Safer Communities in Cambodia:

Partnership between AusAID and The Asia Foundation

FINAL REPORT

December 15, 2011

Table of Contents

List of Tables and Figures

Acronyms

AusAID	Australian Agency for International Development
AWPB	Annual Work Plan and Budget
BoG	Board of Governors
CBD	Commune Database
CBOs	Community Based Organizations
CCJAP	Cambodia Criminal Justice Assistance Project
CCWC	Commune Committee for Women and Children
CDP	Commune Development Plan
CIDO	Community Integrated Development Organization
CIP	Commune Investment Plan
CNP	Cambodian National Police
CoM	Council of Ministers
CPCS	Crime Prevention and Community Safety
CSF	Commune/Sangkat Fund
CWCC	Cambodia Women's Crisis Center
D&D	Decentralization and Deconcentration
Danida	Danish International Development Agency
DDC	District Development Committee
DI	District Initiative
DIW	District Integration Workshop
DMF	District/Municipal Fund
DP	Development Partners
DV	Domestic Violence
EWMI	East-West Management Institute
FSF	Flexible Support Fund
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GADC	Gender and Development for Cambodia
IP3	Three-year Implementation Plan
KYA	Khmer Youth Association
LAC	Legal Aid of Cambodia
LEAP	Law Enforcement Advancing Protection of Children and Vulnerable Persons
LEASTEC	Law Enforcement against Sexual Exploitation and Trafficking of Children
LSCW	Legal Support for Children and Women
MoD	Ministry of Defense
MoEF	Ministry of Economy and Finance
MoEYS	Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sport
MoH	Ministry of Health
MoI	Ministry of Interior
MoJ	Ministry of Justice
MoLVT	Ministry of Labor and Vocational Training
MoP	Ministry of Planning
MoSAVY	Ministry of Social Affairs, Veterans, and Youth Rehabilitation
MoT	Ministry of Tourism
MoWA	Ministry of Women's Affairs
NCDD	National Committee for Democratic Development

NGOs	Nongovernmental Organizations
NMB	National Management Board
NPC	National Police Commissariat
NP-SNDD	National Program for Sub-National Democratic Development
NYP	National Youth Policy
PIM	Project Implementation Manual
PRDC/ExCom	Provincial Rural Development Committee/Executive Committee
PSDD	Project to Support Democratic Development through Decentralization and Deconcentration
PVAC	Preventing Violence Against Children in Cambodia
PWG	Party Working Group (of the Cambodian People's Party)
RGC	Royal Government of Cambodia
SNA	Sub-National Administration
SPPCS	Strengthening of Post Police for Community Safety
SSCS	State Secretariat for Civil Service
TFC	Technical Facilitation Committee
ToT	Training of Trainers
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VCS	Village and Commune Safety (referring to the Guidelines on the Implementation of Village and Commune Safety Policy)
VG	Voluntary Guard
WCCC	Women and Children Consultative Committee
WDR	World Development Report
YCC	Youth Council of Cambodia
YRDP	Youth Resource Development Program

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Background

To complement the increasingly stable political situation, the Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC) has made considerable investments in improving public security and safety in order to facilitate economic development and enhance citizen well being. The Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID) has been a key development partner assisting the RGC in this effort, especially through its Cambodia Criminal Justice Assistance Project (CCJAP), which was launched in 1997 and is now in the last year of its Phase III.

To inform AusAID's future criminal justice assistance programming, this 'Safer Communities in Cambodia' research project was carried out by The Asia Foundation (the Foundation) with support from AusAID. The objective of the research is to examine the evolving community safety and security context and the effectiveness of CCJAPIII's past interventions. It focuses on three program components of CCJAPIII: Crime Prevention and Community Safety (CPCS), Strengthening of Post Police for Community Safety (SPPCS), and strengthening crime database management.

Analytically, the research views the AusAID project as an intervention aimed at improving government capacity to address security and safety issues, and promoting non-state actors' and community engagement in crime prevention. With this analytical framework, this study seeks to understand the project inventions within the evolving security and policy context in Cambodia. Methodologically, the research (i) reviewed relevant government policies on security and local governance, focusing in particular on those relating to women and youth, (ii) conducted community assessments in four provinces targeted by CCJAPIII's CPCS interventions, in which four CPCS districts and four non-CPCS districts were selected for comparison purposes, (iii) interviewed relevant stakeholders, and (iv) analysed the data and validated the findings with relevant stakeholders.

Crime Trends and Community Perceptions of Crime

Consistent with statistics from the Cambodian National Police (CNP), villagers interviewed perceive an improved security situation in their communities. However, there are some gaps between the perception of the communities and that of the police. For example, while both groups raise concerns about youth gang and drug abuses, villagers interviewed express less concern over the incidence of domestic violence, rape, and traffic accidents, while the police still see these issues as the main local security challenges. This finding was largely similar between the CPCS and non-CPCS areas. Findings on specific crimes and security issues include the following:

Youth gangs: Villagers and officials in all areas studied, CPCS and non-CPCS alike, raise youth gangs as a major security issue. In local perceptions, the formation of youth gangs does not constitute criminal activity, although gang activity might lead to violent victimization (especially during parties or ceremonial events), vandalism, and sexual harassment. Youth gangs in Thai-border and urbanizing areas are more likely to be associated with drug abuses and related to cross-border migration.

*Drug Abuse***:** Drugs are perceived by both the communities and government officials as a growing concern, especially in Thai border and urbanizing areas. Drugs commonly identified are '*Yama/Yaba*'[1] and, in some cases, marijuana. Drug users tend to be young people, and in Thai border areas, many are those who had unofficially migrated to Thailand for work.

