economy (e. g. in Asia, Bangladesh or Tajikistan, and many countries in sub-Saharan Africa).⁸ However, larger companies as well as import and export licences are dependent on substantial payments and there is generally little legal certainty for investors (see World Bank 2017b).

1.2 Nutritional situation and nutrition issues

As in the fight against poverty, Cambodia also shows success in the area of food security. For example, the underweight of children under five years of age decreased from 38 to 28.3% between 2000 and 2010, and the proportion of underweight children decreased from 16.8% to 10.9% over the same period. However, these trends are lagging behind the improvement of social indicators in all areas. Clear hunger (in the sense of lack of access to food) is less the problem than (to a lesser extent) undernourishment, but above all malnutrition. The consequences, especially for children under the age of five, are (albeit declining) child mortality and morbidity, as well as retardation of mental and physical development at a higher age, resulting in poor academic achievement and later limited ability and performance to work (cf. UNICEF 2017a).

Malnutrition and undernourishment can be observed throughout the country in about 40% of all children who are too small for their age (stunting), over 28% who are also underweight and

⁸ In U4 (2016: 1) it is stated that “corruption permeates every aspect of the Cambodian social fabric“. At least since the parliamentary elections of 2013, this is somewhat exaggerated. Overly obvious small-scale corruption, for instance on the part of the police, seems to currently be restrained from above.

11% who are significantly emaciated. The same applies to women aged 15-49, 20% of whom suffer from malnutrition. Complications in births and underweight newborn babies are the consequences. Among women (and in some cases also men) who work in factories, a significant degree of anaemia has also been observed (see Ikeda et al. 2013, Perignon et al. 2014, and Wieringa et al. 2016).



Photo 2: Small vegetable gardens are also used to improve nutrition in the new settlers' areas of the ILF, here planted with water spinach.

It is striking that Cambodia, with these poor nutritional data, is located on a level with significantly poorer countries, e.g. the Sahel zone (cf. Sun Movement 2016). Within the framework of INEF research 2016-2017, the question of why family members and especially children are poorly fed even in

less poor and non-poor families was therefore repeatedly raised. The reasons cited are, on the one hand, the consequences of the Khmer Rouge period (1975-1979), during which the entire population was allowed to feed itself almost exclusively on rice and where a full bowl of rice per day was already regarded as a good diet. As a result, high-quality food such as vegetables, animal products and fruit would not be seen as being particularly valuable by most people and, above all, by many grandparents, who usually took care of children in extended households.

On the other hand, rapid economic change in the last two decades may have led to a massive change in eating habits. In several rounds of meetings it was reported that almost all those present went to work or school without breakfast and usually did not eat their first (hot) meal until after 2 pm. Those who have little money (and this applies to a large part of the rural population for many months in the year) could buy no or only inferior snacks during the long hours before eating.



Photo 3: Preparation of the midday meal in a village in the Ratanakiri province, here fried and lightly sweetened manioc dumplings as a luxury meal

As a consequence of this socio-cultural characteristic or of the behaviour influenced by economic constraints, the nutritional problems have not been eliminated by improving the economic situation of many households and a very great need for education and behavioural change exists virtually nationwide, and in almost all population groups.

2. Land law and land problems in Cambodia and the ILF project

1.3 Background to the problem

Currently, 70 to 80% of Cambodia's population live in rural areas. In 2013, about 85% of Cambodia's rural population were engaged in agriculture in the broadest sense of the word, so that 72% of all households in the country could call themselves farm owners. However, the average useful area per farm unit was only 1.6 hectares (ha) (see Cambodia / NIS 2014), so that a large number of families could hardly produce more than for their own subsistence. The system of rice cultivation under irrigation dominates. Only a small part of irrigated land is used for other crops that are normally produced in rain-fed agriculture (so-called chamcar cultivation). Small areas and compulsion to use sites with marginal yield reduce the resilience of many smallholder families and nearly 30% of landless farmers against the consequences of climate change and frequent unexpected weather events in agriculture.

The history of land law in Cambodia over the last 150 years is an oscillation between privatisation during the French colonial period, nationalisation in the wake of the establishment of the communist regime, and renewed privatisation in the last few decades (cf. Diepart 2015). Recently, the rural population in Cambodia has lost large parts of its land ownership because efforts to register land titles were delayed and confused, and at the same time the government granted generous land estates despite ownership titles actually still being unclear. The rural population has thus often lost the basis of its existence.⁹

In the form of Economic Land Concessions (ELCs), i. e. largely rented territories, a great deal of land has been given to natives or foreigners, especially large companies, that build rubber plantations in the countryside (see Diepart 2015, Pen/Chea 2015) or grow sugar cane, as in the villages of the ILF project in Kampong Chhnang. The indigenous population in particular is suffering the consequences of land loss, as their collective land use practices have rarely led to early registration (i.e. prior to the granting of land to ELC concessionaires). However, small farmers were and are also under pressure to lose their land, as long as their property titles are not legally secured, i.e. registered. Conversely, in view of the increase in the value of arable land, it is hardly possible for poor families to acquire additional land.

For this reason, as part of the planning of its long-term engagement in Cambodia, the World Bank picked up on the possibilities of the new land law of 2001 and the extended legal provisions based on it (see Section 2.2) by agreeing with the government on the Land Allocation for Social and Economic Development Project (LASED-I) and implementing it between 2010 and 2014. LASED was to prepare and support the granting of so-called Social Land Concessions (SLCs) and at the same time to provide the basic infrastructure in the new settler areas, for which a total of US\$ 27.5 million was spent in the aforementioned five years. With these funds, a total of 10,273 hectares of land were allocated to 3,148 households (see World Bank 2015). However, the original plan envisaged almost 200,000 hectares and more than 30,000 subsidised households, which

⁹ According to the World Bank, in 1989 only 2.5 million hectares were registered as private land in 1989 (out of approx. 18.1 million ha) (World Bank 2015: 1).

brought the LASED project into international discussion.¹⁰ Yet it is not LASED but rather the government of the country that is responsible for the significant shortfall in the planned number of land contracts. As will be shown, it is rather the mode of implementation that has caused justified criticism of LASED and led to the measures taken by the German development agency GIZ which are the subject of this contribution.

With regard to the assessment of the opportunities of future land redistribution that will become necessary at a later date, however, the most recent development in the land area in Cambodia has already been mentioned: under the influence of heavy losses in the national elections in 2014, the government has significantly changed the land use policy hated by the general public. New economic land concessions do not seem to have been awarded for about two years now, and according to high-ranking interlocutors in the country, even a number of unused forest and general land concessions have been recovered. As a result, on the one hand, land grabbing has been significantly reduced and the pressure on small owners has been reduced, and on the other hand, the land reserves available for redistribution in state ownership have been increased again. This will make land reform a real option for combating poverty in rural Cambodia in the future.¹¹

1.4 The Land Allocation for Social and Economic Development Project (LASED) of the World Bank as the condition and the context for the ILF project

On 19 March 2003, the Cambodian government issued a legal requirement for the creation of social land concessions (cf. KoC 2003). The term “Social Land Concession” is defined as a “legal mechanism to transfer private state land for social services to the poor who lack land for residential or family farming purposes”. According to Article 3 of the decree, social land concessions are intended for the following groups and purposes:

- (i.) Provide land for residential purposes to homeless families,
- (ii.) Provide land to poor families for family farming,
- (iii.) Provide land to resettle families who have been displaced from public infrastructure development
- (iv.) Provide land to families suffering from natural disasters,
- (v.) Provide land to repatriated families,¹²
- (vi.) Provide land to demobilized soldiers and families of soldiers who were disabled or died in the line of duty,
- (vii.) Facilitate economic development,

¹⁰ For instance, among other things the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) was called upon, and in 2016 carried out an investigation in Cambodia (see OHCHR [undated]). In the report of the OHCHR the original planning figures can also be found (p. 7f.).

¹¹ Hence Cambodia would seem to join the line of countries for which this option seems to present itself once again for the combating of increased inequality. In any case it remains “highly relevant”, as is also observed by the research group of the University of Göttingen led by Stephan Klasen (2016), after the topic was forgotten to some extent for a certain time.

¹² This refers to the tradition of supporting those who return home from refugee camps in the context of continuing conflicts even after the fall of the Khmer Rouge in 1979 in Vietnam.

- (xiii.) Facilitate economic land concessions by providing land to workers of large plantations (chamkar) for residential purposes or family farming, and
- (ix.) Develop areas that have not been appropriately developed.

Institutional support from the World Bank's LASED I project, which began in 2012, was awarded to several thousand eligible persons or families of state-owned land, which has so far been largely unused. Supported persons included, for example, families who had received an "ID-Poor Card" as part of the identification of poor people, young families without their own land or farmers who had little land, as well as the other groups of beneficiaries mentioned above, although they were not explicitly named. Each eligible individual or family could apply land on a municipal level for the allocation of land which was designated for this purpose by the administration and partly developed by the World Bank with a basic infrastructure.

With the exception of Kampong Chhnang, it is not known to what extent members of other groups envisaged by the decree, such as war veterans, families of disabled or fallen soldiers, resettlers affected by infrastructure development who had to be compensated or workers from ELCs received land. A relatively large number of workers from ELCs were given land here, which facilitated the establishment of at least these families, as they were able to draw on a regular income directly in their new homeland. In Kratie and Kampong Thom, the majority of new settlers are to be recruited from poor families in particular, who lived in an insecure ownership status in huts on the banks of the Mekong or the banks of some of its tributaries.



Photo 4: Hand-operated tractor, as it is used in many small farmers' households – a multifunctional device, which is also used as a traction "machine" for carts.

The procedure for the tendering of the new settlers' properties and the selection of applicants was supported with considerable funds from LASED and a large part of all consulting services went into this area (cf. World Bank 2015).¹³ Therefore, there was practically no criticism of the proceedings.

After the land allocation, it was expected that the families would be expected to build accommodation on the sub-area intended for housing construction within three months, and that at least one family member would live there for a minimum of six months per year. Arable land should be made usable within one year. Only if these requirements are complied with and the land is still inhabited or used, will the families have the right to a definitive land title entry after five years.

