

Analysis of the Survey on Social Capital in Cambodia

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Introduction: Analytical method of the research

The main purpose of Senshu University's survey of Cambodia in its research for "Exploring Social Capital towards Sustainable Development in East Asia," a project for strategic basic research infrastructure at private universities, launched by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT), is to acquire a specific understanding of social capital in Cambodia through questionnaire survey conducted in the country. Distribution and collection of the questionnaire forms are completed and an analysis paper of the Cambodian side has been already been prepared based on the questionnaire. Statistical analysis of the data collected through the survey has also been made.

This paper is not a statistical analysis of the collected data; rather, it: 1) formulates a specific hypothesis about how Cambodian society has changed from a traditional society through the modernization process and in the progress of internationalization and globalization in recent years, based on a variety of existing discussions on the country's history, and at the same time, 2) studies how the results of the questionnaire conform to the historical context of the country or whether they produce new knowledge.

This paper places as much emphasis as possible on the viewpoint of which interpretations of the data will permit deeper understanding of the social situations behind them. Above all, section 2 sorts out some of the findings obtained by comparing two contrasting communities in Cambodia – one in an urban area and one in a rural area – based on results of a questionnaire and interviews conducted in the communities. Additionally, a pilot questionnaire survey was conducted in East Timor, which is often cited as an example of "post-conflict country" in Asia, like Cambodia, by distributing and collecting in a rural farming area the same questionnaire forms as the ones used in Cambodia. Section 3 of this paper compares Cambodia with East Timor by discussing their similarities and differences based on the results of the surveys conducted in the two countries. This paper aims to figure out the characteristics of social capital in Cambodia through such tasks.

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Section 1. Multiple Layers of Social Capital in Cambodia – Interpretation of Survey Results

1 . Hypothesis applied in this paper

We seek to identify the social structure of Cambodia. Any country should have been making multi-layered efforts toward modernization throughout its long history, and society in each country should be changing accordingly. Cambodia is intriguing in this respect as well. Its society is believed to have changed greatly throughout its history, from the long era of the Khmer Kingdom symbolized by Angkor Wat, through French colonization, the subsequent era of independence as a new kingdom, when modernization efforts were made, and especially in the political turmoil that began in the 1970s, establishment of the socialist regime, nation-building that began in 1992, and the progress of internationalization in recent years. The tentative hypothesis applied here is that the history of changes in Cambodian social structure is roughly divided into the following three phases.

1) Traditional social systems since the era of the Khmer Kingdom

What social capital formed in this era is specific to Cambodia? According to existing literature, the key aspects are importance of communal and blood ties, spread of sectionalism and nepotism, and existence of hierarchical society headed by the king.

2) Modernization during period from the French colonization era through the establishment of an independent state

The French colonization brought about a modern system to Cambodia, and the independence as a kingdom and in the later period, advancement of modernization of Cambodia as a nation. In other words, this phase was an era of top-down modernization.

3) Changes toward formation of civil society in the wave of internationalization and globalization

The impact of the political turmoil in the 1970s, especially of the devastation of existing society under the Pol Pot regime, is believed to be extremely significant. The interim rule by the United Nations (UNTAC) during 1992-93 and the building of a new nation by the new government that started in 1993 were aimed at developing a democratic system and civil society with international involvement. How this is reflected in the social capital of Cambodia is an interesting topic. The key aspects are democratization and civil society as well as transition to a market economy and information society.

In short, this paper attempts to find changes and realities of social capital in Cambodia in its history of multilayered social changes based on the results of the questionnaire. One community in an urban area and one in a rural area were chosen as sites of the local survey, because comparison between a typical urban community and a typical rural community was believed to enable understanding of how the duality of tradition and modernity exists in Cambodian society and how it differs (or is common) between the two areas.

Major questions are: What kind of social system is the traditional society in Cambodia? What is modernity in the country? How can we explain these two concepts based on 2 examples in Cambodia? How are they mixed with each other in the country? Would it be appropriate to

equate development and modernization of Cambodia with those of Europe and the United States?

2 . Traditional society and modernization of Cambodia

(1) Traditional social capital

What would be the appropriate definition of “traditional social capital” in Cambodia?

In this paper, Cambodian society before colonization is regarded as “traditional.” Generally, a traditional society implies a village community. Traditional communities in Cambodia were integrated into the kingdom, which existed from 8th until around the 13th century. It was different from the monarchies or sovereign states that originated in Europe, yet there existed a certain kind of social hierarchy in traditional Cambodian society, and conflicts among clans over inheritance. Judgments and decisions based on indigenous culture or spiritual values, hereditary ranks, and governance system in the traditional society are said to have had a form of “state” or “society” though they were apparently different from civil society in Europe.

Many authors point out the importance of family ties in Cambodian society. Grahn, for example, notes that the “particularized trust is limited to a rather small group, involving only the most intimate relations” (Grahn, 2006, p.28). Pearson notes that, as in other societies in Asia, “The family is the prototype of all social organizations. A person is not primarily an individual: rather he or she is a member of a family” (Hofstede cited in Pearson, 2005, p. 3). Amakawa points out that Khmer society is a “hierarchical society,” that is, “a society formed as a vertical chain based on the patron-client relationship” (Amakawa, 2001). This is why the traditional sectionalism and nepotism are said to be the traditional political culture of Cambodia.

(2) Modernity introduced through the colonization

Cambodia became a French colony in the middle of the 19th century. The King of Cambodia in those days sought French protection from invasions by the Thais and Vietnamese, and a protection treaty was concluded between the King and France in 1863. In 1887, France established French Indochina as a federation of Annam, Tonkin, and Cochinchina as well as Cambodia.

In the classical sense, the term “modernity” refers to the nation states formed in Europe in 1648 under the Peace of Westphalia and the civil society that led capitalism and industrial revolution after the bourgeois (or civil) revolution. The colonial system tried to introduce such a capitalist economy system and a political system of a modern state to traditional Indochinese society. The traditional logic and culture proved detrimental to modern capitalism. Above all, traditional rituals and caste systems of villages needed to be separated from people for establishing a group of people who would work on plantations. In addition, a direct rule of the colony required development of Cambodian elite who would engage in the administration of the colony, and ability to speak French was a requirement for such positions. Traditional chiefs were however appointed as heads of lower level administrative organizations to prevent and

deter backlash of the people. And while all the land of Cambodia had been regarded as the “land of the king” before the country became a protectorate of France, a private land ownership system was introduced after colonization under the French civil code of 1920. The same system was succeeded after Cambodia achieved independence.

(3) Building of a modern nation-state and turmoil after independence

Cambodia regained independence in 1953. After the Battle of Dien Bien Phu in 1954, Cambodia became integrated as a nation again under King Sihanouk, in accordance with the Geneva Agreements.

After achieving independence, there was a movement among some national elite to modernize ordinary farmers for nation-building and economic development. Yet there was also a movement to attain a compromise with chiefs and religious authorities of traditional communities and run the country by placing emphasis on clans and families and cohesion of political power. While Cambodia was torn between tradition and modernization, there were ordinary farmers who were being marginalized from modernizing society. This period also saw formations of a variety of political groups other than the traditional social forces of the King and aristocrats (royalists), such as the communist forces and pro-American elite (above all, the military elite). During the period of the Vietnam War, establishment of military government and coups were repeated, resulting in political instability. In this context, the communist forces gained power, and the country resultantly saw the emergence of the Pol Pot regime, which advocated primitive communism and agricultural social reform. As is well known, many of the social systems in Cambodia were destroyed under the regime in 1975-1979.

3 . Rebuilding of the nation state under the globalization of economy

Economic development and political stabilization in Cambodia since 1993, after the interim rule by the United Nations, have been remarkable. The country has now passed the phase of a post-conflict country and entered that of sustainable development.

(1) Reinforcement of the regime led by the Cambodian People’s Party (CPP)

During the era of mass genocide by the Khmer Rouge in the latter half of the 1970s, invasion by Vietnamese troops at the end of 1978, and the Heng Samrin regime after that, Cambodia was internationally isolated and faced serious economic difficulties. The subsequent process until the establishment of a new government through an election after the interim rule by the United Nations in the early 1990s was also a process of building a new nation.