Domestic violence (DV): Local perception and commune records indicate a decrease in DV over the last two to three years. Generally, villagers see DV as a private household matter and show no concern about DV, as long as it does not happen to their families. Some neighbors, however, care about this issue because they feel sorry for the abused wives and take action to intervene in the conflicts or report cases to appropriate authorities.

Rape: The police indicate that rape cases have been on the rise in the last few years. However, villagers interviewed rarely raised rape as their key concern, although they expressed a feeling of disgust toward rape cases, especially those involving young girls (as victims) and/or boys (as perpetrators).

Traffic accidents: Although police statistics show some signs of a decrease, government officials in urbanizing areas indicate that traffic accidents are an emerging security concern. However, community interviews did not convey a similar degree of concern. This might indicate low public awareness about this particular everyday safety issue.

Local Response to Crimes

In response to local safety concerns, the Guidelines on the Implementation of Village and Commune Safety (VCS) Policy were issued on August 16, 2010, based on recommendation of the Prime Minister. The guidelines state that a commune or village is considered safe when there is no stealing and robbery; no production, circulation, and use of illegal drugs; no pedophilia, trafficking of children and women, and domestic violence; no youth gangs; and no gambling or the illegal use of guns and crimes. The police and commune councils are mainly responsible for the implementation of the VCS. Local interviewees demonstrated a high level of awareness of the VCS. The introduction of the VCS has encouraged commune police and commune officials to be more attentive to security issues. However, it might have also created an adverse incentive for them to under-report crimes. Some development partners and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are concerned as well that the VCS policy will create incentives for local authorities to be overzealous in sweeping up suspected criminals or to repress behavior seen as disruptive, including legitimate collective action of citizens.

In implementing the VCS, Voluntary Guards (VG) were required to be established in all villages; in all communes visited, this requirement has been followed. However, few local people know about the VG, while local officials often raised concerns about its sustainability, because VG do not have any financial incentives. At the national level, concerns were raised by some development partners and NGOs regarding the unclear authority and accountability of VGs, and whether this could lead to them acting as local militia or vigilante groups. The performance of VG varies across locations depending on the support given to them and on the leadership of the commune chief and participation from the police. This finding is not significantly different between CPCS and non-CPCS areas.

Community engagement with and trust of the local police and local authorities are important factors in effective local crime prevention. On this matter, the study found that villagers

---

[1] An amphetamine-type stimulant.

express more trust of and a sense of reliance on village chiefs and commune chiefs in cases involving less serious crimes and when they seek conflict resolution. If they face or witness serious crimes, however, they would go and/or report the matter to the police. However, a majority of respondents also complained about the prevalent practice of police asking for informal payments whenever they intervene. This, to a large extent, discourages people from reporting crimes and trusting the police.

Village chiefs and commune councilors were found to be the most active in engaging communities on crime prevention (e.g., awareness raising and mobilization of the VG). However, their formal roles in responding to crimes and ensuring that crime cases are handled properly are yet to be clarified. Currently, this job is largely placed under the authority of the commune police. The main shortcoming in the current arrangement is that there is no clear horizontal mechanism for involvement from the commune council, an elected body, to ensure that the commune police use their authority accountably.

The Commune Committees for Women and Children (CCWC), whose role is to raise and address local issues relating to women, youth, and children, have limited capacity, resources, and authority to deal with security issues and the police. This capacity challenge is reduced if the commune chief and other male councilors are gender sensitive and see the value of having a budget allocated to CCWC-proposed projects. This gender sensitivity and related capacity, the study found, can be gradually built with NGO support and orientation. However, although often appreciated by local authorities, such NGO support was found to be sparse.

NGOs also contribute to crime prevention and effective responses to crimes through their awareness raising activities, efforts to engage and mobilize specific groups (e.g., women and youth groups) to participate and address local development issues (security problems included), and provision of local justice services (e.g., legal aid). These forms of support, however, are still limited and uneven in coverage (especially legal aid services).

The CCJAPIII/CPCS Interventions

This study found that the CPCS has had a positive effect, especially on its direct beneficiaries and perception and ways of working of local officials. However, given its limited coverage and duration of intervention, the intervention did not lead to any significant differences in term of local perceptions about crimes. Instead, crime situations were found to be associated more with geographical and demographical characteristics of a place, where local perceptions are shaped by some additional factors, including the perceived contagiousness of specific issues (e.g., youth gangs) and the recentness of their occurrence in the community.

In term of CPCS targeting and activities, the key finding is that the CPCS has largely focused on the right issues by working to address limited local participation in crime prevention and community safety through awareness raising activities, building trust between local community and the police, and providing diversion activities for trouble-making youth. However, there is room for further improvement, especially in targeting and quality of delivery. The SPPCS has produced some positive lessons for further expansion and is contributing to broader police reforms at the local level. The support for crime data management, however, is still at an early stage, with a main focus on strengthening crime database management at the national and provincial level. It has not sufficiently focused on how to improve the quality of crime records produced at the commune and district level.

The study found the CPCS's integration into Cambodia's decentralization and deconcentration (D&D) process has worked well and thus promoted ownership of the project among partner provincial and district administrations. The integration has been more limited at the commune level, leading to low sense of ownership by commune councils, their CCWCs, and village authorities of the project. NGOs also play limited roles in the delivery of the CPCS-funded projects, suggesting that the project has not focused enough on promoting collaboration between state and non-state actors at the sub-national level in addressing local crime and security issues.

Recommendations

The study's findings suggest that the timing is ripe for increased programming at the community level on safety and security issues, and that such programming has the potential to impact the way that local officials and citizens address these issues. CCJAP, given its past engagement in the justice sector, would be well positioned to further advance the agenda on community safety and security. However, there is room for further improvement, as articulated in the following recommendations.