¹³ There is no consensus with respect to the final evaluation of LASED among our interlocutors in Cambodia. While the rating of the World Bank itself in the final project report was "satisfactory" (World Bank 2015: 21), this satisfactory evaluation was largely based on the relevance of the goals. However, the same would certainly not apply for the outcomes and the effects. Here LASED had clearly done too little for the new settlers during the implementation.

However, these guidelines did not take into account the core problem of extremely poor families, namely low incomes, the insecurity of income generation and, in particular, the lack of financial reserves and technical knowledge of households. For this reason, the new settlers had to think first of all about securing their income, i. e. continuing to work predominantly as day-labourers. They were only able to carry out the planned house construction in the areas allocated to them and to clear, level and plough the still largely untouched land. There was often not enough time for the latter.

A baseline study for the Improved Livelihood and Food Security (ILF) project funded by the GIZ, conducted in March 2015, showed that 90% of households had to work outside their farms for four to almost seven months of the year, regardless of growing times, which significantly reduced the manpower required for agricultural activities on their own land or made it impossible due to seasonal requirements (cf. GC / GIZ 2015c).

According to a World Bank report, about 80% of the settlers suffered at least one starvation period per year. When the ILF project was launched in 2014, most households were extremely short of food and only a few had begun to work their land on schedule (cf. GC / GIZ 2015a). Even where LASED had provided construction material, solid dwellings could not be built according to the plans. This applied to an even greater extent for the preparation of the farmland, which – as the INEF team could see for itself on site – was often neither cleared nor flattened. As a result, many of the new land families, even with the availability of hand tractors (see photo 4), which were rare in the beginning, hardly had the opportunity to work on land and, after moving in during a growing season, to obtain an initial yield. This would have been possible with a prepared area in view of the tropical climate in the new land areas for the cultivation of rice, beans and manioc, so that depending on the product, first revenues after four to 12 months could at least have been expected.

2. Goals and interventions of the ILF project

The aim of the ILF project is to contribute towards enabling settlers on the land they have been granted under the social land concessions to start to make use of and cultivate their land independently, in spite of the above-mentioned need for continuous maintenance of their income, and thus to sustainably earn their livelihoods and ensure their food supplies. At the time of the studies commissioned by INEF (May to September 2017), the project operated in the provinces of Kratie, Tbong Khmum and Kampong Thom (ILF Phase I) as well as in Kampong Speu and Kampong Chhnang (ILF Phase II) and continued to work in Kampong Thom and Kratie with various SLC villages, together encompassing over 7000 households (3,150 in Phase I and 3,900 in Phase II) allocated land under the LASED I project.

The measures cover the development of the infrastructure in the LASED zones, which has been totally inadequate to date, agricultural activities and the creation of municipal or self-help structures. The effects resulting from the contributions of the Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (KfW) to support infrastructure development were not directly included in the study. These have a particular focus on access to the new settlement areas and therefore, due to the previously mostly catastrophic road and runway situation (see photo 5), they are one of the most important prerequisites for sustainable agricultural development in the SLC villages (cf. KfW 2015). These measures, together with the work supported by Technical Cooperation (TC) by the villagers themselves, included access and branch routes to 136 km of villages and fields until the end of 2016, of which a considerable number of runs to be travelled on throughout the year. The KfW aid continues to run at present. In cooperation with the World Food Programme (WFP), 10 km of irrigation canals and 130 wells were added, as some of the LASED project's hand pump wells were already out of service due to lack of maintenance.



Photo 5: Very bad track in the settlement areas of Kampong Thom; for approx. 7 km around an hour of driving is needed

In the field of agriculture, the ILF project began supporting the settlers in making the allocated land suitable for cultivation. Frequently, areas had to be cleared, the soil ploughed over and fences had to be built. The support also included the provision of foodstuffs subject to conditions, so that the new farmers could devote themselves to agriculture as long as they were unable to draw on their own harvests. In the meantime it became clear that the use of small tractors distributed to the villages was not enough. As part of ILF Phase II, used, robust tractors are currently being purchased and made available to the villages in order to be able to clear, level and plough on a larger scale for the first time.

Agricultural activities initially included agricultural needs assessments in eight project villages from three provinces. On the basis of these, education and training programmes were put together to help farmers to ensure and diversify not only market-oriented production but also their own food supply. The possible uses of the individual areas were individually proposed within a relatively wide range of options, depending on the nature of the soil. The training contents covered the cultivation of vegetables, in rice lowlands, on drier areas of mung beans,

corn, potatoes and fruit trees, especially cashew (see photo 6) and moringa, but also rubber trees if necessary. The training also included composting and other cultivation techniques, as well as relatively short-term income-generating measures such as fish farming and the keeping of chickens and ducks.

After participation in the training measures, productive resources were made available to households for the start-up. In the first place, this included seeds and machinery managed by a community-based organisation (CBO) in each village. Animals for the reception of the breed were also distributed first. The recipients of the animals committed themselves to handing over offspring from breeding to other CBO members who also wanted to start breeding. A share of the procurement costs should also be paid into the joint funds of the groups.



Photo 6: Ripening Cashew fruits in Kampong Thom. The nut is situated in the small “worm extension” on the fruit

with similar fruits) as well as vegetables and watermelon.

In order to increase the acreage and win more land for rapid and sustainable food production, families received USD 50 for clearing half a hectare of their land through cash for work activities. Another source of income from the project is the production of organic products. For this various production groups were established which only use biological fertiliser material, but are not yet eco-certified. These deliver their products to shops with natural food. The demand here is primarily from foreigners, but at the same time interest is also rising among native customers in such “healthy” products. Currently these groups plant and produce cashew, mango, jackfruit and durien (a tree with similar fruits) as well as vegetables and watermelon.

Many of the technical cooperation (TC) contributions related to food security. In cooperation with the WFP, for example, a school meal was introduced in the project villages that could receive a local procurement component in the near future as part of the reorientation of the WFP (cf. Bliss 2017).

The proportion of settlers with debts is very high. In February 2016, 71% of a total of 813 households surveyed by the ILF project had debts in the range of USD 100 to 500. The money was lent for agricultural inputs and small businesses as well as for health care expenses. ILF then arranged a cooperation with the microfinance bank AMK (Angkor Mikroheranhvatho Kampuchea), which offers loans with a significantly lower interest rate especially for farmers. In particular, many households also use small loans for ambulance transport, which they can obtain from the above-mentioned group insurance funds at no interest.

2.1 Communal organisation, project structure and partners

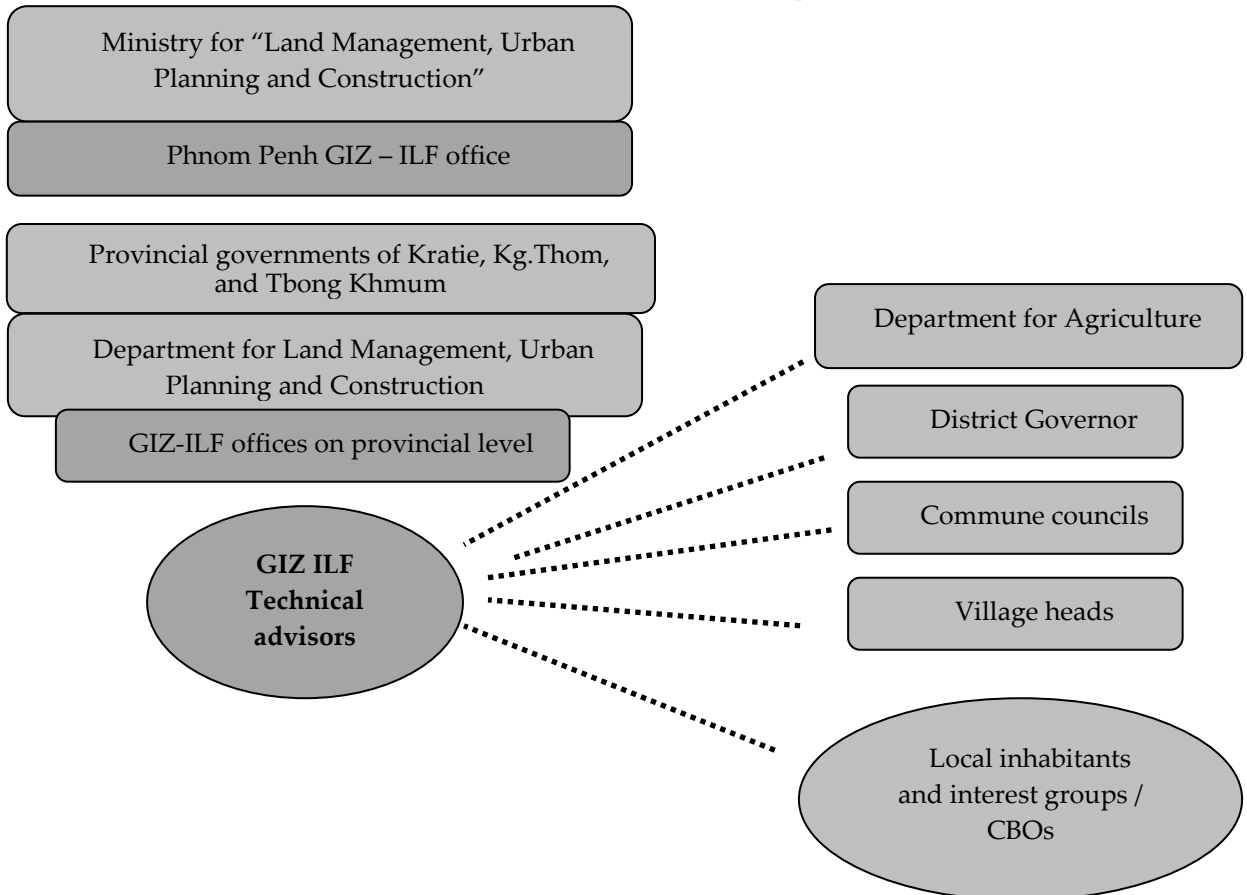
The new settlers come from the same community, but from different villages. The allocation of land is decided by lot, so that even the new houses can be far apart. The newly founded congregations receive an official status as “newly founded village” with all rights of participation in the local government. A challenge for them, however, is that there are no traditional village

structures and common features such as relatives, a common history, a common monastery or the graves of ancestors.