Around 1993 and 1994, the CPP and the Funcinpec Party formed a coalition government, and the Pol Pot group, which did not participate in the election, lost its power rapidly, though it remained powerful in the western region. Around 1997, the remnant forces of the Pol Pot group were eliminated completely. Meanwhile, the CPP strengthened its influence through its armed battle with the Funcinpec Party. The confrontation between the two parties continued, and the Sam Rainsy Party as the third party, which supported labor campaigns, had a certain level of

organizational power. In 2003 and 2004, the confrontation between the CPP and the Funcinpec Party as the two major parties continued, but the CPP was strong in rural areas and the decentralization that began in 2002 had resulted in strengthening the CPP’s influence in the whole country. The CPP also took the initiative in holding the upper house elections in 2005.

Table 1. The number of members of Cambodian People’s Party

Year	1991	1993	1998	2003	2008
No. of members (million)	0.03	2	3.95	4.13	4.81

(Note) Based on (Yamada, 2011).

The number of CPP members increased rapidly in the past 20 years and its membership ratio is said to have reached approximately 36% of the total population and 59% of all voters in 2008. The overwhelming growth of the membership ratio is said to have created a social structure in which people who do not join CPP suffer disadvantage (Yamada, 2011, pp. 10-11). Such influence of the CPP in rural areas could be observed in Wat Damnak, a village in the vicinity of Siem Reap that we visited for the survey.

Photo: The CPP Community Office locates in the same place as the police station and the town hall.



(Photo taken by the author, August 2011)

In the past 20 years, the history of destruction of existing social systems and political turmoil has been shifting toward stabilization and reinforcement of social systems in the form of strengthening of the CPP’s political control. The results of the questionnaire in Cambodia seem to show that such top-down rebuilding of social systems has yet to make progress.

As Pearson cites, “the legacy of the past authoritarian styles of leadership, and obvious deep and endless mistrust between Cambodia’s various political factions and leaders do nothing to help the general population overcome their own mistrust, either of their leaders or of each other” (Meas Nee cited in Pearson 2011, p. 38). Therefore, it can be said that the weakness of the vertical link (between the government and communities) and social relationships diminished and confined within the small circle of the most intimate network (of families and relatives)

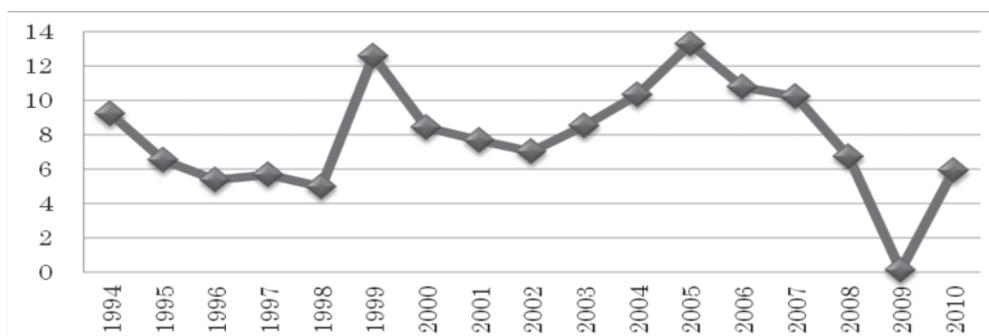
remain noteworthy in Cambodia.

(2) Economic development in the globalization

Looking back on the history of Cambodia since 1991, when the Paris Peace Agreements were signed, the country has gradually achieved political stability and made stable economic development through its connection with the global economy.

Cambodia's GDP growth rates show that the economy of the country has been developing steadily since 1994. Above all, the country achieved an average annual GDP growth rate of around 10% during 1999-2007. GDP growth slowed after the global financial crisis following the summer of 2008 but was on a recovery trend in 2010 (Chart 1). It is believed that factors contributing to the growth include the stable growth of agricultural production, expansion of the sewing industry, and growth of tourism attributed to the international popularity of tourist attractions such as Angkor Wat. Since the latter half of the 2000s, investments in Cambodia from overseas (especially from China) have been increasing and its economy has been developing steadily in the globalized world economy.

Chart 1. GDP Growth Rate in Cambodia (1994 – 2010)

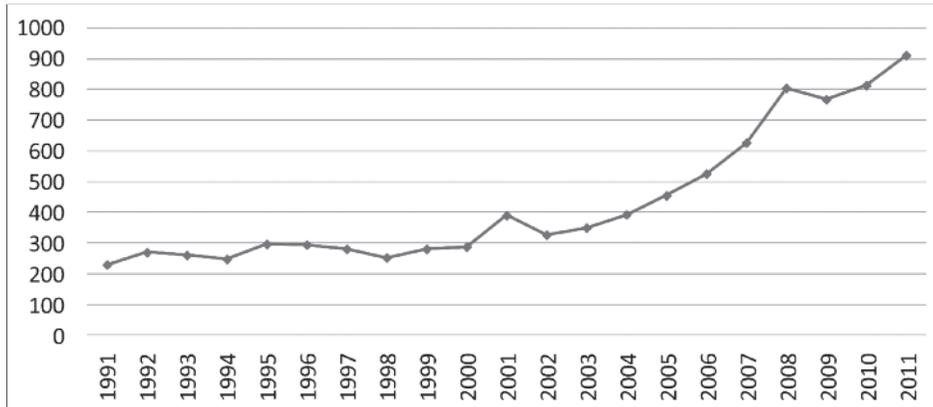


(Note) %, based on statistics of Cambodian Ministry of Planning

Many of the data obtained from the questionnaire imply steady economic development in recent years. The typical index is the income level. It was found in the survey that the average household income was \$1,780 in the rural community and \$3,060 in the urban community, though the data's accuracy is uncertain because it was a questionnaire and it is highly possible that the values given as answers are lower than actual values.

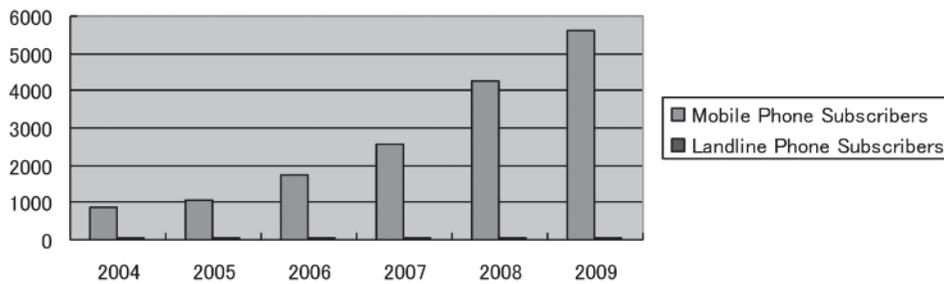
Chart 2 shows changes in the per-capita GDP in Cambodia (published values). The published values are believed to be much lower than the actual values. The values for the income obtained in the questionnaire, which are also believed to be lower than actual values, are in fact much higher than the published statistics show. As Figure 2 below shows, however, while the per-capita income remained low during the 10 years from 1991 (after the Paris Peace Agreements) until 2000, having kept Cambodia as one of the poorest countries in the world, the country's economy has been developing stably since 2001.

Chart 2. Per Capita GDP in Cambodia



(Note) US\$, based on statistics of International Monetary Fund, *World Economic Outlook Database*. 2011

Chart 3. The number of Subscribers of Mobile Phones and Fixed Line Phones (2004-09)



(Note) thousand, based on statistics of ITU

One of the typical phenomena that symbolize a globalized economy is the rapid spread of cell phones. In Cambodia, the number of cell phone users has been increasing at a brisk pace, particularly since the latter half of 2000s, with registered users increasing by around one million each year. The cell phone penetration rate in the country was only 7.5% in 2005 but reached 37.8% in 2009 and is estimated to have exceeded 50% as of 2012. This means that almost all adults in Cambodia own cell phones.

Questionnaire results show that the cell phone penetration rate is 93% in the urban community and 69% in the rural community, which is almost equivalent to the TV penetration rates (91% in urban areas and 72% in rural areas). With regard to modes of transportation, the ratio who responded “motorcycle” (that is, respondents who own motorcycles) was 66% in the urban community and reached 37% in the rural community.

(3) Expansion of civil society organizations (business organizations, labor unions, NGOs, etc.)