Integration into D&D and Engagement with NGOs

This study recommends that the project continue working through the National Committee for Democratic Development's (NCDD's) sub-national management structure (i.e., the former PRDC/ExCom). Similarly, within the context of the NCDD's Three-year Implementation Plan (IP3), the project should maintain and further improve its engagement with the district level, especially the recently established district councils and Women and Children's Consultative Committees (WCCC), which are formally responsible for women and youth issues, including those relating to security and safety.

In addition, the project should consider increasing engagement from the commune level. First, the project should better contribute to building commune councils' capacity to understand and analyze the nature, trends, and root causes of security issues in their communities. Promoting capacity and engagement of the CCWC should be an integral part of this effort. Second, the role of the commune council and its relationship with the commune police should be clarified. This would address the current horizontal accountability gap at the local level relating to crime prevention and response. Third, the project should explore possibilities for building the capacity of and orienting newly recruited police, and help create an environment that allows them to apply those capacities for the benefit of their communities.

Sub-national authorities and the police are the key actors in local crime prevention and safety issues. However, NGOs can also better contribute to the effort. The study findings suggest that NGOs that work on youth issues and legal aid have been particularly helpful in responding to emerging local security challenges. This potential should be harnessed. Engaging NGOs in security service delivery is also well in line with the D&D process and IP3 of the Government.

Project Design

While already focusing on the right issues, CCJAPIII/CPCS can benefit from some adjustments in its current design. First, while the project should continue with its awareness

raising, it should consider investing in standardizing and improving the quality of its delivery. For example, the project could produce standardized teaching materials for certain awareness raising topics and provide Training for Trainers (ToT) to line agencies often contracted to deliver CPCS projects. Second, the project should support additional public forums, and implementing agencies should be better oriented on how best to carry them out. In these quality improvement tasks, involving NGOs can be beneficial, given their more extensive experience than state line agencies in delivering these kinds of awareness building and public forum activities.

Between the CPCS and the SPPCS, some synergies should be identified and harnessed. The SPPCS, although limited in terms of its focus on building trust between the police and the communities, has potential to promote more collaborative relationships between the commune police and commune councils. This study recommends that CPCS and the SPPCS be better linked, especially as SPPCS is being expanded to cover more communes in the future. As the SPPCS is rolled out, more regular patrolling by commune police should be encouraged and monitored. Regarding AusAID's support for improving crime data management, improving the quality of the crime records at the commune and district level and how to coordinate it with the Commune Database (CDB) will be a key next step after the crime database at the national and provincial level becomes operational.

SECTION I: RESEARCH BACKGROUND

1. Introduction

Cambodia has experienced rapid social, economic and political change over the last decade. Positive trends in many health and education indicators and strong economic growth have been tempered by challenges, including increasing inequality and ongoing weak governance. The combination of these factors has led to new pressures on governance and society, particularly in the area of public safety and security. Cambodia is seeing changes both in the nature of crime and insecurity, as well as people's perceptions of their own safety, driven by such trends as increasing migration both within Cambodia and across its borders, increasing drug and alcohol abuse, tension between tradition and modernity, and greater frustration among unemployed youth.

Within this rapidly evolving context, the Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC) and the Cambodian National Police (CNP), in particular, have been working to respond to and keep pace with the changes. Key policies and guidelines on local security have been issued, various reforms have been implemented to strengthen the police, sub-national and local authorities, and relevant line agencies, and numerous projects have been implemented aimed at raising community awareness and participation. The Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID) has been a key development partner assisting the government through its Cambodia Criminal Justice Assistance Project (CCJAP), which was launched in 1997 and is now in the last year of its third phase (CCJAPIII).

This 'Safer Communities in Cambodia' research project was carried out by The Asia Foundation (the Foundation), with support from AusAID, to examine the evolving community safety and security context in Cambodia. The resulting analysis and recommendations will inform AusAID's future criminal justice assistance programming, with a particular focus on three program components: Crime Prevention and Community Safety (CPCS), Strengthening of Post Police for Community Safety (SPPCS), and strengthening crime database management. Analytically, the research views the AusAID project as an intervention aimed at making improvements on both the supply and demand sides within the rapidly changing social and economic context of Cambodia. The supply side includes the government's policy framework, institutional arrangements, and capacity of key stakeholders including non-state actors. The demand side focuses mainly on community needs, perceptions, and participation regarding safety and security, and trust of those public officials considered to be part of the supply side.

This final research report presents a comprehensive review of the entire research process and results. The report has been organized into five sections. **Section I** focuses on the research objectives and methodology. **Section II** elaborates the policy and institutional framework for public safety and security, as well as key stakeholders, institutional setups, and constraints. **Section III** discusses the crime situation on the ground and the current level of engagement and effectiveness of key local actors in addressing those problems. **Section IV** focuses on the effectiveness and impacts of the CPCS, SPPCS, and crime database management support aspects of CCJAP. **Section V** provides conclusions and recommendations.

1.1. Background

1.1.1. Context

Since 1993, Cambodia has experienced significant improvements in security, safety, and economic development. Existing studies show that people feel safer in their communities, and that economic opportunities have lead to improved livelihoods. The slow but final demise of organized armed struggle between 1993 and 1998 was a key factor leading to increased stability in governance and a reduction of political violence. In subsequent years, political stability after the 2003 election and average annual economic growth of almost 10 percent from 1998 until the global financial crisis have contributed to better security and safety.[2]

Despite this general positive trend in safety and security, problems such as theft, robbery, human trafficking, and gambling remain. In addition, issues such as domestic violence, rape, substance abuse, and juvenile crimes are coming to the fore in discussions on crime and safety in Cambodia.[3] Many of these challenges have complex social, economic, and political causes that would require equally complex responses from various government actors. At present, traditional responses to these crimes have been constrained by a lack of resources and capacity in the justice sector and within the CNP.[4] In order to ensure that responses to crime and safety issues can evolve along with the challenges being faced, the RGC and Cambodia's development partners (DPs) need to develop effective reforms to policies and institutional mechanisms that will allow for the introduction of innovative solutions. Effectively drawing on the roles and capacities of local government officials, civil society, and communities themselves will be important to this process.