In order to strengthen the feeling of belonging together in the new communities, CBOs were founded, such as the local food security interest groups. The CBOs also support the village administration. They see to it that the SLC title holders fulfil their land use obligations (in their own interest, so that the titles are not in danger of expiring) and take care of the integration of proposals of the municipality into the municipal investment plan (cf. GC / GIZ 2015b). They also consider the protection of the village territory to be an important task, which concerns, for example, defending against foreign grazing cattle and the prevention of illegal logging (although the trees in the new settlement areas are hardly usable).

Planning at the commune level involves drawing up a commune development plan, which is drawn up every five years, and annual municipal investment plans, which are drawn up on a relatively participatory basis. In a series of several meetings of village representatives, the achievements of the past years are discussed and a new investment plan is drawn up on the basis of the ongoing development plan and inputs from local village authorities, interest groups, other commune committees and, if necessary, non-governmental organisations (NGOs). The individual plans are then merged at the district level. District plans are harmonised at the provincial level and then passed on to the Ministry of the Interior as an investment plan. An active participation of civil society in the planning processes at the municipal level is thus possible.

Diagram 1: Scheme of GIZ involvement in the context of the ILF project



Source: authors' diagram 2018

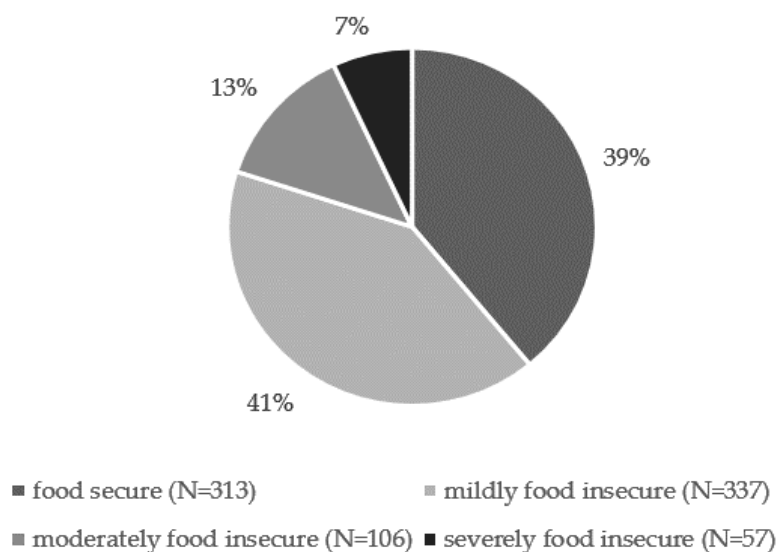
The national GIZ ILF office is located in the Ministry for Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction (MLMUPC). Regional offices of the ILF project are located in the provincial departments of the Ministry in Kampong Thom – with a local consultant – and Kratie and Tbong Khmum with a total of three consultants. In addition, there are the employees in the additionally included provinces of Phase II (e.g. Kampong Chhnang). The local advisors work closely with the local provincial government, district and municipal administrations and village chiefs. For example, the Provincial Directorate of the Ministry of Agriculture carries out the training measures for the ILF project. The technical advisors also work closely with the new settlers and their interest groups in order to respond to their needs and incorporate their suggestions into the project design. This opportunity to participate in the planning of project activities is seen as an important factor for the success and local ownership of the project activities.

2.2 Results and effects of the ILF project

The main result of the project is to create the conditions for the new settlers' families to settle on their new estates and that they can stay there all year round or at least a large part of the year and begin to cultivate their land. An interesting side-effect of the relative success is that in the meantime, visitors also come from outside and see how communities of land concessionaires can develop.

In February 2016, in the three provinces of ILF I, a survey was carried out in the three provinces of ILF I of approximately 50% of the households reached at that time (approx. 1,600), which showed that 80% of the respondents had sufficient food. Compared to surveys conducted by the WFP before the start of the ILF project, where 80% also reported that they had to suffer at least one hunger period per year, this is significant progress. In 2016, only 13% of the new settler families were classified as moderately insecure and 7% as highly insecure (cf. GC / GIZ 2016).

Figure 2: Food security of 813 households in the region investigated (according to GC / GIZ 2016)



In the same survey, the upper arm circumference of 386 children aged between six and 59 months was measured anthropometrically. 96% (372) were in a normal nutritional state. Two per cent (9) had moderate malnutrition and only one per cent (5) were seriously malnourished and were promptly treated with ILF. The wife of a village chief formulated it in the following way in 2016 when speaking to the ILF team:

“Our household was removed from the ID Poor list because we now own our own land. With our garden we have enough food. We live happily because we don’t have to worry any more about making money in order to buy food.” (GC / GIZ 2016).

3. Results of the investigation into social land concessions in Kampong Thom and Kratie

3.1 Methodology of the investigation

Field research on the ILF project was conducted as a household survey (N = 402) in nine different villages in the two provinces of Kampong Thom and Kratie. In addition, 18 focus group discussions were held, nine in the villages with household surveys and nine from other villages, including one in the province of Tbong Khmum.¹⁴

Table 1: Size of the investigation group by villages (household surveys)

Province	Village	Number of households (hh)	Percent
Kratie	Okoki, Dar	40	10.0%
	Samkei Sang Chey, Thmei	47	11.7%
	Kor Sang, Changkrang	44	10.9%
	Samputikan Kampi, Kampi	35	8.7%
	Samputikan Kakot, Chet Barey	53	13.2%
	Samputikan Chambak, Chambak	24	6.0%
Kampong Thom	Saen Amphiwat I	86	21.4%
	Saen Amphiwat II	19	4.7%
	Ou Thom	54	13.4%
		402	100%

Source: authors' data collections 2017 (the same applies for all the following figures and tables)

The focus group discussions were held with at least two participants and on average four to five participants. In two villages the discussions were relatively large with eight to 13 participants, as there were several leaders, deputies or members of different CBOs present. In all focus group discussions, either the village leader and/or his or her deputy were present, as well as the above-average commitment or interest of village members.

Since it is considered very impolite in Cambodia to express open criticism, respondents are likely to be more reluctant to respond to critical questions, especially when it comes to judging things that they have received free of charge. Another point to be kept in mind in this study is that large parts of the land concessions in the SLC villages have not (yet) been used. No interviews could be conducted with such households because the owners of the provisional land titles still live in their home towns. In this respect, the reasons for not using the land assigned to them were

¹⁴ In a first research trip at the end of March 400 household interviews were carried out in nine SLC villages, and moreover one focus group discussion was carried out for each village. Through a house fire unfortunately a large number of the household interviews were destroyed before they could be backed up. Subsequently, in a second research trip in May household interviews were repeated – however, for logistical reasons this was only carried out in two provinces.

not generally known. In the case of questions relating to soil quality, which could be a decisive factor in such a decision, the study can therefore only refer to data from households that have chosen to make use of land concessions. Data on distances, roads or general problems may also be somewhat more positive the real picture, as some households who have their land or farmland very far from the villages were interviewed less frequently, as they were difficult for the survey team to reach on foot.

3.2 Profile of the sample

Basic demographic data

The holders¹⁵ of the social land concessions investigated are 95.0% (382/402) ethnic Khmers. The five percent of the samples who belong to an indigenous population all lived in social concessions in Kratie. Of the 402 household representatives surveyed, the overwhelming majority (274 out of 402 = 68%) were female. Hence men were the interviewees or were present at a little less than one third of the interviews. A total of 310 women and 128 men participated in the study.

The high proportion of women is probably due to the fact that many men work in fields far away from the house during the day or work as day labourers elsewhere, while women supervise the house and children and carry out work mainly close to the house. Women were always represented in the focus group discussions, albeit usually outnumbered. In almost half of all the villages visited, however, at least half of the CBO administrations were female, and in one village there were only women on CBO committees. Within the local authority structures of the SLC villages, women were underrepresented. Both the village leaders and their deputies were all but one male. However, their wives often took an active part in the focus group discussions.

The respondents' median age was 40 years for the male respondents and 41 years for the female interviewees. In comparison to the municipal land title study carried out by the research team in Ratanakiri (cf. Hennecke et al. 2017), the men interviewed here are five years older and the women 11 years older. Since the surveys, as in the Ratanakiri study, were conducted mainly with family leaders or their partners – household members under 16 years of age were not interviewed – the assumption is likely to be that the clientele of those who have received social land titles tends to be older than the heads of households in traditionally grown village communities. At least individual groups that are eligible for social land concessions, such as army veterans and widowed poor people, are certainly usually older than the average landowner's household. The analysis of the age groups shows two age peaks in both men and women between the ages of 35 to 40 and 50. The average household size in our study is 5.2 persons (country average = 4.6 persons / hh, see KoC. MoP 2013). Comparatively few older people live in the new villages of the social land concessions. Only 14.2% (57/402) of households had members over 65 years of age.

The proportion of households in which people with disabilities live is relatively high, at 14.9% (60/402). At 3.1% (64/2,089), the total proportion of people with disabilities who are thus restricted in everyday life is 3.1% (64/2,089) and thus about twice as high as in a study carried out by the Ministry of the Interior in 2016 with 1.6% (357/22,264) (cf. Schell 2017). The relatively large

¹⁵ As many new settlers have not yet received definitive certificates of ownership for their land, the term "holders" is used here for reasons of caution.

proportion of households with people with disabilities may also be a further indication that the allocation procedure was adequately oriented towards the target groups.

Level of education and school situation

When asked about the highest level of education among household members, 83.3% (335/402) said they had no or only primary education, which was defined as “low education”. The general population has a higher level of education. In the study by the Ministry of the Interior, for example, only 50.7% (7,198/14,203) of the adults surveyed had a low level of education (cf. Schell 2017). The clientele of social land concessions is thus much less well educated than the general population in Cambodia. This also argues in favour of adherence to the selection criteria, since according to some of the school principals interviewed, the literacy rate and, above all, the school enrolment rate of the non-poor population in the country tends to approach 100%, according to some school principals.¹⁶

Four-fifths (320/402) of households have children of school age. Of these, only 45.9% (146/318) send all children to school. This means that more than half of households have one or more school-age children who do not go to school. In 20.1% of cases (64/318) not a single school-age child goes to school. A total of 699 children of school age were registered in our study, of whom only 441 (63.1%) go to school. This is below the national average of around 95% (UNICEF 2016:118), but is due to the fact that not all schools are already finished or have sufficient teachers in schools that are ready for operation.