Since 1992, a large number of media have been created and many non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been established in relation to aid from overseas. For example, the Cooperation Committee for Cambodia (CCC), founded in 1990, played the leading role in the exchanges of information among NGOs and promoted dialogues among NGOs, government, international organizations, etc. Participation of civic organizations and NGOs in areas of interest to the public continued to increase thereafter. Mass media has yet to be developed but the degree of its freedom has been rising, and dialogue between the government and civil society has made gradual progress in the last 20 years. After 2000, however, the role of NGOs gradually shifted from that of providers of grassroots aid to that of advocacy groups, given the criticism against the government's unilateral way of handling land issues and so forth. NGOs have thus been becoming an increasingly influential critic of the government.

On the other hand, roles of locally based informal moneylenders and the microfinance institutions (MFIs) have been increasing. They are playing an active role in providing loans to people in each area who face difficulties in daily life.

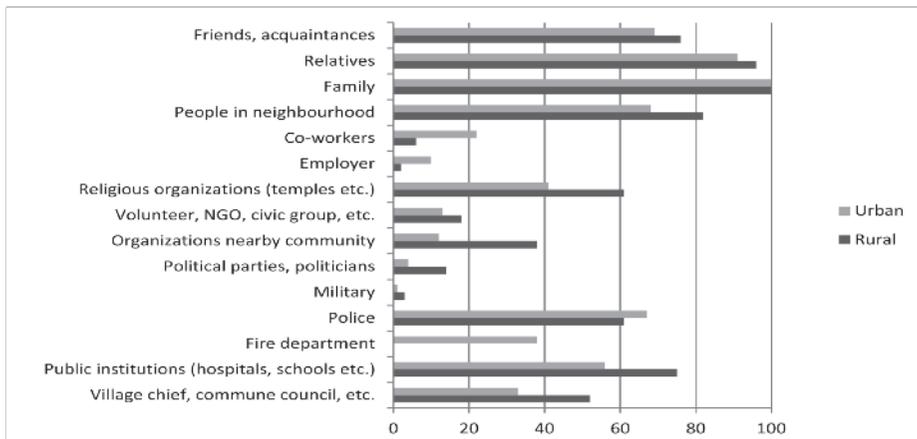
Concerning the spread and expansion of microfinance, there is previous research conducted by the Cambodian Development Resource Institute (CDRI; 2012, pp. 77-82). According to the research, major microfinance institutions (MFIs) in Cambodia include ACLEDA Bank, AMRET, PRASAC, and Angkor Mikroheranhvatho Kampuchea (AMK). Those institutions loan money at low interest rates of around 3% per month while the rates of private moneylenders are between 10% and 40% per month. Looking at the past data of Ba Baong Village, the proportion of residents who have used these MFIs was 47% in 2001, 43% in 2004/2005 and 43% in 2008, but the loan amount per household has been increasing, from 570,000 riel in 2001 and 680,000 riel in 2004/2005 to 2,480,000 riel in 2008.

4 . Characteristics of social capital in Cambodia found in questionnaire results

(1) High degrees of dependence on and trust in family and relatives

To questions 21 and 23 in the "Risks and Social Safety Nets" section of the questionnaire, an overwhelming majority of the Cambodian respondents responded that they rely on their family and relatives in the event of risks in life or disasters. In comparison, the proportion of respondents who rely on villages or communes was much lower. According to findings from the questionnaire, people who face difficulties making a living or maintaining their livelihood still rely on completely informal social support systems, and above all they turn to their family members and relatives, when they face various risks in life such as illness, injury, loss of job, low income, and natural disasters.

Chart 4. Level of Trust (%)



Even when compared with Vietnam and Laos, Cambodia is distinct in the high degree of dependence on family and relatives and the low degree of dependence on villages and communes.

(2) Demise of social systems due to the civil war

In the questionnaire in Cambodia, people in both rural and urban areas expressed extremely low trust in others (i.e., people other than their family and relatives). It is of course possible to interpret this result as being related to the fact that various social systems that had been formed in the modernization process were destroyed during the civil war, especially during the period of the Pol Pot regime.

Pellini (2005) indicates that “traditional social values such as sense of family and religion have been systematically undermined,” while Pearson (2011, p. 38) notes that one of the factors for this severe lack of social trust is the “substantial disruption and destruction of old-style communities based primarily on kinship networks.”

However, while the low degrees of dependence and trust in villages and communes in Cambodia can be explained as attributable to the destruction of society around the period of the Pol Pot regime, as mentioned above, the importance of social bonds of family and relatives in traditional Cambodian society needs to be kept in mind.

(3) Land ownership issues

Owning land is the most important issue in rural societies. During the period of the Pol Pot regime from 1975 to 1979, the traditional land system of Cambodia was also destroyed and the system of private land ownership, which had existed since the beginning of the 20th century, was completely denied. In the following period of the socialist regime in the 1980s, all land was regarded as property of the nation, but each household was granted a “cultivation right.” Private ownership was partially recognized after the constitution was revised in 1989, and ownership

of all land including farmland was recognized upon revision of the Land Law in 2001¹.

With regard to land ownership, the questionnaire shows that 100% of respondents in the rural area lived in houses owned by their families (of which 2% were owned by their relatives). The ratio of such respondents was also high in the urban area, at 76% (24% lived in rented houses). This is attributed to the fact that private ownership of land their families had been cultivating for many years was granted to them under the Land Law in 2001. Accordingly, many households in rural areas own both land and houses, and there exist no tenant farmers, in principle. However, though the ratio of “landless farmers” was found to be low in the 1998 survey, it is said that the number of cases in which farmers borrowed money and sold their land and/or houses because they could not pay back the loans started to increase after the said survey. Maybe we can say that such a trend is one aspect of modernization. Ba Baong village is located in a relatively wealthy agricultural area so the number of such landless households seems to be small. However, past CDRI surveys show that the ratio of such landless households was 6% in 2001, 2004/2005, and 2008, too (CDRI, 2007, p. 63; CDRI, 2012, p. 38).

(4) Neighborhood Watch Groups and Voluntary Guards

The survey results show that Cambodians have little involvement in voluntary activities. Of all the organizations in which respondents were involved, Neighborhood Watch Groups and Voluntary Guards have the largest number of members. The main role of these groups is to maintain safety in local communities and help local people in the event of a disaster. Above all, the percentage of people who participate in Voluntary Guards was found to be high in the survey of the urban area. Activities of those groups need annotation.

Recent years have witnessed a top-down movement (led by the government) to strengthen the Voluntary Guard of each village in Cambodia. Neighborhood Watch Groups (which had been originally known as Voluntary Guards) were established as the main element of the plan to implement the “Guidelines on the Implementation of Village and Commune Safety (VCS) Policy.” These guidelines were issued in August 2010 based on the recommendation of Prime Minister Hun Sen, and Voluntary Guards of communes were established in all urban and rural communities for implementing the VCS (MoI, 2010). A village chief, working with the police, is responsible for forming a Voluntary Guard group and each Voluntary Guard patrols the local area by cooperating closely with the police, the Military, and local authorities such as village chiefs and commune chiefs. Members of Voluntary Guard groups are not armed when performing their duties, but they are authorized to arrest and detain offenders and send them to the police, the Military, or other appropriate authority.

According to the interviews, the number of crimes in the village had been decreasing in

¹ The Land Law enacted in 2001 recognizes that “any person who, for no less than five years prior to the promulgation of this law, enjoyed peaceful, uncontested possession of immovable property that can lawfully be privately possessed” has the right to request a definitive title of ownership.

recent years thanks to the formation of these Voluntary Guards. However, with regard to prevention of risks in life and disasters, the questionnaire found people in the neighborhood and the police who are not in their family or relatives to be only “somewhat reliable,” and the national systems such as local commune (*sangkat*) councils and political parties are not very reliable for many of the respondents.