Within government, key actors for crime prevention and safety issues are the police and sub-national and local authorities, both of which are under the Ministry of Interior (MoI).[5] Since the 1990s there have been various attempts to professionalize the police force and to make it more active in local crime prevention and safety promotion.[6] However, while police abuse and corruption have been reduced to some degree, local people's trust and confidence in the police has not significantly improved.[7]

Sub-national administrations (SNA), including the popularly elected commune councils and village authorities, and the recently established district and provincial administrations, also play active roles in crime prevention and community safety.[8] Despite their increasing significance, however, the roles of SNA actors are still being reformed and strengthened through the ongoing decentralization and deconcentration (D&D) process. Their current functions and lines of accountability, both vertical and horizontal, require further clarification, and additional authorities and resources still need to be transferred to these actors.[9]

Community participation is another key element in promoting crime prevention and local safety. In Cambodia, 'the community' refers to villagers, as well as traditional and religious authorities whose voices carry weight not just among villagers, but also with local authorities. These community actors play a variety of roles ranging from informally resolving issues in

---

[2] Meerkerk, Hean et al. (2008); RGC (2008); Broadhurst and Bouhours (2009); Guimbert (2010).
[3] AusAid (2007); Broadhurst and Bouhours (2009); Domrei Research and Consulting (2010a).
[4] UNDP (2005).
[5] RGC (2008a).
[6] MoI (1999); MOI (2006b); MoI (2010).
[7] Broadhurst and Bouhours (2009); Domrei Research and Consulting (2010b).
[8] Broadhurst and Bouhours (2009); RGC (2010b); Hughes, Eng et al. (2011); Pak and Powis (Forthcoming).
[9] RGC (2010b).

the community to leading collective action and putting pressure on local authorities and the police to address safety issues in their communities.[10]

Another key set of actors includes the many organizations that make up Cambodia's active civil society sector. Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and community based organizations (CBOs) are numerous and diverse in Cambodia. With regard to safety and security, most NGO/CBO engagement seems to be focused on human rights and advocacy, but relevant services such as legal aid are also being provided. There are few NGOs and CBOs with a particular focus or skills in the areas of crime and safety, but many organizations have expertise and experience working on specific types of crime and social issues such as drug abuse, trafficking, and domestic violence.

Cambodia's international development partners have also played important roles in supporting initiatives in crime prevention, safety, and justice sector development. Besides AusAID support for CCJAP and its CPCS component (introduced in the next section), several other donors have provided assistance to different aspects of the Cambodia criminal justice sector. The French and Japanese governments have supported the drafting of the Criminal Code and Civil Code and provided support to the Bar Association and the National Police; the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) promotes access to justice at the local level; Danida works with the Council for Legal and Justice Reform; the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), through the East-West Management Institute (EWMI) and The Asia Foundation, supports the promotion of rule of law and the protection of human rights; the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) provides support on child justice and juvenile crimes; the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) works on addressing drug issues; and GIZ focuses on gender-based violence.[11]

1.1.2. Cambodia Criminal Justice Assistance Project and its Crime Prevention and Community Safety Component

It is within the broader context described above that AusAID has supported reform in the criminal justice sector in Cambodia. Launched in 1997, CCJAP was first implemented when national procedures for the police, courts, and prisons were rudimentary. At the time, the project was instrumental in improving Cambodia's human rights record and providing much needed training, policy advice, and infrastructure support. From 2002 to 2007, CCJAP II built on the achievements of the previous phase with a strengthened focus on crime prevention and community safety, investigation capacity of police, trials and sentencing, and prisoner health and rehabilitation. That phase challenged traditional approaches to criminal justice and introduced concepts of crime prevention and community policing. The success of a CPCS pilot in Kandal province led the RGC to commit to the establishment of a crime prevention and community safety strategy at the national level.[12]

Under CCJAP III (2007-2012), AusAID has focused on juvenile justice and vulnerable groups (including women and girls), and particularly on issues such as domestic violence, sexual violence, human trafficking and gender equity in general.[13] The project has also advanced efforts to promote crime prevention and community safety at the sub-national level, in cooperation with local government agencies and NGOs. These initiatives now extend to

---

[10] Pak (2010); Domrei Research and Consulting (2010a).
[11] AusAid (2007).
[12] AusAid (2007).
[13] CCJAP III (2007).

multiple provinces and are incorporated into the Commune Investment Plan (CIP) process being carried out as part of D&D reform. CPCS has supported a variety of activities including (i) awareness-raising campaigns on drugs and domestic violence; (ii) diversion programs, including sports and vocational education, for youth at risk of crime; and (iii) police-community forums. Through the Flexible Support Fund (FSF), NGOs have also been involved in the implementation of the CPCS.[14]

The rationale behind the CPCS design is based on international best practices in local crime prevention. International experiences suggest that there are a number of effective approaches to improved crime prevention and local safety issues, including (1) actions taken to prevent potential perpetrators from committing crimes, (2) activities to reduce the vulnerability of potential victims of crime, and (3) attempts to remove opportunities for crimes to be committed. To achieve these three immediate objectives, four general approaches can be taken, including: (i) crime prevention through social development, (ii) community or locally-based crime prevention, (iii) situational crime prevention, and (iv) re-integration programs.[15] The CPCS intervention clearly has been designed in such a way that resources are committed to an array of activities that engage with all of these approaches.