Photo 7: Interview situation in the province Kratie in a donor-financed village community house

The self-assessment of households regarding the school situation in the new settlement villages is ambivalent. More than half of them at least perceive the school situation as “good”, but a considerable proportion of 44.0% (160/364) rate the school situation in their villages as “bad” to “very bad”. In the focus group discussions, it was repeatedly stated that it is difficult to commit teachers to the often remote villages. Time and again, the long and poor road connections lead to a loss of hours. During the interviews in two villages in Kratie, for example, after a heavy rainfall during the night at 10 o’ clock in the morning, i. e. three hours after school, not all teachers were still present. In addition, it was noted several times in the discussions that the school classes were very large and the learning conditions were correspondingly poor.

However, the improvement of the current low educational opportunities for children, especially in secondary schools, was considered to be much less urgent in the focus groups than other problems such as electricity, drinking water or road construction. Both in personal conversations within the framework of this study and in the course of the Ratanakiri

¹⁶ Data on the actual school enrolment rate in Cambodia are not very accessible/available, and have little to do with actual school attendance. UNICEF estimates that 88.4% of male and 85.9% of female members of the 15-24 year olds age group are literate. The rate of school-enrolled children entering the sixth grade of primary school is expected to reach 92.2% in the 2008-2012 observation period (cf. UNICEF 2017b).

investigations, the impression was conveyed by many interviewees in the villages that education is not highly significant for them and is not perceived as an opportunity for an improvement of the living situation.

Occupation and income

On the World Bank's five-level scale of socio-economic categories between extremely poor households at the bottom and wealthy households at the top of the scale, which we have adapted to Cambodia's circumstances, two-thirds of the households surveyed are classified in the two poorest categories or fifths. However, "only" 9% (36/399) complain that sometimes there is "not enough to eat" (= poorest and last fifth on the scale) in the household. 68.7% (274/399) confirm that they have "no major food shortage and rarely lack of clothes, but problems with health and schooling costs" (last but one fifth of the scale). This shows that the majority of residents still see themselves as being in a very vulnerable situation.

One of the objectives of land use is to help increase income and improve food security and food quality through land use. Support for land use is therefore the main activity of the ILF project's activities. As described in the ILF reports, in many households land management continues to compete with the working time used for day labour. For many poor people, day labour was the main, if not the only source of income before the land allocation.

To date, day labour represents at least part of the income for 90.0% (362/402) of households and continues to be the main source of income for 44.8% of families (180/402). Likewise, almost all (86.3%) households also practise agriculture (347/402), which has become the main source of income for 37.1% (149/402) of families. This means that although agriculture is still less important than day labour, it is much more important than before the start of project activities (see Fig. 3). The comparison with Ratanakiri is also interesting here, where mature village structures exist. Here, 84.4% (331/392) of households cited agriculture as the main source of income, and only 1.5% (6/392) cited day labour (cf. Hennecke et al. 2017).

More than half (56.5%) of the reference households breed small animals and about a quarter (23.9%) benefit from public transfers through participation in projects such as food or cash for work. A fifth of them also have large livestock such as cows, cattle or pigs. Less than 10% of households stated that they were self-employed, e.g. as craftsmen or small traders. Transfers from family members or other jobs are only present in less than 5% of households. On the national average, on the other hand, an estimated 20% of all households have migrant workers who more or less regularly support their families with transfer payments.¹⁷

¹⁷ Cf. the estimate of the Ministry of Labour and Vocational Training, which for 2014 estimates the number of Cambodian working immigrants in Thailand alone, based on sources there, at approx. 700,000 (KoC. MLVT / ILO 2014).

Figure 3: Multiple answers on all important income sources of the households in percent (N=402)

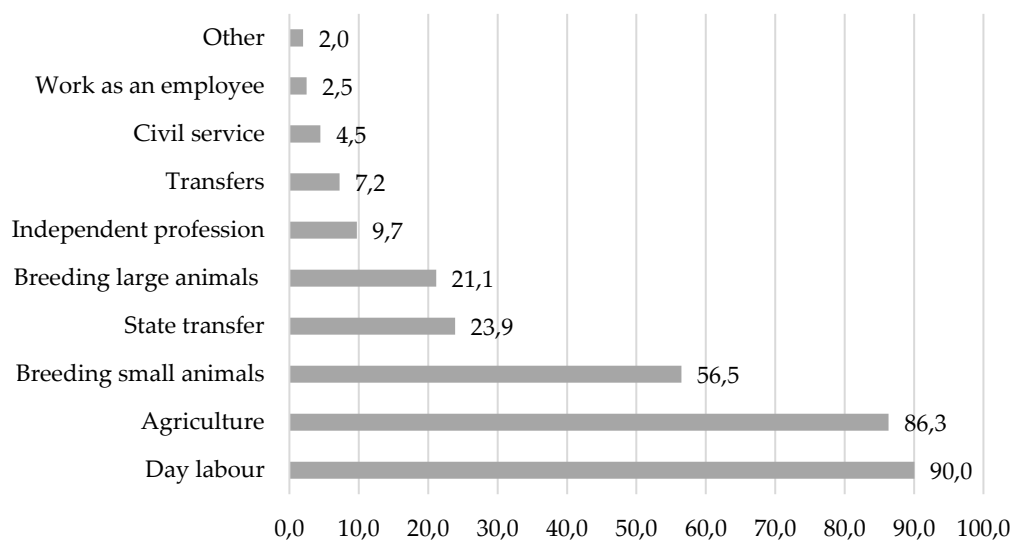
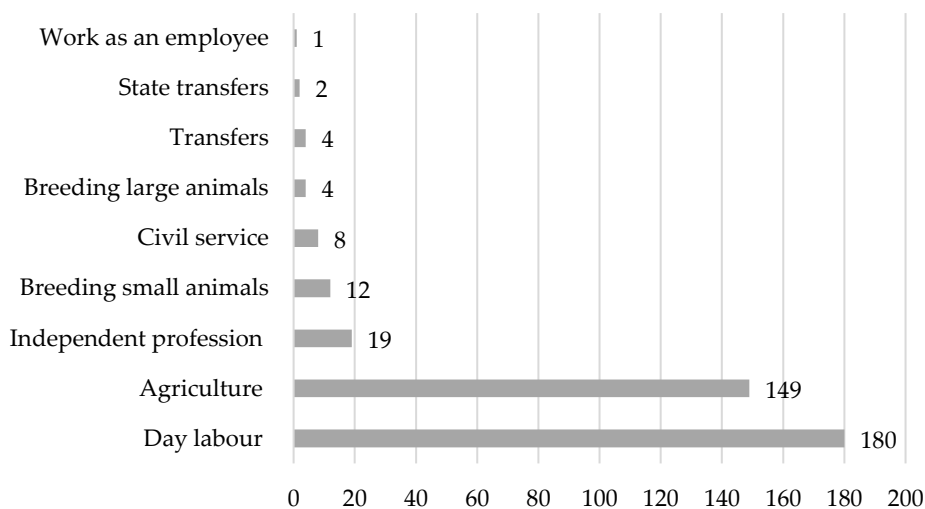


Figure 4: Only one answer on the main income sources of the households (N=402)



In half of the households surveyed, two members ($192/402 = 47.8\%$) each contribute to the household livelihood. In just under a quarter of households only one household member ($93/402 = 23.1\%$) works, and in just over a quarter more than two do so ($107/402 = 26.6\%$). In 22.9% of households ($92/402$) minors also contribute to income, something which is quite common throughout the country. In 84.3% ($339/402$) of households, the self-assessments of the households' income situation are "poor" to "very poor" (see Fig. 6), which shows that even households in the middle socio-economic fifth are not at all well off, even if they own small consumer goods such as a TV set and mobile phones.

With respect to household items, the priority is clearly on mobility and electrical goods (see Fig. 5). Around 60% of all households have at least one motorcycle (243/402) and either photovoltaic cells or a generator to generate electricity. One fifth, i. e. 19.4% (78/402), has a mini tractor (see photo 4). This is followed by communication media such as televisions with 16.4% (66/402) and smart devices with 10.2% (41/402). This is similar to the study carried out in the villages of municipal land concessions in Ratanakiri, where most households also own motorcycles or motor boats, followed by equipment for generating electricity.

Figure 5: Ownership in the households of the sample, in percent (N = 402)

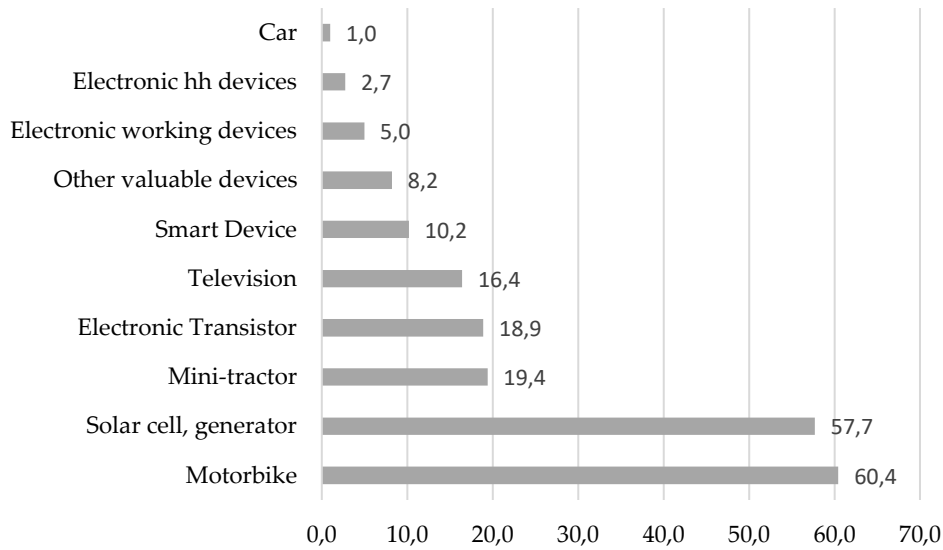
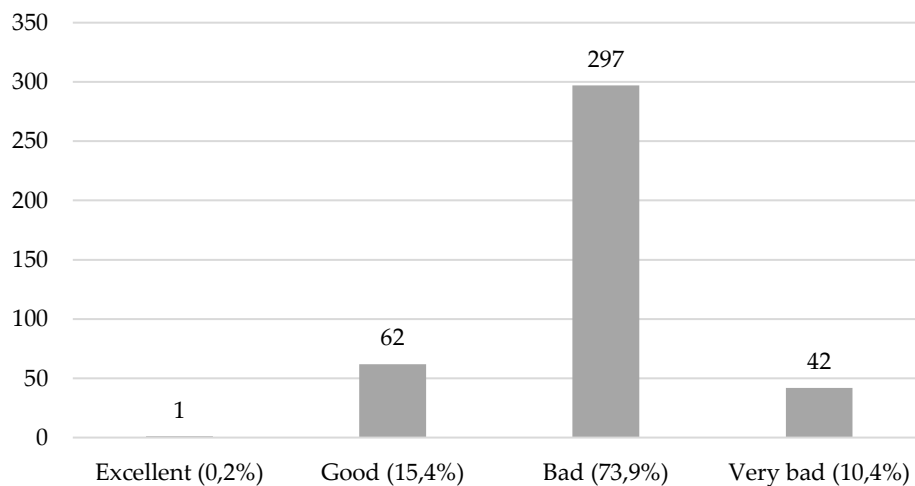