Looking at Laos, community-level organizations created by the top (led by the national government) are stronger than in Cambodia. There are subgroups of people in specific generations and local areas and ones with specific functions. The country has a framework with multiple layers of collective cooperation as in the “Tonari-gumi (neighborhood associations) in prewar Japan, in which people in village communities act and are tied together more strongly than in Cambodia. For example, voluntary guard groups as village-level security units (*conrong*) are organized in the country. These units are highly intriguing as village-level community groups established under the government’s initiative. Officially, establishment of these units was mandated in each village for the sake of local defense upon the establishment of the government of the Lao People’s Democratic Republic (Lao PDR) in 1975. In actuality, the units had existed as security organizations of individual villages even before 1975. The purpose of the units is to defend the boundaries of villages, and members carry arms (rifles), etc. as they monitor the boundaries. Members of the units are reportedly replaced every several years under the jurisdiction of the district and under the responsibility of each village (village chief)². This system is similar to Voluntary Guards in Cambodia. However, the two countries differ greatly in that the establishment of such units began to be promoted by the government only several years ago in Cambodia, while the units in Laos have a longer history and have been entrenched as joint activities on the village level.

5 . Characteristics of “civil society” found in the questionnaire

(1) Spread of microfinance

Results of the questionnaire show that the majority of the respondents have borrowed money from their relatives or taken loans from local money lenders or microfinance institutions, and the money was used mainly for household expenses or starting new businesses.

About 96% of the respondents from the rural community reported that they have borrowed money from other parties such as relatives, local moneylenders, and microfinance agencies. Many of these respondents (40%) used the money for agricultural improvements, while another 28% answered that they used it for household expenditures and 16% used it to pay for medicine or medical treatment. About 11% of the respondents answered that they used the money for starting new businesses.

In the urban community, approximately 78.5% responded that they have borrowed money

² Based on information obtained from interviews conducted as a part of a local survey of Laos undertaken from August 27-31, 2012.

from other parties such as relatives, local moneylenders, and microfinance agencies. Many respondents (44%) used the money for household expenditures. About 42% reported using the money for starting new businesses. Siem Reap is a tourist city with potential for investment in businesses, especially in service areas such as hotels and restaurants, and many people engage in their own businesses or contribute to growth of new businesses. Such a fact is also reflected in the chart below.

Chart 5 . Activities respondents used the loan for (%)

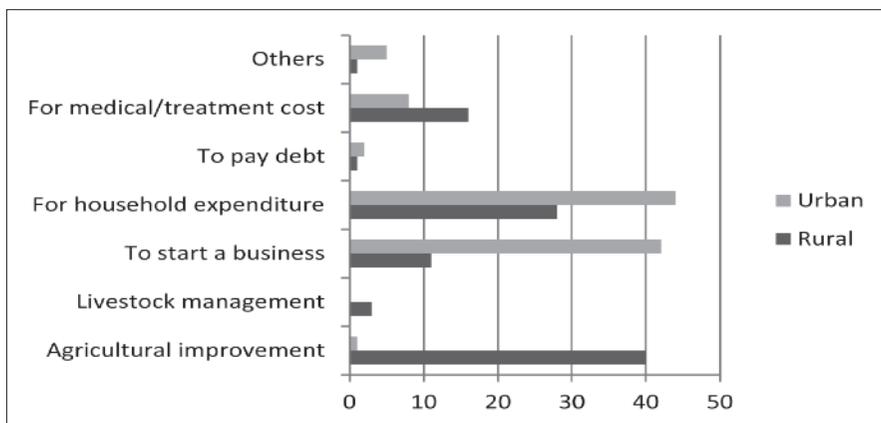


Table 2 below shows changes in the ratios of those who used respective financing sources (total figures for the nine subject villages). As the table shows, there has been a rapid shift from relatives/friends (with a decrease from 44% to 27%) to NGOs/MFIs (with an increase from 19% to 57%), which reveals that a kind of modern financial system has been spreading rapidly.

Table 2. The Sources of Loan (%)

	NGO/MFI	Private money lenders	Relatives/friends	Others
2001	19	31	44	6
2004/5	35	27	37	1
2008	57	15	27	1

(Note) Based on CDRI (2012), p.80

With regard to use of the borrowed money, farming/livestock purchase, business operations, and household expenditures are the three major purposes, as Table 3 shows. This reveals that borrowing money for such purposes is an important element of economic activities, though people in rural areas and those in urban areas differ in that the main purpose of the former is farming/livestock while that of the latter is other businesses.

Siem Reap is a tourist city with potential for investment in businesses, especially in service

areas such as hotels and restaurants, so many people engage in their own businesses or contribute to growth of new businesses. On the other hand, in rural areas, local moneylenders seem to play a more active role in providing loans to people who face difficulties in daily life. However, because those informal moneylenders aim to secure profits by setting fairly high interest rates, repayment of loans is said to have been a burden for local people. We can say that this is a negative result of the lack of formal social support systems that help people facing difficulties in daily life.

Table 3. The Purposes of borrowing Loan (%)

	Farming/livestock	Business activities	Health care	Purchasing food	Building/repairing houses	Others
2004/5	19	30	16	16	8	11
2008	27	34	10	12	7	10
2012/Rural	43	11	16	42 (28% is household expenditures.)		
2012/Urban	1	42	8	49 (44% is household expenditures.)		

(Note) Based on CDRI (2012), p.82, and the results of our questionnaire survey.

(2) Roles of NGOs and their limitations

NGOs have also entered rural villages. (For example, there was an office of the Human Rights Party in Ba Baong village.) Interestingly, values for the degree of people's trust in (degree of their dependence on) those volunteer organizations as entities to rely on in daily life or in the event of disasters were lower than expected.

In the rural area, the percentage of respondents who found those organizations (volunteer groups, NGOs, and civic groups) "Not reliable at all/Low reliability" concerning risks in daily life was 52.5%, while that of respondents who found such organizations "Reliable/Somewhat reliable" was 18%. Concerning risks in the event of a disaster, the percentage of the former (respondents who found the organization "Not reliable") was 52%, while that of the latter (those who found the organizations "Reliable") was 23.5%. In the urban area, the percentage of respondents who found the organizations "Not reliable at all/Little reliability" concerning risks in daily life was also 52.5% and ones who found such organizations "Reliable/Somewhat reliable" was 13%. Concerning risks in the event of a disaster, the percentage of the former (respondents who found the organization "Not reliable") was 57%, while that of the latter (those who found the organizations "Reliable") was 16.5%.

(3) Low degree of trust in national mechanism and dependence on village organizations

As mentioned earlier, people's trust in the national mechanism is extremely low, while on the other hand there are data showing that their trust in village-level organizations remains high. According to data on membership of associations in Ba Baong village from a CDRI past survey (data for 2004-2005), the percentage of households with at least one member belonging

to “religious groups or associations” was extremely high, at 91%, while the figure for “main economic activity” was 38% and for “political groups or associations” was only 1% (CDRI, 2007, p. 130).

In another survey conducted in Ba Baong village in the same period, respondents were asked “to what extent they trust local authorities” and “village chief” was trusted “to a great or very great extent” by 44% of the respondents and the figure for “commune councils” was 42%, while “police” were trusted to the same extent by only 15% of the respondents. With regard to figures for all nine villages studied, “village chief” was trusted to a great or very great extent by 52% and the figure for “commune councils” was 48%, while that for “police” was 15%. Thus, a low degree of trust in the national mechanism is conspicuous (CDRI, 2007, p. 137).

In the same survey, the respondents were also asked a question about “political participation over the last 10 years.” In Ba Baong village, the rate of participation in a “village or commune meeting” was extremely high, at 96%, while the rate of respondents who had “contacted a local politician” was 31%, the rate of those who had “contacted police or court about a local problem” was 13%, and only 5% of these had participated in a “protest or demonstration.” With regard to figures for all nine villages studied were 94% for “village or commune meeting,” 23% for “contacted a local politician”, and 5% for “contacted police or court about a local problem.” Thus, a high degree of dependence on village-level organizations and a low degree of trust in the national mechanism are conspicuous (CDRI, 2007, p. 129).

Section 2. Comparative study of an urban area and a rural area in Cambodia – Progress of modernization and social changes

1 . Outline of the two communities studied

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the main purpose of the questionnaire was to compare traditional social capital, or traditional Cambodia, and modern social capital, or modern Cambodia. For revealing the differences between the two through the questionnaire, it was necessary to select two communities that would represent each in terms of characteristics.