CPCS is not just about delivering activities down to the community level, but promoting ownership by sub-national and local authorities of responsibility for addressing local crime. In order to do that, CPCS has been integrated into the existing D&D governance structures at the provincial, district, and commune levels. To allow more flexibility in project selection, the project has also produced a Standard List of Local Project Names against which proposed projects from the communes will be assessed for CPCS funding eligibility, rather than directly laying out the precise activities to be carried out in a given location.[16]

In addition to the CPCS activities, CCJAP has also implemented a SPPCS pilot in two communes in Kampong Cham. The aim of the pilot is to develop a community policing model for police posts at the sub-national level through a series of activities, including deployment of additional police, regular police patrols, and additional training for the police. Another relevant activity that started in 2010 has been the ongoing support to enhance the CNP's capacity to collect and analyze crime data.

As CCJAP III comes to an end in February 2012, AusAID is seeking to ensure that lessons learned from CPCS initiatives, together with the SPPCS and capacity support for data collection and analysis, are captured for future programming, and to identify activities with potential for replication or national scale-up. The timing to explore these lessons is ripe, given Cambodia's new 10-year phase of D&D reform and the launch of its Three-year Implementation Plan (IP3). This D&D framework offers a significant opportunity for integrating CCJAP initiatives into a new critical path for sub-national governance and development in Cambodia. Thus, it will be useful for policy makers and donors to have a full picture of what has worked and why, as well as what has been less successful.

1.2. Research Objectives and Questions

The key objective of the research is to identify lessons learned from CPCS and other related CCJAP support in order to inform future programming. However, as will be presented shortly

---

[14] CCJAP III (2011).
[15] UNODC (2010).
[16] CCJAP III (2011).

in the analytical framework section, the CPCS and other related support should be seen as interventions that operate within a broader context of crime prevention and local safety. Therefore, it is important that this study be grounded in both (i) this broader context, and (ii) the CCJAPIII project intervention (meaning both the CPCS and related support efforts). Within this basic framework, the study seeks to answer the following specific questions.

1. What is the current situation with regard to the policy and institutional framework for local crime prevention and safety issues?
2. Who are the key actors working on these issues, what institutional structures are they working within, and what constraints are they facing?
3. What is the current crime situation and effectiveness of responses at the community level?
4. How are key local actors engaging in efforts to prevent and respond to crime, and how are these efforts affected by the relationship among those actors?
5. Has the CCJAP/CPCS intervention improved crime prevention and safety to meet the needs of community members? Where has it been successful, why, and how?
6. How can the CPCS component be strengthened, scaled up, and better integrated into the government system, especially in terms of D&D reform, in order to improve ownership by government and communities and to ensure sustainability of the project?

2. Analytical Framework and Research Methodology

2.1. Analytical Framework

During the initial phase of this research, the team carried out a literature review about safety and security in Cambodia, and on international best practices in promoting community security and justice initiatives. Drawing on this literature review as well as their relevant experience and backgrounds, the research design team held discussions to identify key factors and relations that are potentially significant in shaping effectiveness and impact of an intervention such as the CPCS and its related support. This knowledge was used to form a comprehensive analytical framework that would guide the gathering and analysis of community level information. The following section presents the findings on international best practices, as well as the derived analytical framework.

2.1.1. International Thinking on Crime Prevention and Community Safety

Traditionally, assistance to improve the security within a given country has focused largely on institutional reform and development of the police and a few other related institutions. While the need to strengthen institutions is crucial one, there is an increasing focus on the role of safe and secure communities as enabling environments for economic and social development. This recognition has led to the development of programs focused at the sub-national level to promote more immediate improvements in security and access to justice. This section draws out some of the relevant international perspectives on how safety and security issues might best be addressed.

First, it is increasingly accepted that community and civil society involvement in safety and security are essential complements to long-term institutional reform aimed at improving security sector governance and performance. Crime trends are influenced by a number of factors including social and economical changes, pace of formal institutional reforms, and community perceptions and their roles in demanding accountability from the state to ensure more effective crime prevention and response. Therefore, community and civil society involvement need to be considered as a crucial part to any comprehensive program in the safety and security sector.

A second key point is that cross-sectoral responses to safety and security issues are recognized as the most effective in many cases. Given the complex origins of crime and insecurity, the solution must be equally complex, demonstrating the need for coordination across sectors. Unfortunately, donor programs are often constrained by sector, due to internal program management structures or funding flows. Better integration of programming across sectors brings together health, education, law enforcement, judicial, and local governance actors and ensures that their skills and expertise are coordinated and used to complement one another. This approach can achieve greater impact and better prevent crime and insecurity from arising.

Figure 1 below, taken from a UNODC report on preventing crime, lays out a basic model of the factors that can increase the risks of crime and violence. Given these various risk factors, a

comprehensive crime and safety initiative will have to work at multiple levels, including the individual level, in addition to addressing economic and social factors.