Figure 6: Self-assessment by the households of their income situation (N = 402)



3.3 Effects of the project on the households

The ILF can demonstrate significant successes, particularly in the economic field. The proportion of households judging their situation to be rather good is significantly higher among those households in which heads of households or their partners actively participate in ILF activities than among those who are not involved. Of the 402 households surveyed, 66 (= 16.4%) are currently actively involved in ILF-supported measures. In a further 30.1% of households (121/402) the partners of the interviewees are active. In both groups, the assessment of the current income situation of their households is significantly better than for those families not participating in any ILF measure (with a significance of $p < 0.001$ in each case).

Table 2: Differences in the evaluation of income situation between household heads who are active in the ILF project and those who are not active (N = 402)

Household head		Income good to excellent	Income bad to very bad	Sum
Not active in ILF	N	36	300	336
	%	10.7%	89.3%	100.0%
Active in ILF	N	27	39	66
	%	40.9%	59.1%	100.0%
Total	N	63	339	402
	%	15.7%	84.3%	100.0%

Pearson Chi square $p < 0.001$

Table 3: Differences in the evaluation of income situation between spouses who are active in the ILF project and those who are not active (N = 402)

Partners' activity in ILF		Income good to excellent	Income bad to very bad	Sum
Not active in ILF	N	30	251	281
	%	10.7%	89.3%	100.0%
Active in ILF	N	33	88	121
	%	27.3%	72.7%	100.0%
Total	N	63	339	402
	%	15.7%	84.3%	100.0%

Pearson Chi square $p < 0.001$

The mean area of the land concessions granted, like the median area, is exactly two hectares. The 75th percentile is 2.5 hectares. This corresponds to the areas for land distribution in social land concessions defined in the legal provisions.¹⁸

¹⁸ Sub Decree on Social Land Concessions. Article 17: "The maximum size of social concession land granted for family farming purposes is two (2) hectares, but for some areas the size of social concession land may be increased up to five (5) hectares based on the characteristics and potentiality of the land or the type of crop, and labor."

The size is comparable to that of the agricultural area in the municipal land titles areas in Ratanakiri, where the median of land area is also two hectares. However, in Ratanakiri considerable areas of forest for municipal and private use are also present, which are available to all village people for various uses. Around the areas with social land titles there are usually also large brownfield areas (from thinned-out forest), which are used by the villagers for grazing and wood procurement (also for commercial purposes of illegal charcoal production, see photo 8).



Photo 8: (Illegal) charcoal pile in the garden of a new settler's house in one of the ILF project areas

In the areas covered by the social land concessions, however, the size of the land awarded varies greatly from village to village, ranging from just under 1.2 ha to around 2.4 ha (see Table 4). A total of 19 households (4.7%) say they have not yet been allocated arable land.

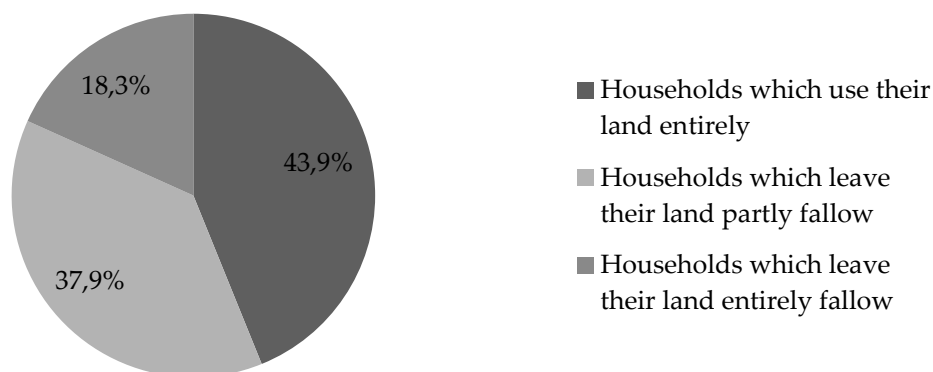
Table 4: Mean and median field areas of the households for each village (estimation of the households interviewed) (N = 402)

Village name	Mean / ha	Median / ha
Okoki, Dar (N=40)	1.18	1.00
Samkei Sang Chey, Thmei (N=47)	1.60	1.54
Kor Sang, Changkrang (N=44)	1.72	1.75
Samputikan Kampi, Kampi (N=35)	2.22	2.00
Samputikan Kakot, Chet Barey (N=53)	2.32	2.00
Samputikan Chambak, Chambak (N=24)	1.79	2.00
Saen Amphiwat I (N=86)	2.41	2.50
Saen Amphiwat II (N=19)	2.37	2.50
Ou Thom (N=54)	2.14	2.00
Total	2.02	2.00

Of the 383 households of the sample that have been allocated arable land, almost half (168/383 = 43.9%) use their entire land (see Figure 7). More than one third (145/383 = 37.9%) have partially fallow land and almost one fifth (70/383 = 18.3%) say that their entire land remains unused. For those who own derelict land, the average unused area is 0.7 ha, which is one third of the average potential available area.

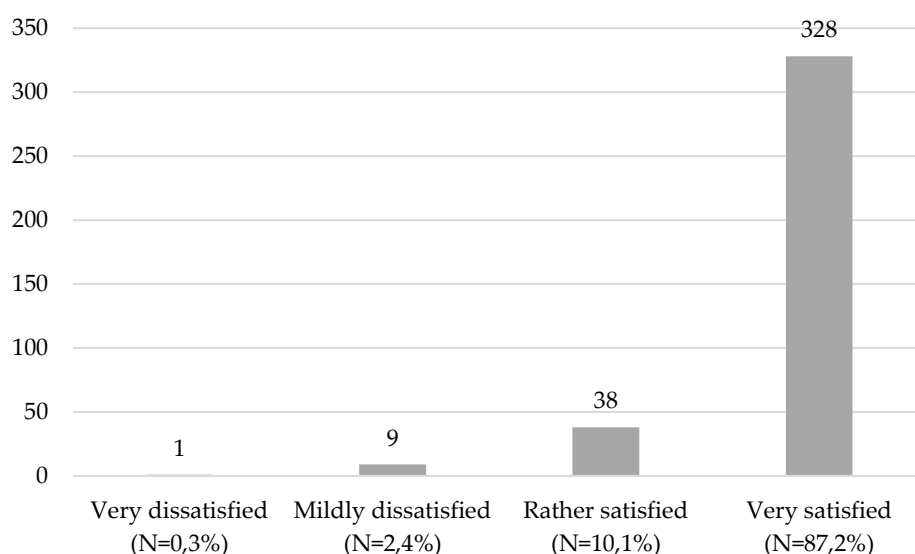
The average living space available to households is about 1,200 m² and almost always measures 30 m in its facade along the track and is 40 m deep, with about one third of the area being used as building land and two thirds as gardens. In contrast to the size of arable land, the living space in all villages is approximately the same, except for the village of Kor Sang, where the median is only 800 m². The land assigned for residential purposes is part of the land titles and thus also free of charge for the recipients.

Figure 7: Land use in social land concessions (N=383)



The vast majority of 87.2% of the household representatives (328/402) are satisfied with the quality of the land allocated to them (see Fig. 8). However, the actual quality of the distributed land remains uncertain, firstly because it is not yet possible for non-agricultural families to assess the soil quality and secondly because households who have not yet used their land have not been surveyed. For example, it is quite conceivable that poor soil quality could be one reason why a considerable number of the land concessions have not yet been used. The quality of the soil was also viewed critically in the focus group discussions. The importance of ILF assistance in transforming the distributed areas into usable arable land was emphasised and the need for support in this area was highlighted. In the discussions, however, poor soil quality was also noted to a lesser extent on the residential land. In fact, in the SLC villages in the spatial context of the residential land, only a small number of households cultivate vegetables, although there is no automatic link between abandoning vegetable cultivation and poor soils, as there are also undemanding types of vegetables. Such gardens are still most often found among village chiefs and CBO representatives, whose gardens have often been set up as model areas.

Figure 8: Satisfaction with soil quality (N=376, 26 missing values)



The distance from the house to the field is on average 2.2 km or 30 minutes on foot, while the distance from the bushland or forest is even greater. The ILF project had to create a great number of shortcuts so that the settlers could reach their fields with a hand tractor.