The population selected from modernized urban areas was Wat Damnak, a community in the vicinity of Siem Reap, located close to Angkor Wat. The community selected from rural areas was Ba Baong, which is located southeast of Phnom Penh. Concerning these communities, the Cambodia Development Resource Institute (CDRI), to which the survey was commissioned, had already conducted a poverty survey and living conditions survey on several occasions, in 2001, 2004-2005, and 2008-2009. Therefore, one of the benefits of selecting these two communities was that data from the preceding surveys would to a certain degree permit inference of time-series changes of living conditions.

Chart 6 maps the locations of the two communities. The map shows population densities of Cambodia. The urban community is located close to Siem Reap, while the one selected from rural areas is located in Prey Veng Province, southeast of Phnom Penh. These two communities are almost equivalent in population density and size. (The number of households in Wat Damnak

2 . Comparison between the two subject villages in living conditions and awareness

Table 4 below shows a list comparing basic data on living conditions of the two subject communities.

The data show that the standard of living differs greatly between the rural village and urban community, with the latter being more economically affluent. The average annual income in the rural village is about half that of its urban counterpart, and distribution of the income groups is as shown in Chart 7 below.

Above all, Siem Reap is a tourist city with potential for investment in businesses, and many people engage in their own businesses (52% are self-employed) or are involved in new growth businesses (14% work for private enterprises).

Table 4. Comparison of the living situations of 2 communities

	Prey Veng/Ba Baong (Rural)	Siem Reap/Wat Damnak (Urban)
House ownership	100% owned (2% owned by relatives.)	76% owned, 24% rent
Occupation	Agriculture 81%, family business 9%	Agriculture 1%, private business 52%, workers for private companies 14%
Education	less than primary school 65%, more than high school 5%	less than primary school 45%, more than high school 11%
Years of living	more than 11 years 95%, less than 10 years 5%	more than 11 years 69%, less than 10 years 31%
Access to water	well 93%, rainwater 7%	well 67%, water pipe 27%, PET bottles 7%
Sanitation	at home 100%	at home 28%, collection 72%
Participation to voluntary activities	funeral 77%, volunteer guard 3%	Volunteer guard 81%, funeral 9%, human rights organization 2%
Means of transportation	motortaxi38%, bike37%	motortaxi18%, bike66%
Mobile phones (TV sets)	69% (TV 72%)	93% (TV91%)
Average income	1780 US\$	3060 US\$
No. of family member	5, 2 generations 61%	5, 2 generations 55%
Sex of respondents	Men 35%, women 65%	Men 26%, women 74%

Chart 7. Reported annual income of 2 communities

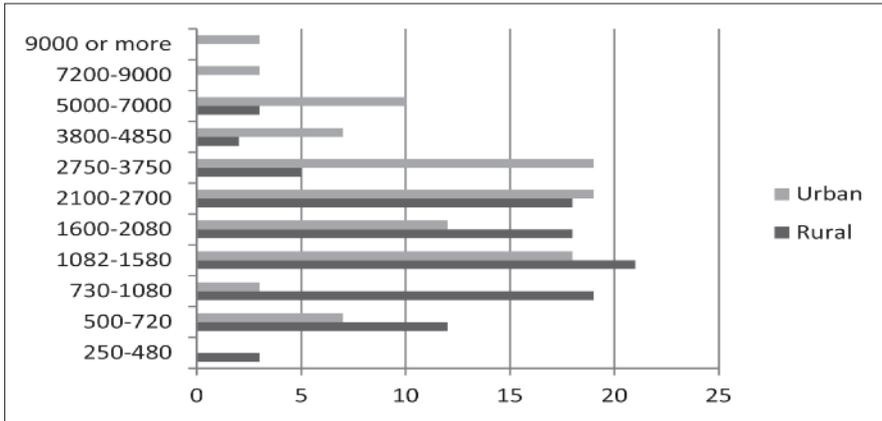


Chart 8. Occupation of men

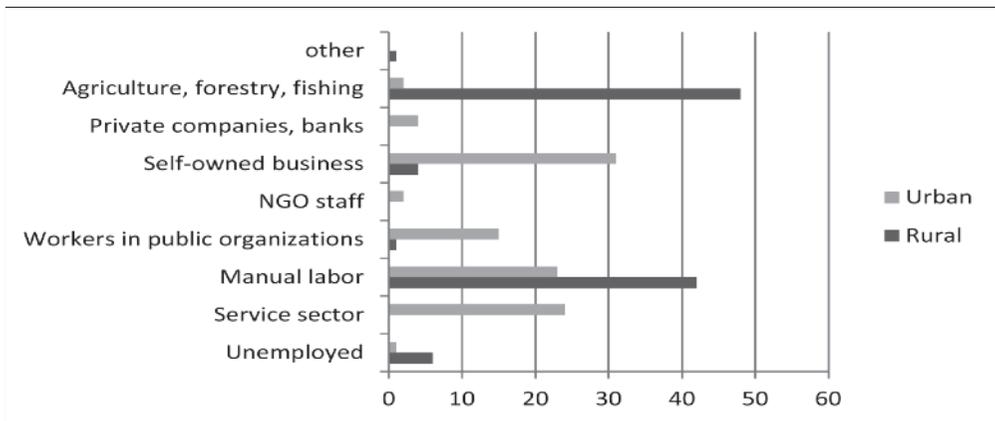
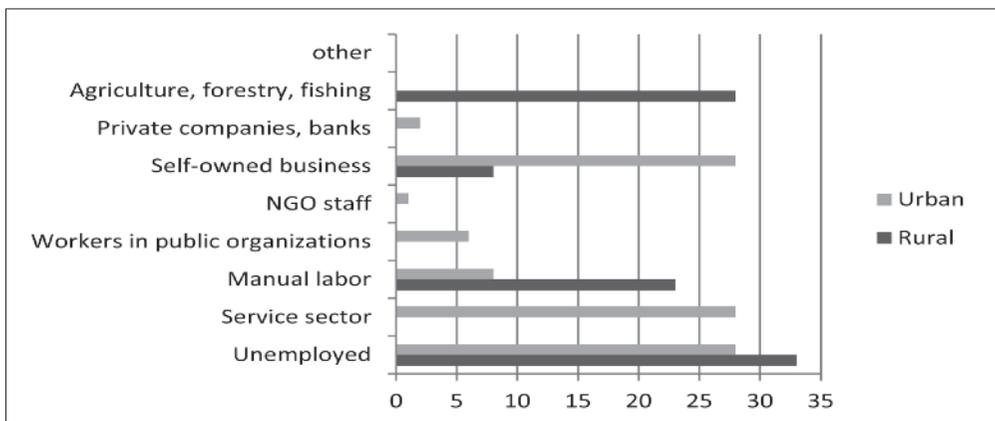


Chart 9. Occupation of women



With regard to professions, the majority of people in the rural village engage in agriculture, forestry, or fisheries while the majority in the urban community runs their own businesses. Professions are reflected in their ideas about life improvement and gender roles. Common between the rural and urban communities is people's belief that they have to rely on themselves for life improvement. Charts 8 and 9 show professions of men and women compared between the rural and urban communities.

3 . Differences between urban and rural communities found in the questionnaire

The following sections discuss differences between the rural and urban communities in terms of social capital and background of the differences, with particular focus on points that differ between them.

(1) Participation in community events

Participation in community events such as weddings and funerals is extremely strong, which is especially true in the rural village. In both rural and urban communities, friends and neighbors as well as family members and relatives take part in these traditional ceremonies. In the rural village, participation is still very high, and such traditional community ceremonies are deemed to play an important role in "promoting community identity and solidarity" (Krishnamurthy, 1999, p. 63).

However, figures for the degree of social trust and participation in traditional community ceremonies are high in the rural village but not in the urban village. With regard to civil participation, people in the urban community belong to Neighborhood Watch Groups, while those in the rural village belong to funeral associations. This reveals that bonds within local communities do exist, though family and relatives are at the core of the social relationship in the rural village. However, the bonds are limited to funerals, which are cultural and religious. In this point, bonds in the rural village have their limitations.

On the other hand, districts in this urban village do not have district ceremonies other than weddings and funerals, and there is no custom of participating in rituals organized within the local community, although Neighborhood Watch Groups were established to protect the community or themselves. Therefore, it may be possible to say that the degree of social trust in the urban village is even lower than in the rural village. The rate of participation in funerals of people in rural villages was extremely high while the rate of participation of employers and coworkers in weddings and funerals was low.