Figure 1: Factors Influencing the Risks of Crime and Violence[17]
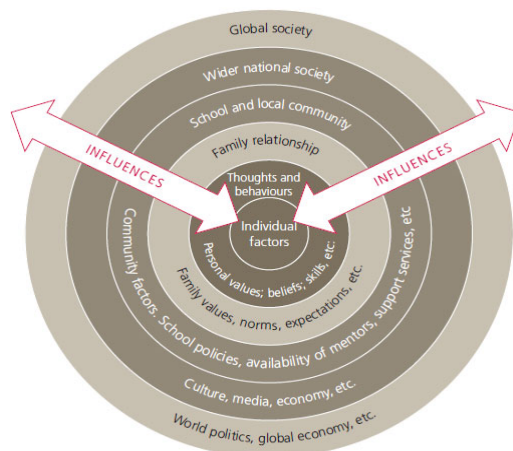
Most models for community level crime and conflict prevention can be adapted for both low crime and high crime societies. The models for development assistance relating to community level crime and conflict prevention that are currently in practice have largely been developed in high crime, high population density areas in Latin America and Africa. Over time, however, the lessons learned have been extended to communities where the absolute rates of crime are low but increasing, or where formal institutions are not able to sufficiently mitigate the effects of even the low levels of crime that exist.

While the need to ensure that program planning is based in the specific challenges of the context in which a program is to take place, the risk factors that cause criminality in both high and low crime societies are fairly common. Effective approaches to addressing those risk factors, however, can vary widely based on culture, society, needs, and other factors. The key difference is often in the need to consider the safety and security of those actors who will be responding to crime. Increased risks in high crime societies with high rates of violence can often mean that certain responses that might be applied in low crime societies are ineffective and even dangerous.

While best practice models can be used across different environments, the specific interventions and manner in which they are carried out must be context driven in order to be successful and to generate genuine local ownership. This includes not only the national level, meaning adaptation to specific countries, but often even adaptation to locations within a country. Clear analysis of the local needs, practices, and expectations is critical to program success.

2.1.2. Analytical Framework

Based on the initial discussion and literature review, the study used an analytical framework depicted in Figure 2. The framework focuses on identifying and studying factors, actors, and their relationships to understand the context and impact of the CPCS and related support.

---

[17] UNODC (2010).

Figure 2: Community Level Research Analytical Framework
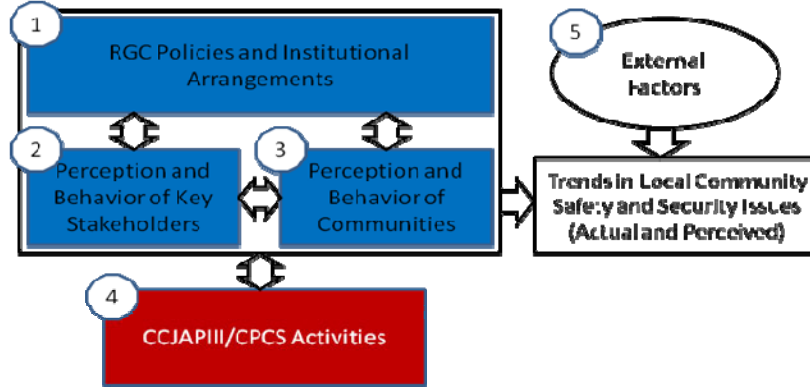
In order to understand what actually shapes the institutions and organizations that affect program outcomes and impact, the study focused on five key analytical points that capture the formative relationships between key actors and factors in community safety, namely: (i) relevant policies and institutions of the government, (ii) the behaviors of key stakeholders (including the police, SNA, line agencies and NGOs), (iii) behavior of local communities including local authorities, (iv) CPCS and related activities, and (v) external economic and social factors. The five points have been defined during the research process in the following ways:

(i) <u>The ways in which relevant government institutions and policies have affected the behaviors of local actors in the community:</u> Policies and institutional structures relating to policing and sub-national governance are affecting actions in every community studied. The research team also tried to ascertain in what ways local actors and institutions have affected the interpretation and implementation of the policies, and the effectiveness and working styles of the government institutions. While not explicitly mentioned in the model, the study also reviewed other donor initiatives that have an impact on local behavior.

(ii) <u>The dynamics between different stakeholders that shape decision making, policy interpretation and implementation, and other behaviors:</u> The institutional arrangements that involve key stakeholders at different levels, as well as their roles, capacity, and challenges in contributing to crime prevention and ensuring community safety efforts determine the effectiveness of crime prevention and responses. State actors, including the police and SNA, are obviously the key actors but the non-state actors (i.e., NGOs) have increasingly important roles.

(iii) <u>Community perception and participation and their links to the dynamics of change in local security and safety issues:</u> Interventions by various stakeholders, both state and non-state actors, shape behaviors of local communities, including local authorities. The behaviors and participation of these local actors also work to determine the effectiveness of the interventions. Some of these behaviors might affect safety and security trends and the responses to the trends.

(iv) <u>The relationship between local CPCS activities as well as policy level engagement and local actor behavior:</u> CPCS activities have affected the behavior of local partners and beneficiaries, and the opposite is also true (i.e., local partners and beneficiaries have shaped or influenced the implementation of CPCS in their locality). At a higher, policy level, CPCS has also had some impact on government policy and institutional practice as well as key stakeholders.

(v) <u>Environmental factors (political, social, or economic) that may have contributed to the local safety and security trends:</u> There are a large number of variables to consider in any given location, but research allows for arguments to be made regarding the most important factors that have contributed to a given change in the security context. Potential key variables include political dynamics (e.g., introduction of a new commune chief, local party activity), economic environment (e.g., major loss of jobs, drought affecting farming outputs) and even social aspects (e.g., major disputes within the community over resources or other issues).

2.2. Research Methodology

The research relied on three sources of information for analysis: (i) secondary data, including government regulations and statistics, CCJAP performance and evaluation reports, and existing studies, (ii) primary data from the community assessment, and (iii) interviews with key stakeholders at the national and sub-national level.