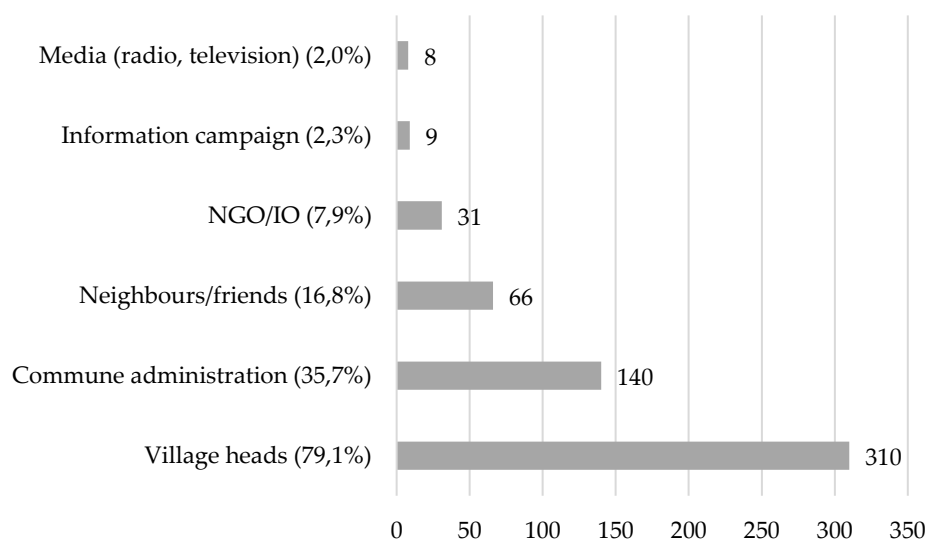
The vast majority of settlers (339/387 = 87.6%) stated that they were “very satisfied” with the situation in the residential land, 10.1% (39/387) were “rather satisfied” and 2.3% (9/387) were “dissatisfied”. Here the evaluation in the focus group discussions is again much more critical, with the exception of the SLC village in Tbong Khmum (with good road connections!). The keyword is the bad road connection between house and field (which was also criticised in Tbong Khmum), but also between the “closest” road and the house. Discussions outside of the interviews and discussions also repeatedly pointed out how fundamentally the poor road conditions restricted different areas of life and how important continuous support for road construction therefore was.¹⁹

One third of households grow rice, the traditional Cambodian staple food. From the small average size of the rice cultivation area (1.17 ha), it can be concluded that the harvest yield is probably mainly used for subsistence and not for sales. A similar proportion of households grow cash crops such as Cassava, the sale of which contributes to household income. Fewer than a fifth have planted fruit trees, the yield of which is more likely to occur in the medium term.

3.4 Excursus: evaluation of the allocation process of the social land titles

When asked how the households had heard of the social land concessions, most responded that they had been informed by their village chief in the old village about the possibility of applying for land from the commune (see Fig. 9). The implementation of information campaigns by the local government and special commune committees was also an important source of information.

Figure 9: Information source of the applicants for social land concessions (N=392)



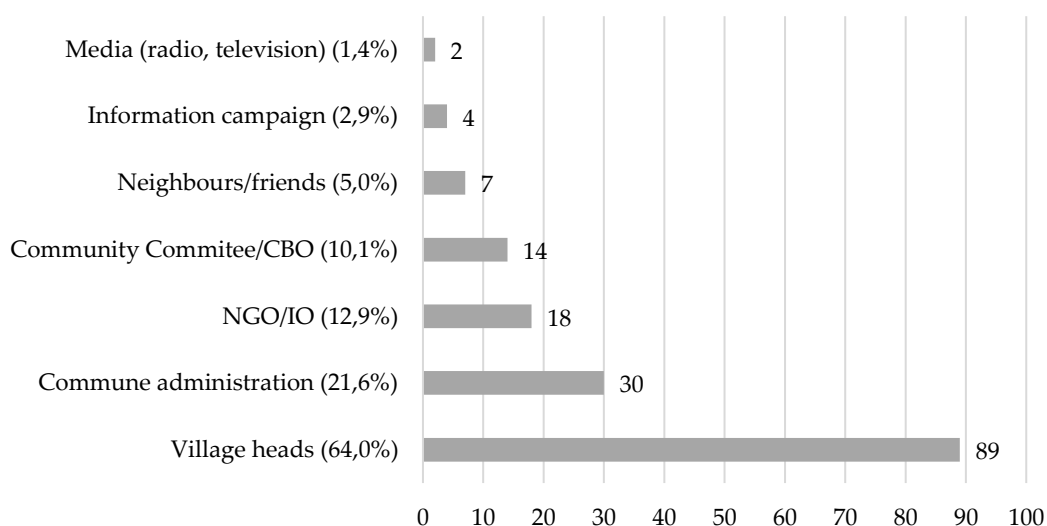
¹⁹ Hence the target of the promotion of access routes through financial cooperation is of the greatest relevance, and is essential for long-lasting success of the ILF activities (cf. KfW 2015).

The awarding process is judged by the vast majority of respondents to be problem-free (386/399 = 96.7%) and uncomplicated (355/399 = 89.0%). The mean waiting time for land allocation was 8.4 months, and the median time only 6.0 months. Approximately one fifth of the respondents had also heard about the land concessions through word-of-mouth from neighbours or friends. NGOs, the media and other sources played a minor role.

With regard to the effects of the ILF project, as perceived by the household representatives, it has already been mentioned that in 66 households (16.4%) heads of households actively participate in ILF measures and in 121 further cases (30.1%) their partners. However, this information must take into account that the actual participation was most likely higher. The surveys were not only conducted with household heads and/or partners, but in some cases with other household members who were particularly young or old and were certainly not fully informed about the activities of all household members. For example, members of these households could also be involved in ILF-funded activities without this being included in the responses (and case numbers). Some questionnaires showed that members of the household had taken part in the past, but the question of active participation was replied negatively, as this was no longer the case at the present time.

When asked where villagers had heard of ILF activities, the chief of the village and the community committee were mentioned. When asked how the household benefited from ILF activities, the 139 household representatives who participated in ILF offers were able to give multiple answers. The provision of agricultural and household appliances (sometimes also large equipment such as rice mills) and foodstuffs for food security are the three most important things referred to. Solar cells and water storage containers were also mentioned. In particular, the large water containers / tanks mentioned are also clearly visible in the villages. The collectively used implements such as tractors, irrigation systems and wells / pumps, as well as the training and further education were particularly appreciated and praised in the focus group discussions.

Figure 10: Information sources of the households with respect to ILF offers, multiple answers possible (N=139)



However, in two villages the housing of these implements was mentioned. Since there is no lockable shed or similar, the tractors are usually parked in private households, which leads to speculation about preference and ensuing jealousy. In half of all the discussions, it was noted that there was resentment and envy in the villages, mainly because only selected households could gain so many visible benefits from the ILF project. This criticism was also supported by active

members who themselves belong to the profiting households, and not only by households that have hardly benefited so far. Occasionally this criticism was also found in the answers to the question of open suggestions regarding future project offers.

Table 5: Mentions of the way in which the households benefited from ILF support (N=139, 263 provided no information)

Type of support mentioned	Number of mentions	Percent of households (N=139)
Agricultural devices	75	54.0%
Household devices	65	46.8%
Rice/foodstuffs	64	46.0%
Water tanks, water containers, jars*	43	30.9%
Solar cells	42	30.2%
Land	33	23.7%
Well/water pump/water supply	30	21.6%
More knowledge/training/better abilities	28	20.1%
Irrigation plant	23	16.5%
Seeds	21	15.1%
Poultry/cows	17	12.2%
Latrine	13	9.4%
Fruit trees	11	7.9%
Bicycle	11	7.9%
Mini-tractor	10	7.2%
Wood for house construction	10	7.2%
Money	9	6.5%
Pond for fish	8	5.8%
Educational work	6	4.3%
Transport/petrol	5	3.6%
Water filter	3	2.2%
Cutting grass/ploughing land	3	2.2%
Good relations/better fellowship	2	1.4%
Market access	2	1.4%
Oven/gas cooker	2	1.4%
Rice mill	2	1.4%
Road construction	2	1.4%
External contacts	1	0.7%
Motorbike	1	0.7%

Notes: *traditional water container

When asked about the most important support from which households benefited, more than 50% of household representatives indicated the promotion of agriculture. Much less mention was made of poultry farming, the transfer of agricultural knowledge, land clearing and the provision of solar cells (see Table 6).

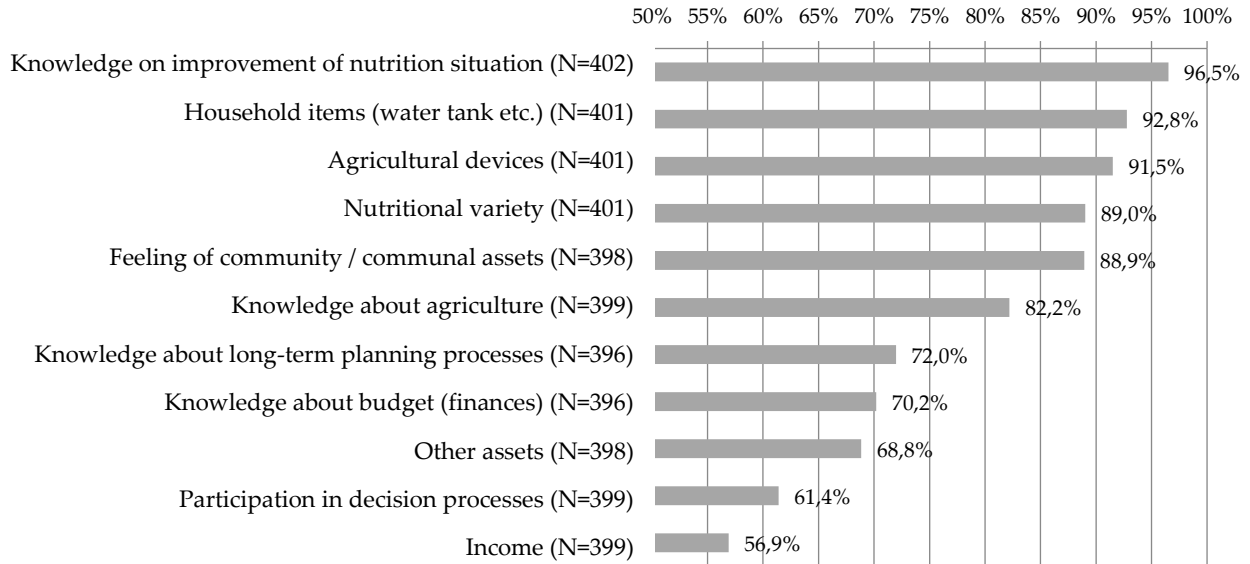
Table 6: Mentions of the activity which provided the greatest improvement for the household (N=109, 293 provided no information)

Area of support	Number of mentions	Percent of the households (N=109)
Agriculture	54	49.5
Poultry/small livestock	8	7.3
(Agricultural) knowledge/ Training offers	8	7.3
Land (presumably reclamation and clearing)	8	7.3
Solar cells	8	7.3
Communal tractor for ploughing	4	3.7
Well/water supply	4	3.7
Wood for house construction	3	2.8
Daily work (presumably <i>food/ cash for work</i>)	3	2.8
Road construction	2	1.8
Foodstuffs/Improvement of nutritional situation	2	1.8
Latrine	2	1.8
Household items	1	0.9
Family situation	1	0.9
Healthcare	1	0.9

The questions to assess in which areas of the economy and everyday life the GIZ's activities may have contributed to improving the households' situation were asked in all households. The results show that the ILF project's main areas of intervention are clearly assessed positively: As far as food security, agricultural development and nutritional diversity are concerned, more than 90% of households say that they see a (minor and/or major) improvement as a result of the project measures (see Fig. 10). ILF funding was also seen as an important support in the focus group discussions and it was emphasised that there was indeed a continuous need for it. In all the discussions, however, there was concern whether the continuation of the much-needed further support would really be guaranteed.