(2) Awareness of risks in life

Concerning significance of risks in life, many respondents in the rural village gave food shortage, illness, and injuries as their answers, while many in the urban community regarded war, unemployment, and low wages as significant risks. It is somewhat surprising that many people in the urban area regarded war as a risk. This may be related to the fact that the subject community is located close to Battambang Province in western Cambodia and areas controlled

by the former Pol Pot group. Basically, the fact behind the results would be that raising crops is at the base of everything for people living in a rural village and illness means inability to perform farm work.

In the urban community, the rate of participation in the Voluntary Guards is high. The main role of these groups is to maintain the safety of the local community and help local people in the event of a disaster. In the interviews conducted in the local areas, explanations were given about the recent formation of Voluntary Guards in the rural village as well, but this fact is not clearly reflected in the questionnaire results. Concerning the urban area, the high risk of crimes and relatively high income in this particular community might have led to the high rate of participation in the Voluntary Guards and high rate of positive evaluations of their roles.

(3) Awareness of gender roles

To a question about gender roles, female respondents in the rural area gave farm work, fishing, household work, and taking care of their families including children, as their answers, while their urban counterparts gave running their own businesses or being engaged in service businesses such as hotels as their answers. Such ideas are not limited to women but also held by men, which is apparent from the results shown in the tables. The social structure of Cambodia is chauvinistic, which is apparent in the stereotyped gender roles or how men and women work. That is, men are assigned difficult and high-danger work at the same time as being given dominant positions in their households, while women are associated with household chores. In other words, they maintain the traditional idea that “men should work outside and women should stay in the home.” Results of the survey in the rural village seem to support this point.

On the other hand, it was also observed that people’s ideas on gender roles have been gradually changing in response to changes in society. Above all, such changes have started in the urban community. Women in the urban community believe they should also engage in work that has traditionally been assigned to men and that they should participate in activity groups of local communities at a high level. In addition, nearly the same numbers of men and women answered that women should engage in the same tasks as men when they run their own businesses or are engaged in service businesses. This can probably be attributed to vigorous economic activity and opportunities for such activity in the urban area.

(4) Scars left in the field of education

Among statistical results of the survey in Cambodia, scars of the past turmoil in the country were most strongly reflected in the percentages for educational background of the subjects.

In the Cambodian rural community, about 50% of respondents answered that they could not graduate from primary school. Another 17.5% said they had never attended school. Only 9.5% of them answered that they graduated from primary school and 10.5% said they graduated from junior high school. Results for the urban village were almost the same as those of the rural village, though the figures were somewhat higher than in the rural village, meaning that many

of the respondents have not received formal education. According to a past CDRI report, the Ba Baong village has school buildings constructed in the 1960s, but one has deteriorated and some children attend secondary school in a nearby town (CDRI, 2007, p. 63).

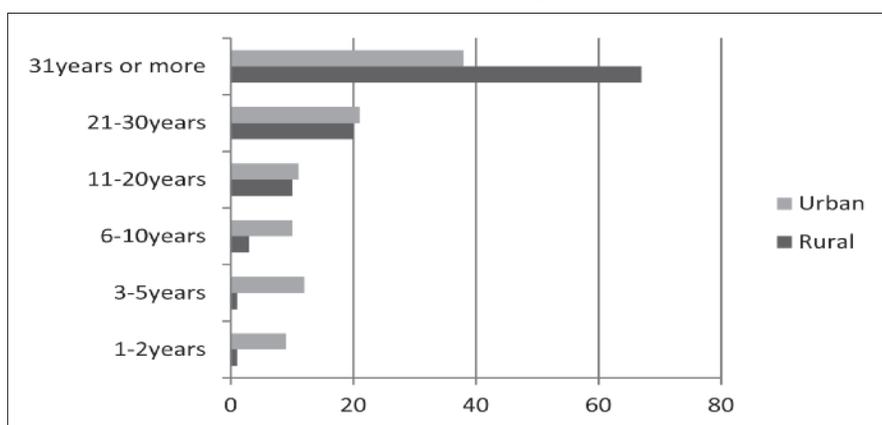
About 30% of the respondents in the urban community also could not complete elementary school and 16% answered that they had never attended any school. The percentage of respondents who completed primary school was 9%, and that of those who graduated from junior high school was only 11%.

It is apparent that these figures are attributed to the destruction of education by the Pol Pot regime that took place about 30 years ago and worsening of the educational situation in the period that followed.

(5) Human mobility

Ba Baong is a farming village, and its population has remained almost unchanged. The number of households in the village was 462 at the time of the CDRI survey conducted in 1996/1997, 536 in 2001, 543 in 2004/2005, and 576 at the time of this latest survey conducted at the beginning of 2012. This means that the number of households has changed (increased) by just 7% in the past 10 years, or an increase of about four households per year.

Chart 10. Duration of residence in present community



In contrast, in the urban village, the number of residents who have moved into the village one or two years before or up to five years before was much larger than in the rural village. The rate of residents living in rented houses, 24%, can be attributed to this population mobility. These results seem to be clear evidence of the difference between the traditional, closed community in the rural area and the urban community that has been exposed to the waves of modernization. Such a trend is believed to be especially conspicuous in Siem Reap because it is a typical tourist city.

Section 3. Comparative study between Cambodia and East Timor **–Pilot survey on social capital in East Timor**

1 . Significance of comparison with East Timor

Since Cambodia had been in a state of civil war since the beginning of the Pol Pot regime in 1975 until the Paris Peace Agreements in 1992, it is described as a typical “post-conflict country.” East Timor is another such example in Asia. Therefore, it is believed to be highly significant to examine specifically how scars of past conflicts have influenced the societies or social capital of the two countries via comparison.

(1) History of conflicts and nation-building in East Timor

The history of Cambodia was detailed in chapter 1. This section provides an outline of conflicts in East Timor.

East Timor came under the control of Portugal around the 17th century and was later colonized. It was decolonized in 1974 and Indonesia declared its integration in 1975. After this, Indonesia took effective control of East Timor though most countries of the international community did not approve of the integration. However, Indonesia’s integration of East Timor was essentially silently approved. These political situations changed when Indonesia plunged into turmoil both economically and politically at the end of 1997 due to the Asian economic crisis and to the collapse of the Suharto regime, which had continued for around 30 years, in 1998. The Habibie administration, which took over in May 1998, looked for a fundamental solution to the East Timor issue as a measure for promoting democratization and international cooperation. In parallel with the growing movement toward political liberalization and democratization in Indonesia, with an election being held, the Indonesian government took a softer stance toward the East Timor issue and approved of a referendum.

The referendum itself, held in August 1999, proceeded with little friction. As a result, about 78.5% of the approximately 440,000 voters voted against the proposed special autonomy, meaning that the overwhelming majority of the residents desired independence. The international community including the UN Security Council recognized the validity of the referendum, which made the independence of East Timor decisive. However, local pro-integrationists did not accept the referendum result and stepped up its campaign of violence. Pro-integration militia engaged in killing, arson, and looting, throwing all of East Timor including Dili into turmoil.

Later, on August 30, 2001, an election was held for a constituent assembly to draft a constitution, which was established on March 22, 2002, and East Timorese independence was formalized on May 20, 2002. Upon the independence, the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) was converted into the United Nations Mission of Support to East Timor (UNMISSET). The number of UN workers was reduced in sequence, and their roles were transferred to administrative officials of East Timor.

In 2006, there was rioting by some malcontents of the army and police and a political crisis associated with this took place. The UN intervened again by organizing the United Nations

Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste (UNMIT), and the crisis was ended completely in December 2012. The third elections held in 2012 (presidential and legislative) went smoothly, and East Timor is now deemed to be making steady progress toward achieving self-sustainability as a country.

(2) Degree of progress in the development of East Timor

East Timor, however, has no major industry other than agriculture. It is a typical rural society wherein the majority of people are farmers. During the long era of Portuguese colonization, East Timor was only a base for the spice trade. No industry other than agriculture was developed and infrastructure was also scarcely developed. Investments were made in social services such as public administration and education and in infrastructure such as roads and running water during the period of Indonesian rule, but the rural society was left as is. Systematic study has still barely taken place on how the rural society has been changing since the country began as a modern nation state. In this point, the pilot questionnaire conducted in Manatuto is believed to be highly significant for gaining a glimpse into the reality of social capital in East Timor.