2.2.1. Secondary Data

The research team reviewed government policy documents and existing reports relating to security, police regulations and reforms, D&D, and women- and youth-related crime to establish a coherent analysis of the relevant policy framework and stakeholders at the national and sub-national level. Secondary data also came from the CCJAPIII Strategic Plan, annual performance reports, and evaluation reports. Information and findings from these documents were used to complement or contrast the findings from the community assessment.

2.2.2. Community Assessment

A small field survey was conducted in CPCS partner provinces, for which four CPCS districts and four non-CPCS districts were selected (see Table 1). In each district, two communes were selected. The objective was to better understand (i) community needs and perceptions regarding crime and safety, (ii) existing practices and mechanisms in addressing community safety and security issues at the local level, and (iii) any impacts that the CPCS and related support might have had on the local actors and communities.

Table 1: Case Selection

Locations		Criteria		
Provinces	**Districts**	**CPCS**	**SPPCS**	**Urban or rural**
Kandal	Koh Thom	Y	N	Rural
	Kien Svay	N	N	Rural
Battambang	Kas Kror-lor	Y	N	Rural
	Bovel	N	N	Rural
Kampong Cham	Tbong Khmum	Y	Y	Rural
	Pon-nhea-krek	N	N	Rural
Banteay Meanchey	Svay Chek	Y	N	Urban/Semi-urban
	Serei-sophean	N	N	Urban/Semi-urban

Districts in Kandal and Battambang had already been surveyed twice by the Domrei Research and Consulting Firm. Their selection is therefore justified partly on the grounds that the qualitative data collected through this study would complement the Domrei quantitative data. Tbong Khmum district in Kampong Cham was selected because it has both CPCS and SPPCS

activities. This district then can be compared with Pon-nhea-krek district, which is a non-CPCS area with similar characteristics.

Svay Chek and Serei-sophean districts in Banteay Meanchey were chosen because, unlike the other six districts selected, these two can be considered urban or semi-urban. Researching these two districts provided the study with more information on drug activity, youth violence, and cross-border migration issues, since Banteay Meanchey borders Thailand and experiences all of these issues.[18] The limitation of selecting Banteay Meanchey, however, was the absence of existing quantitative data against which the qualitative data can be analyzed.

The survey was conducted in August 2011. There were 320 respondents, 85 of whom are CPCS beneficiaries. The sample was small and not intended to produce results that are statistically representative of the broader population. Instead, the respondents selected for the survey were well-informed villagers including respected elders, teachers, and community volunteers. Based on the respondents' perceptions, the survey identified patterns in local perceptions about the crime situation, trends and causes, and the impact of CPCS activities. The survey results are complemented by more qualitative information from Focus Group Discussion (FGDs) conducted in each commune with women, youth, and CPCS beneficiaries. Female research team members carried out the FGDs with women, in order to enhance the level of comfort of the participants and foster more candid responses on the sensitive issues under discussion.

As a part of the community assessment, the research team also met with local officials including commune chiefs, commune councilors, female councilors or Commune Committee for Women and Children (CCWC) focal persons, village chiefs and female deputy or village members, and commune police chiefs and staff. At the district level the research team met with district governors, district police chiefs, CPCS project facilitators, selected line offices, and NGOs (Please see Annex 1 for a full list of interviewees). Similarly, at the provincial level the team interviewed provincial deputy governors, provincial police chiefs or deputy chiefs, CPCS project officers and provincial facilitators, and selected NGOs.

2.2.3. Interviews with Key Stakeholders at the National Level

Interviews at the national level (see Annex 1 for details) focused on four important areas: (i) police work and reform, (ii) D&D, (iii) CCJAPIII/CPCS activities and progress, and (iv) donor and NGO activities relating to local crime prevention and community safety, particularly with regard to women and youth. Accordingly, the research team interviewed officials from the CNP, National Committee for Democratic Development (NCDD), CCJAPIII/CPCS project staff, and focal persons representing a number of donor organizations and NGOs.

---

[18] Interview with Michael Engquist, Danida, June 13, 2011.

SECTION II: POLICY AND INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT

3. The Royal Government of Cambodia's Legal and Policy Frameworks

Despite improvements in overall peace and stability, public order and security are still pressing concerns in Cambodia. Armed robberies, murders, illegal drug circulation and trafficking, rapes, trafficking of men, women and children, and traffic accidents all continue to threaten peoples' safety and negatively affect development and quality of life.[19] In responding to these issues, the RGC has put in place a number of policy and regulatory frameworks that are designed to promote crime prevention and community safety. This section focuses on those policies and regulations that relate to (i) local security issues, (ii) D&D, and (iii) specific security issues relating to women and youth.

The various policy initiatives discussed in this section collectively demonstrate that there is genuine political will from the RGC to improve security issues on the ground. The political will also reflects the RGC's view that only when security is maintained that economic and political development can be achieved and sustained.[20] Police reform and D&D reform provide new opportunities within which ideas and initiatives for strengthening local state institutions can be pursued for the sake of improved local solutions to crime prevention and community safety. However, while the reform directions are positive, numerous challenges in terms of capacity and institutional development needs remain.

3.1. Security and Policing Regulations and Reforms

3.1.1. The Cambodian National Police's Strategic Plan (2008-2013) and Draft National Police Law

The Strategic Plan is the key overarching framework for police reform efforts. It lays out the vision, mission, and values to which the CNP aspires.[21] The Strategic Plan, which is implemented through annual Operational Plans, sets out ten Strategic Goals, each focusing on a different area of security issues facing Cambodia. Strategic Goal #4 and #10 are particularly relevant to this study.

Goal #10 is focused on police reform and is crucial to the overall Strategic Plan. For this particular goal, the strengthening of Commune Police Posts is a key priority, to be achieved through training and capacity building so that commune police understand their roles and the basics of community-oriented policing.