As already mentioned at the beginning, 84.3% (339/402) of the household representatives assess their income situation as "bad" to "very bad". The employment situation and health situation are each considered by 62.2% (250/402) to be "bad" to "very bad". The housing situation is rated as "bad" by 50.9% (203/399), but only as "very bad" by 4.3% (17/399). Despite the rather poor overall assessment of their economic situation, a large majority of the households surveyed (80.8%, 325/402) still rate their general satisfaction in life as "excellent" or "good".

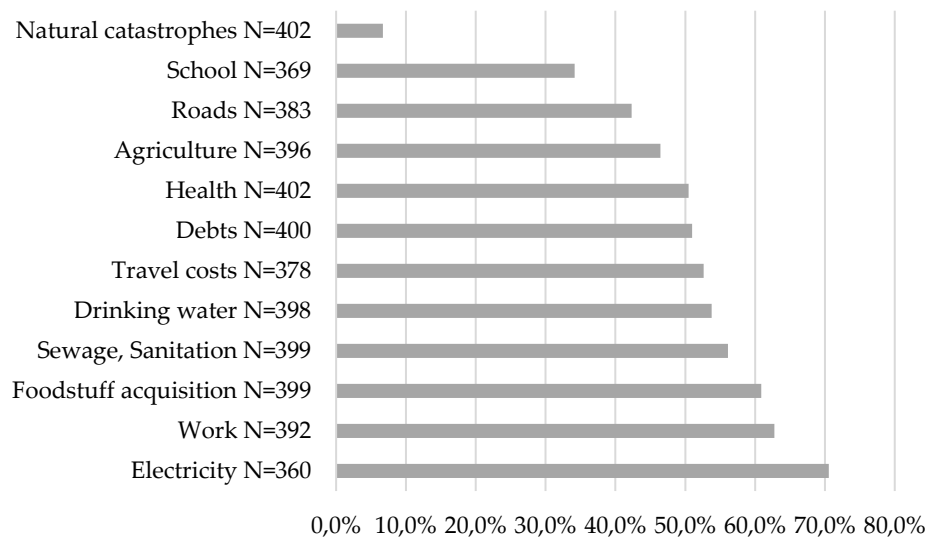
Figure 11: Evaluation questions on the improvement of various areas of life through ILF sponsorship. Originally there were three categories: “no”, “minor” and “major” improvement. Here “minor” and “major” improvement have been combined (N = 396-402



3.5 Remaining problems of the households and wishes for the ILF

When asked about the individual problems of households, the lack of electricity, poor working conditions and difficulty in purchasing food were cited as “problems that occur frequently or constantly” (see Fig. 11). Drinking water supply and waste water disposal are also mentioned by more than half as “frequently or constantly” problematic. Half of all households surveyed also “frequently or constantly” have problems with travel expenses (e.g. to healthcare centres), existing debts and their general healthcare.

Figure 12: Problems occurring “frequently or constantly” in the households (N = 360-402)



In addition to the question of the problems, a similar question was asked about the wishes and priorities of the households for their own development (see Table 7). The leading priority was (1) the improvement of their housing situation (251/398 = 63.1%) through the construction of a (better) house, followed by (2) opening their own shop (151/398 = 37.9%), (3) the extension of the area for agricultural use (146/398 = 36.7%), (4) the improvement of agriculture (78/398 = 19.6%) and (5) the development of educational opportunities for children (60/398 = 15.1%). The desire to improve educational opportunities for children speaks of a rather bad situation in the present and corrects the initial assessment of the interviewees, which was apparently too positive.

Table 7: Wishes or priorities of all those asked – multiple answers possible (items with under 10 mentions were omitted here)

Wish/priority	Number of mentions	Percent of households N= 398
Building a house	251	63.1%
Opening a shop	151	37.9%
More agriculture	146	36.7%
Improving agriculture	78	19.6%
Education for children	60	15.1%
Buying a motorbike	54	13.6%
Larger land areas	42	10.6%
Animal keeping	37	9.3%
Saving	28	7.0%
Making farmland usable	24	6.0%
Food	23	5.8%
A well	21	5.3%
Household objects	18	4.5%
Tractor	18	4.5%
Planting trees	18	4.5%
Feeding animals	16	4.0%
Buying a car	12	3.0%
Healthcare	11	2.8%

As well as the individual desires of the household representatives, the desires for the development of the villages were also asked, with the following result: (1) Help for the needy, children and old people (154/346 = 44.5%), (2) the construction of a pagoda (118/346 = 34.1%), (3) improvement of the (access) roads (107/346 = 30.9%), (4) improvement of the school situation (80/346 = 23.1%) and (5) the construction of a health centre (19.1%). The construction of a pagoda was explicitly mentioned in several focus group discussions as an important foundation for the improvement of the community feeling, educational offering, and also health care and hygiene education (in at least some such locations, this is also carried out by monks).

In two focus group discussions in Kampong Thom, the existing problem of a lack of community feeling in the village was addressed, as well as the many quarrels and even fights. Some of the measures enshrined in the ILF or the LASED programme were rarely mentioned as needs. However, it is quite conceivable that these are already considered to be sufficiently available. For instance, the following were only mentioned to a limited extent: the establishment

of savings groups ($27/346 = 7.8\%$), the distribution of food rations ($25/346 = 7.2\%$), well construction ($18/346 = 5.2\%$), more basic and advanced training in general ($11/346 = 3.2\%$), more education and training on agricultural topics ($9/346 = 2.6\%$) and irrigation systems ($9/346 = 2.6\%$) or on farmland ($5/346 = 1.4\%$).



Photo 9: Focus group discussions in the framework of the investigations into social land concessions in Cambodia

In the focus group discussions, the priorities varied from village to village. However, road construction, irrigation systems and access to drinking water and, in the area of education, access to secondary schools in particular, were always mentioned. There was still said to be a shortage of teachers and therefore too many classes. Teachers were not accommodated in the remote villages, the roads were in poor condition and the distances were too long. This led to frequent cancellation of lessons. Other problems are the lack of access to the health care system. Six out of nine discussions mentioned the lack of electricity and the existence of domestic violence. In five focus groups, a lack of food was cited as a problem, especially during the

dry season. In four villages there were complaints of drug abuse and theft. In three villages, economic problems were addressed, such as the lack of a market for selling products funded by the ILF project, the lack of non-agricultural jobs and the lack of monetary income.

In the SLC village of Tbong Khmum, a high priority was given to the fight against a fatal, unnamed disease that affected both small and large animals and led to major losses. To date, all countermeasures have been unsuccessful. In addition, disputes and competition between the CBO leaders and various authority structures were mentioned in this village as a major problem that severely hampered the development process of the village and the project. In one village, the poor soil quality of the assigned land was also cited as the biggest general problem.

These findings show no clear trend in the wishes of the new settlers. However, it should be emphasised that the reference to the lack of electricity should not be seen as at all surprising, since other studies also show that the presence of light, the operation of a television, fans, and above all a refrigerator, as well as the ability to use electricity to power an extra profession alongside farming, are very important factors in the willingness of young people in particular to stay in the countryside (cf. KfW 2011). It is perfectly understandable that the promotion of agriculture does not appear even more prominently among the desires, since all interview partners now have their own land and are more and more involved in agriculture from month to month, something which most of them could hardly have dreamed of before the transfer of land concessions. Now it is important for them to be able to make the everyday life around this agriculture comfortable. A good house is quite rightly the first priority.

Suggestions for future ILF project implementation

116 households made suggestions for the ILF project. The focus here is on (1) road construction, cited by 45.7% (53/116) of the households surveyed, (2) the promotion of agriculture (ploughs, seeds, irrigation), cited by 27.6% (32/116), (3) the construction of a health centre mentioned by

25.9% (30/116), (4) the promotion of school education (support of pupils, scholarships, transport) at 24.1% (28/116), (5) the construction of a pagoda at 19.0% (22/116), (6) expansion of drinking water systems, wells and water tanks, cited by 15.5% (18/116) and (7) a police station to promote security, named by 13.8% (16/116).

Special wishes and suggestions were also formulated in the focus group discussions, which were addressed to the ILF team and passed on accordingly and largely coincide with the above-mentioned proposals.

4. Conclusions and general comments on the support of land reform projects

Land (re)distribution is an important contribution to poverty reduction and food security (see Klasen et al. 2016). The ILF case study shows that land reform projects are possible today, despite the relatively minor importance of this instrument compared to previous decades of development, especially in countries such as Cambodia, where sufficient land reserves are still available. What is important here, however, is the suppression of economic land concessions, which – as the practice in Cambodia, but also in other countries (e.g. in Ethiopia, Zambia or Mali) shows – are still too often to the detriment of land already used by small farmers; in addition, they considerably reduce the distribution reserves of land for the poor. In Cambodia, there is a trend here towards respecting existing agricultural rights more strongly than in the past and towards stopping land grabbing, and indeed to take back land which has already been allocated but not used. However, it is still unclear whether the socially more appropriate distribution of these very extensive areas of several hundred thousand hectares is actually politically desirable.²⁰

The existing legislative bases in Cambodia, at any rate, have allowed the redistribution or initial distribution of large quantities of the former state territory since 2003, and they already name the most important population groups that need to be served as a matter of priority. These include mainly poor and vulnerable population groups, who for the first time have the opportunity to acquire their own land. However, this possibility is currently only used to a negligible extent, despite the fact that land reserves are available or even increasing. By the beginning of 2016, only about 3,150 families had together received a total of 10,273 hectares of land (World Bank 2015:15), while national plans by 2018 contain a target of 43,000 families with corresponding land areas by 2018 (OHCHR 2016:8). This number certainly cannot be achieved even with the support of LASED II. LASED II only plans distribution for around 5,150 families and about 17,000 hectares of land (World Bank 2016:3).