Changes in the human development index (HDI) of Cambodia and East Timor are shown in the table below as the most basic statistics for comparing the two countries in terms of changes in living conditions in the past 10 years. (Data for 2007 were deemed to be the most recent since those for 2008 and thereafter do not permit time-series comparison with data for preceding years because of a change to the measurement standard.) The overall trend shows that development has been steadily progressing in Cambodia, while the development figures for East Timor were in 2007 lower than in previous years. The development level is also higher overall in Cambodia than in East Timor.

Table 5. Comparison of the shifts of HDI of Cambodia and East Timor

		Life expectancy at birth (years)	Adult literacy rate (%)	Combined gross enrolment ratio in education (%)	GDP per capita (PPP US\$)	Life expectancy index	Education index	GDP index	HDI	HDI rank
Cambodia	1993	51.9	35.0	30	1,250	0.45	0.33	0.19	0.325	156
	2003	56.2	73.6	59	2,078	0.52	0.69	0.51	0.571	130
	2007	60.6	76.3	59	1,802	0.59	0.70	0.48	0.593	137
East Timor	1993	52.2	35.6	53	374	0.45	0.41	0.22	0.362	n. a.
	2004	56.0	58.6	72	1,033	0.52	0.63	0.39	0.512	142
	2007	60.7	50.1	63	717	0.60	0.55	0.33	0.489	162

(Note) Based on UNDP's *Human Development Report* 1996, 2005, 2009, and UNDP, *Human Development Report 2006 Timor-Leste*, p.10.

(3) Outline of questionnaire survey in East Timor

In March 2012, a questionnaire identical to that conducted in Cambodia was carried out in Manatuto, a rural farming area of East Timor that is about a one-hour drive from the capital of Dili. Survey subjects were 100 households in the area taken as samples. The survey was conducted by Unitarian Service Committee (USC) Canada, a Canadian-affiliated local NGO in East Timor. USC Canada is one of the few NGOs in the country capable of conducting such a survey.

The area in which the questionnaire was conducted (Manatuto) is shown on the map of East Timor in Chart 11 below, circled in red. As can be seen, Manatuto is a fairly large district, so the survey of the 100 samples was conducted in three selected villages: Uma Caduac close to the ocean; Manelima in a mountainous area, and Batara located midway between the two areas. One-third of the 100 samples were taken from each village.

Chart 12 shows the locations of the three villages. In Manatuto as a prefecture, Uma Caduac is located in the north end (along the coast), Batara to the far south, and Manelima to the further south. Village names are circled in red.

The mountainous areas are precipitous, so areas prone to slope-related disasters such as cliff or slope collapses, falling rocks, and washing out, and to landslides, caused by heavy rain, are distributed widely. In these areas, roads are often closed due to frequent landslides.

Chart 11. Map of Timor Leste



Chart 12. Map of Manatuto Province



2 . Comparative study between Cambodia and East Timor

This section compares Cambodia and East Timor, which are often cited as examples of post-conflict nation building, to discuss their differences and factors behind them. Many of the results of the survey in Cambodia were highly similar to the data obtained from East Timor, which is also frequently cited as a post-conflict country. However, there were also results that significantly differ between them. The following subsections sort out the results with special

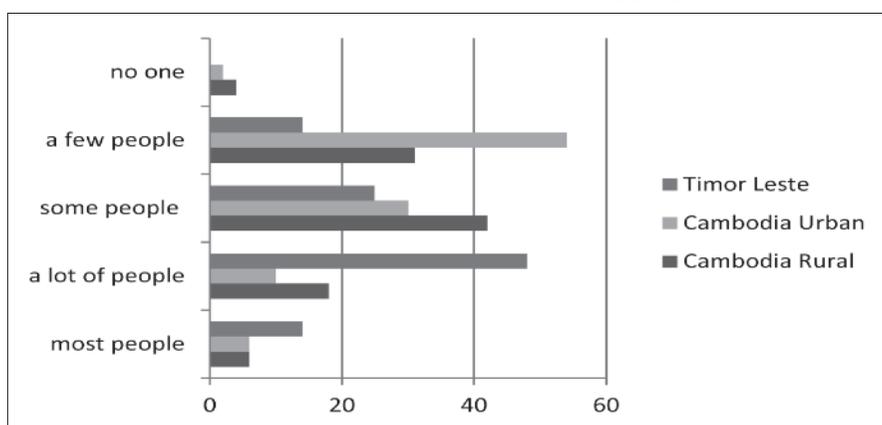
emphasis on differences.

(1) High degree of trust in people in villages and difference from Cambodia

The most conspicuous difference between Cambodia and East Timor lies in the fact that the degree of trust in people in their environs was extremely high in (rural villages of) East Timor.

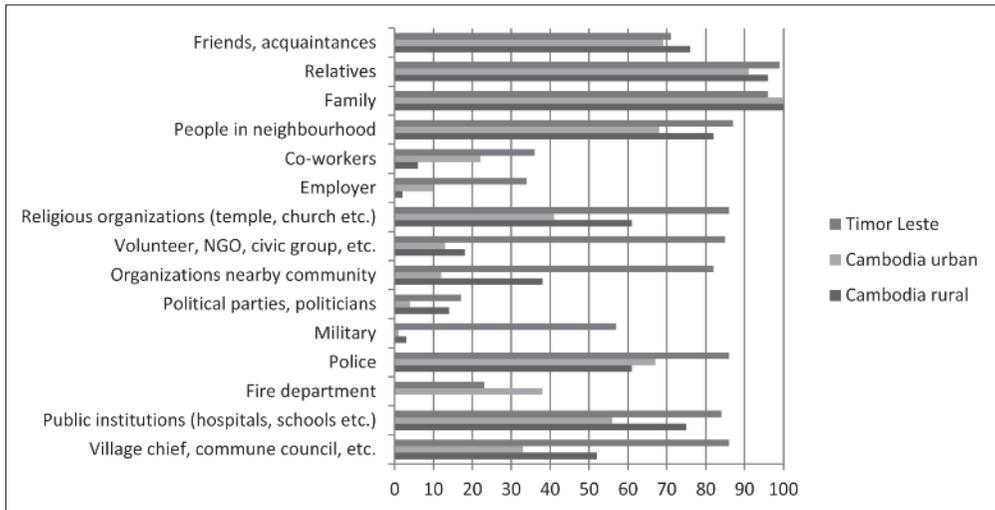
Chart 13 shows answers to the question “How many people you can trust do you have around you?” given by respondents in East Timor and rural and urban communities of Cambodia. Whereas many East Timorese respondents answered “a lot of people,” many of their Cambodian counterparts answered “some people” or “a few people.” Such a lack (or disruption) of the traditional relationship of trust is especially conspicuous in the urban community of Cambodia.

Chart 13. Level of trust on neighbouring people



Answers to a question about whom they trust and to what extent are as shown in Chart 14. The extremely high degree of trust in “family” and “relatives” and high degree of trust in “friends and acquaintances” and “people in the neighborhood” are nearly common to all the subject communities. On the other hand, the degree of trust in religious organizations (temples in Cambodia and churches in East Timor), NPOs and civic organizations, police, schools and hospitals, village chiefs and commune councils, and neighboring communities was high in East Timor but fairly low in Cambodia, with virtually no trust in the army and fire department. As covered later, trust in politicians was low in both countries.

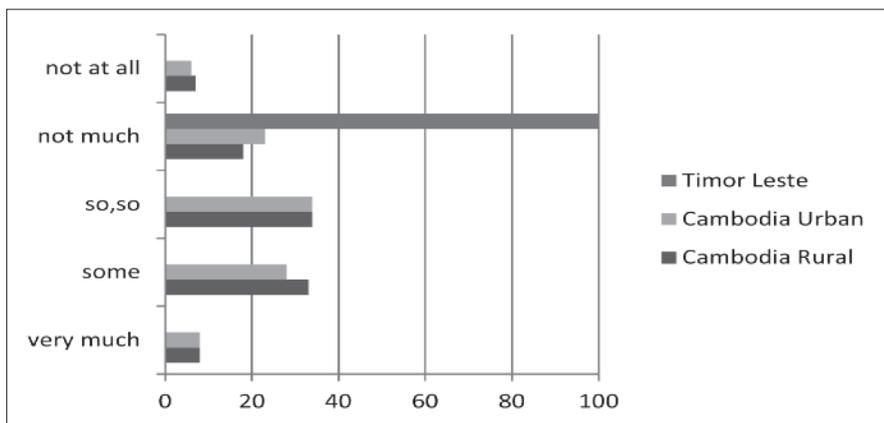
Chart 14. Comparison of the level of Trust (%)



(2) Interest in politics

As Chart 15 shows, none of the respondents in East Timor were interested in politics, while both male and female respondents in Cambodia had some degree of interest.

Chart 15. Comparison of people’s interests in Politics



So we seek to address what accounted for the difference in interest in politics between the two countries. It is internationally recognized that democratic politics are being established in East Timor, and presidents and prime ministers such as Xanana Gusmão and José Ramos-Horta, adopt democratic policies and make statements and take actions accordingly as representatives of the nation. This gives an impression that citizens in East Timor are interested in politics and have trust in politicians. Actually, however, to a question about whether or not

they are interested in politics, respondents in East Timor were found disinterested while many in Cambodia were interested, and more women than men were interested in politics in Cambodia. These points are highly intriguing.

(3) Bonds with the community

On the other hand, common between East Timor and Cambodia was that the majority of participants in traditional rituals of communities, such as weddings and funerals, were families, relatives, friends, or neighbors. This clearly shows that there exist local communities beyond blood ties. Above all, the rural village in Cambodia shows an extremely high rate of participation in funerals of people in the village.

However, the rate of participation of employers, coworkers, etc. in weddings and funerals was low in both Cambodia and East Timor. In a modernized society like Japan, people feel strong bonds with social communities such as families, relatives, friends, and superiors and coworkers in companies, while bonds in local communities are weak. The case examples in the two countries show the extremely traditional characteristics of rural society.

However, as mentioned, while the degree of dependence on social relationships with family and relatives were extremely high in Cambodia, East Timor showed not only a strong sense of dependence on family and relatives but also strong bonds of people in the entire village. A low degree of trust in the government and public administration was common to both countries.

(4) Issues on education

Educational situations in both Cambodia and East Timor were poor. Only a few of the respondents who had attended schools had graduated from them. Hardly any respondents had attended university.

With regard to educational level, approximately 70% of the respondents in both countries had not graduated from primary schools, but there were two types among them – those who had dropped out and those who had not even entered. There are data showing that the ratios between these two groups were 5:2 in Cambodia and 2:5 in East Timor. This implies that Cambodia has more educational institutions than East Timor but many generations of people could not attend classes due to the civil war and for other reasons, while in East Timor the educational environment itself had yet to be fully developed.

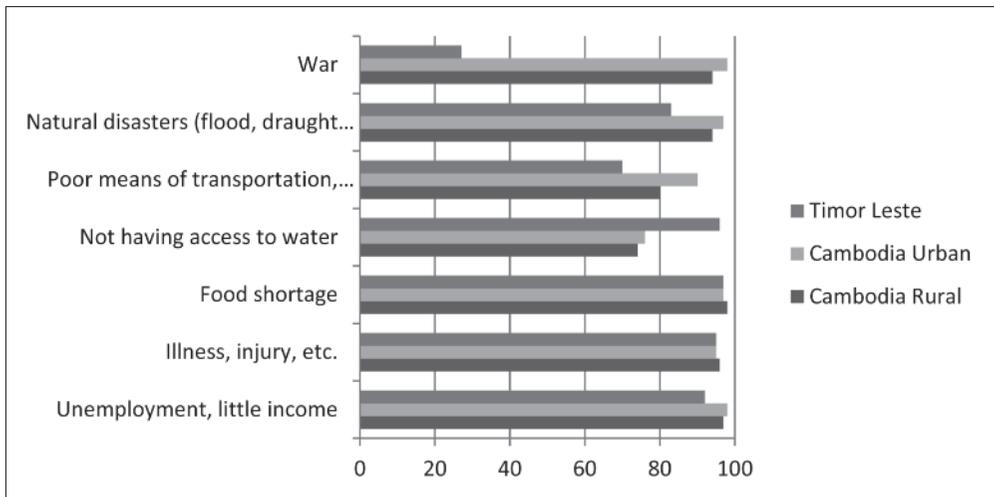
(5) Risk awareness

As Chart 16 shows, respondents in East Timor gave food shortage, illness, injury, unemployment, and low income as risks in life, like their Cambodian counterparts, but war, civil war, and armed conflict were not strongly felt as risks.

This is believed to reflect the fact that the chaos in East Timor in 1999 was temporary, triggered by determination of the country's independence, not a protracted civil war between different political forces. Therefore, there is no unexploded ordnance in East Timor, nor did

weapons spread all over the country. It seems safe to say that although the 1999 chaos in East Timor resulted in destruction of many buildings, psychological scars of the conflict were, fortunately, not necessarily severe. Conversely, the civil war in Cambodia is believed to have had great impact or left severe scars, especially on social relationships and people's psychology and political awareness.

Chart 16. Perceptions on level of importance of risks in life (%)



Summary: Achievements and issues of the social survey on social capital

As has been discussed, the author and research team conducted local surveys in a rural village and an urban community of Cambodia and a pilot survey in rural villages of East Timor, using the same questionnaire forms in the two countries for comparison. The objective of the surveys was to examine the lifestyles and social relationships in a rural village and an urban community of Cambodia and to understand from the survey the nature of traditional social capital and modern social capital and to what extent they exist in the country. The methodology applied for the survey was to distribute and collect questionnaire forms with households in an urban community and a rural village. We also conducted interviews for identifying the local situations and people’s awareness by exchanging questions and answers directly with them.

As noted above, what can be deemed “traditional social capital” includes the relationship with family and relatives, mutual help in villages, and religious rituals, which are firmly maintained in Cambodia, especially in the rural village. It also seems that rural villages in East Timor maintain traditional social capital even more firmly than the rural village in Cambodia.

With regard to “modern social capital,” involvement of the government and political parties in people’s lives and their roles were identified as elements showing “top-down modernization,” while activities and roles of domestic and overseas NGOs and microfinance institutions (MFIs) can be regarded as new social capital more like one of “civil society” than

the above. In Cambodia, concerning such “modern social capital”, people maintain great caution against frameworks created by the nation (public administration and political parties), and it cannot be denied that major causes of such an attitude undeniably include the destruction of existing social systems during the period of the Pol Pot regime and scars of that destruction. Probably because of this, roles played by NGOs and volunteer organizations and the degree of dependence on such organization are still limited in Cambodia.

On the other hand, comparison between the rural village and urban community shows that new elements have definitely been generated from the globalized economy and the progress of economic development. Examples of such elements include mobility of communities and changes in people’s awareness of more equal gender roles. MFIs and other private business institutions have also started to play greater roles due to the boosted private economic activities, and the influence has reached rural villages as well as urban areas.

It is impossible to draw an immediate conclusion on whether or not the case examples of the two communities in Cambodia studied for this research are exceptional. However, they are highly informative as actual evidences, and in this point, this survey is thought to have substantial significance. It is believed that the two subject communities were mostly successful choices.

On the other hand, subjects of the pilot survey in East Timor were limited to 100 samples taken from only one district. It will be necessary in the future to distribute and collect questionnaire forms to and from at least 200 samples and conduct wider-scale interviews in local communities, as in Cambodia. Such surveys, including acquisition of budgets for them, will be future tasks.

Reviewing the contents of the questionnaire form after obtaining certain results from the survey, it is clear that there could have been more detailed, more appropriate contents that could have enabled identification of the situations, changes, and issues of social capital in countries such as Cambodia, partly because the form was created through trial and error in the initial stage. In the future, based on the experience of this social survey, we hope to have opportunities for more detailed research and analysis.

Concerning individual themes, such as an intra-community mechanism of handling conflicts including land disputes, effective social security programs such as healthcare and poverty reduction, political participation and awareness of civil society, and roles of microfinance, this survey only permitted identification of the current situations. These are believed to be important themes that should be studied more deeply in the future.

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