On the other hand, the distribution of land within the framework of the social land concessions has been carried out quite professionally and is relatively well implemented in terms of transparency. The awarding process has been and will be led decentrally by the local government in the transmission of information to villagers and in the implementation of the project. The village leaders are key figures in the process. According to the household representatives interviewed, both institutions and office-holders have implemented a transparent information policy and specifically addressed representatives of poor households in their respective areas of responsibility.

The interviewees, in their capacity as former applicants, generally regard the application for the concessions and the awarding of the provisional titles as problem-free and uncomplicated. The allocation had been made swiftly and free of charge, usually within six months of receipt of information by the families. In the villages surveyed the high proportion of households with disabled people as their heads or other members, the line of single parents and above all the mass of genuinely extremely households among the new settlers clearly prove that the legal regulations were fully adhered to in the choice of target group.

The few exceptions, such as a few families already equipped with a small tractor and several mopeds in the household and living in houses of occupy above-average quality, reported that

²⁰ With respect to this, very high-ranking interviewees also indicated that it would be more appropriate to think of the promotion of “modern mechanised agriculture” with larger land areas.

they had received the funds for this investment through the remittances of a family member working in Thailand or Singapore. Hence no inclusion errors in land allocation have become apparent in the course of the study.

To this extent, the procedure is only to be evaluated positively. However, half of the households surveyed do not use their land completely and 17% do not use it at all. The latter are families, most of whom have not yet moved fully to the new settlement villages. The instrument of land distribution to the poor in order to secure their food security and to get them out of poverty therefore only makes sense if at the same time the conditions are created to ensure that family members working as day labourers are provided with the know-how that is needed for the operation of an independent rural agriculture. Similarly, a necessary prior condition is that the beneficiaries of land allocation will be put in a position, over a transitional period, to actually be able to cultivate their land and to feed their families until a sufficient harvest has been made. This is only possible if the financial means are made available to them during this period. The “savings book model” (see Box 1), as has been successfully tested in Vietnam and implemented on a large scale, could be a good practice here which is tried and tested elsewhere.

Box 1: The Vietnamese savings book model

The savings book model used in KfW's social forestry programmes in neighbouring Vietnam could also be a good alternative in Cambodia for the effective and rapid valorisation of social land concessions. Under this model, land from the State Land will be distributed in appropriate units of between two and five hectares to poor families committed to reforestation and sustainably managing the land with the support of the project. As in Cambodia, the beneficiary groups are primarily very poor households, and they certainly cannot survive waiting until the trees are able to supply broken wood / firewood after two years and logs from the fifth year onwards. They therefore receive a savings book which they can use in proportion to the amount of (initially unpaid) work done and their money requirements. This means that in the first and second year, larger amounts can be withdrawn and used for living expenses, which will be significantly reduced in the following years until the savings account is completely used up. With this approach, more than 130,000 hectares of forest were created in Vietnam, which, according to various evaluations, were in very good condition even years after the end of the partial measures. Through the involvement of German development cooperation on several levels, a forestry law was created at the same time that guarantees the participating families a right to use their forest land for generations to come.

Sources: Evaluation Bliss 2003, KfW 2016

One phenomenon that can still be observed at present is the non-participation of around half of the households surveyed in ILF-funded activities. Sometimes it seems that a group of households favoured by the local authorities benefit more than most from the project, while the other families, at least in the individual activities, are not involved. In order to overcome this disparity, ILF staff have recently started to make more and more offers which are not announced via the village chiefs, but are made known directly to the households.

The measures currently supported by the BMZ through the GIZ represent the contribution which the state or donors such as LASED I should have made years ago in order to make the land reform a successful model from the start.²¹ The ILF project supports farmers in taking up their

²¹ At this point, however, it must be noted that the GTZ, the predecessor of the GIZ, and German consultancy companies were already partly involved in LASED I measures, but without having leadership of the project.

agricultural activities and provides a bridging aid to feed the new settler families. In order to remedy one of LASED's major weaknesses, namely not always handing over fields that can be cultivated everywhere but leaving villages to their own devices, support is also given for clearing and field levelling tasks. Since these are necessary to a considerable extent, tractors are currently being purchased for each village in order to clean and level the still considerable bushland areas under local control.

However, TC alone is unable to make up for the shortcomings of the past in a short time. Around three years will have passed before the actual start of implementation of the World Bank's successor project LASED II at the beginning of 2018, during which time KfW did not make any fundamental improvements to the economic infrastructure, with the exception of track construction. Correspondingly, some of the main tracks are rehabilitated by Financial Cooperation (FC) and some of the dirt roads have been made accessible by the ILF, but between the main runs and the villages as well as between the villages, some of the access roads are in extremely poor condition. Canals can only be built on a very small scale by TC, but are urgently needed particularly in the zones suitable for rice cultivation.

The situation is similar with the social infrastructure. Thus the village schools (classes 1-6) were built with a considerable delay and the comments of the parents during the questioning are therefore to be regarded as extremely polite, something which was corrected in the focus group discussions. Some schools were even only under construction at the time of this study (mid-2017). In Kampong Thom, for example, the distance to the nearest health centre is more than 20 km. In two villages, due to partially poor tracks, the transport costs alone demanded for a sick person are about US\$ 25 or more. Here too, the state and the predecessor project took about three years to make the new settlers' areas in these zones really "habitable".

In any follow-up project, it would be important to clarify responsibilities at an early stage, whereby donor organisations could rightly point to the state's obligation at least to provide for the social infrastructure of its citizens. It should be borne in mind that such infrastructure measures would not be a contribution which could be accounted for as extraordinary costs under the resettlement policy. Rather, it is also a regular task of the state in new settlers' areas, especially since the costs for additional schools and health care facilities would also be incurred in the families' home villages if the population were to grow there, and along with it the requirements for state social services.

An important point to be discussed carefully during the planning process is the question of land sizes to be distributed. These should be measured in such a way that a household can live from the land in the long term, in order to generate an income (with average competence and without taking into account serious negative weather events) which raises it well above the poverty line and, if possible, even above the current vulnerability line. In the case of the new settlers' villages managed by the ILF project, it is usually 2 to 2.5 hectares per household, whereas in Kampong Chhnang it is only 1.0 to 1.5 hectares. In none of the cases covered has the maximum area for land reallocation under the 2003 Regulation of 5.0 ha been reached.

The Kenyan irrigation project carried out by Mitunguu on Mount Kenya, which was also investigated as part of the INEF research project, allocated approximately one hectare per household. The impact study shows that, in terms of the yield of the land and the selected bananas as cash crop, this area is even sufficient to bring the next generation above the poverty line through the land (cf. Bliss et al. 2017). In Cambodia, the areas allocated are usually two to three times as large, but only small parts of the land can be irrigated – and the products that can be grown and marketed here are of much lower quality than in Kenya. Therefore, at least for Kampong Chhnang the size of the average distributed areas has to be questioned.

The question of land sizes is outside of the ILF project's responsibility. However, it is strongly recommended to analyse the yield value of the available areas more closely in the course of the LASED-II project and to measure the areas to be allocated accordingly. Corresponding standard sizes should then start with 2.0 ha and no doubt in many zones have to reach 5.0 ha which can be legally allocated without any problems.

In the near future, tailor-made offers of financial services should not be forgotten, especially in the rural communities in which the ILF operates. In addition to small loans of just a few hundred US dollars for seeds, for example, loans in the order of 1,000 and 2,500 US dollars are needed to buy equipment, without which even small farmers in Cambodia can hardly survive today.

With regard to the effects of the ILF project so far, in addition to the significant improvements in the nutritional situation of almost all households, among the more active families mentioned several times in the report, substantial increases in income can be seen, which are mainly due to a diversification of employment activities. There is further potential for the improvement of value chains, although these would require the gap in the transport infrastructure to be closed. Both men and women benefit from the measures to self-organise farming families, although the latter are less involved in cash crop production than men. An empowerment of women and girls is therefore at best only a secondary objective of the project.

The situation is different with regard to the participation of the population in decisions on ongoing development measures in the new settlement villages. The ILF project has indeed started with a basic programme focusing on food security. In the management of new land, too, the range of support measures is based on the results of soil science studies. However, these measures are as broadly diversified as possible, as is the case with all other economic stimulus measures, and the range of services on offer is very broad. The household proposals themselves are largely taken into account. The considerable investments in drinking water storage and the procurement of additional equipment (e.g. tractors for levelling the fields) are based on proposals from farmers themselves.

The results of the ILF project show after a relatively short period of time that contributions to land reform in the right combination have a considerable positive effect on food security and the fight against extreme poverty. The potential in Cambodia is far from being fully exploited. The résumé: in order to give success the greatest possible chance, it is important that:

- allotted agricultural land is immediately usable for cultivation and does not have to be cleared;
- the new land farmers receive a financial contribution to bridge the gap between giving up their (wage) work and the receipt of sufficient initial income from their new lands;
- the families are provided with the necessary know-how for an independent agriculture appropriate to the situation (e. g. with regard to land usability);
- the economic infrastructure necessary for agricultural use of the new land areas is provided from the outset in the form of access roads, irrigation facilities, etc.; and
- the basic social infrastructure is in place at the time of resettlement into the new territories, at least in the form of primary schools and health centres.

In order to create good sustainability conditions, the size of the land to be allocated should also be chosen in such a way that families of users can cross the poverty line on the basis of their agricultural income. Given the specific background of the complex nutritional problems in Cambodia, it is also important to address food security at an early stage and to plan for it in the context of subsistence production.

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