Strategic Goal #4 emphasizes the need to strengthen Commune Police Posts to make them more responsive to community needs, as well as to build trust between communities and the police. To do this, police posts are expected to perform two tasks: (i) take measures to suppress crime including investigation, evidence collection, target identification, arrests, and

---

[19] RGC (2010a).
[20] RGC (2010a).
[21] CNP (2009b).

filing cases with the courts, and (ii) conduct activities to prevent crime, including analysis of root causes of crimes, awareness raising, and encouraging public participation. Communities are seen as both the 'eyes and ears' and partners of the police. For this to be successful, however, trust needs to be built between these actors.

The National Police Law, which is still being drafted, will become another important regulatory framework for the CNP. The current draft, which has around 110 articles, stipulates the roles and responsibilities of different ranks of the police, a code of conduct, and disciplinary and administrative procedures. It is not clear, however if and when the Law will be passed[22].

3.1.2. The Village and Commune Safety Guidelines and Voluntary Guard

The Guidelines on the Implementation of Village and Commune Safety (VCS) Policy were issued on August 16, 2010, based on a recommendation of the Prime Minister made on the 65th Anniversary of the Cambodian National Police (CNP) on May 17, 2010.[23] The guidelines state that a commune or village is considered safe when there is:

- No stealing and robbery;
- No production, circulation, and use of illegal drugs;
- No pedophilia, trafficking of children and women, and domestic violence;
- No youth gangs; and
- No gambling or the illegal use of guns.

The VCS policy is an umbrella framework covering a number of sub-policies, including those on drugs, human trafficking and sexual exploitation of women and children, youth gangs, establishment of voluntary guards, and strengthening of commune police posts. The MoI, through its VCS National Working Group, is in charge of ensuring that the VCS guidelines are implemented effectively at the local level. Similar working groups have also been established at the provincial and district levels to support VCS implementation in communes across the country. A quarterly public forum on the VCS policy is required to be held at village level, under the coordination of commune councils and with public participation.

The introduction of Voluntary Guards (VG) is a key component of the plans to implement the VCS guidelines. According to the MoI's guidance dated November 3, 2005 and May 9, 2011, a VG is not a formal organized group with a clear hierarchical structure and uniform, and its organization and activity should be done in such a way that reflects different local realities. A commune chief, working with the police, is responsible for forming a VG group. The established VG is in turn required to work with the police, military police, and local authorities to guard, patrol, and help maintain public order in targeted places (especially during ceremonies) as assigned by the appropriate authority at the local level.[24] A VG's other job is to encourage local people to stay alert and be more careful about their personal and family safety, as well as to educate young people not to 'enjoy themselves too much.'

VGs provide the police with any information or observations they have on local targets and irregularities relating to safety and public order to encourage the police to take action to address the problems. VGs are not armed when performing their duties, but they are

---

[22] Interviews with CNP police official, November 07, 2011.
[23] MoI (2010). Prior to these guidelines, MoI issued a *Prakas* on March 20, 2009 to alert SNA police to pay more attention to violent crimes, including robberies, thefts, homicide, and rapes.
[24] MoI (2005).

authorized to arrest and detain offenders caught red-handed and send them to the police, the Military Police, or other appropriate authority. A VG is expected to work closely with the police and the local authorities, especially the commune chiefs and their village chiefs and other officials. One commune police staff needs to join each VG in order to provide leadership and support in terms of weapons and necessary legal advice. If the police staff cannot join, a representative of local authority should fill the gap. In any case, proper communication devices (I-Com or telephones) are to be made available to the VG.

3.2. Decentralization and Deconcentration Reform

The roles of sub-national authorities are recognized in current policies as indispensable to local crime prevention and the development of a sound security environment. This implies a direct connection between reforms within the security sector and the ongoing D&D process. Reforms under the leadership and coordination of the NCDD have produced some important legal and policy frameworks that directly affect discussions about crime prevention and community safety.

The D&D process began with commune-level reforms in 2002. The 2001 Commune/Sangkat Law indicates that the elected commune council has a duty to ensure 'local public order and security.' As discussed in later sections, the roles of the commune councils in this matter have not been clarified in detail. As part of the D&D reform, a commune council needs to prepare a five year Commune Development Plan (CDP) and three year rolling CIP, with public participation. The plan needs to cover various sections, two of which include Administration and Security and Gender.[25] The commune is also expected to play a more active role relating to the provision of social services, especially those related to women, children, and youth.

In 2005 the RGC adopted the Strategic Framework for D&D with the intention of introducing decentralized governance systems at the district and provincial level. In 2008, the Organic Law was passed, paving the way for the indirect election of district and provincial councils. This law states that these councils are responsible for the welfare (including security issues) of the people within their areas. To ensure downward accountability, the districts are required to be accountable to the commune councils, and ultimately, to the people.[26]

The establishment of the district and provincial councils was only the first step toward the realization of the D&D vision, which is about 'local democracy' together with 'local development' (i.e., local democratic development). To move the reform process forward, in 2010 the RGC adopted the National Program for Sub-National Democratic Development (NP-SNDD). The NP-SNDD has five program areas including (i) SNA organizational development, (ii) human resource management and development, (iii) transfers of functions, (iv) SNA budget, financial and asset management, and (v) support institutions for D&D reform.[27]

To operationalize the NP-SNDD, the IP3 was adopted in late 2010. The IP3 lays out the expected roles of different tiers of the SNA (as discussed in the next section of this report) and emphasizes the need to build the capacity of the districts and municipalities to take on new functions that will be transferred from the central level. The IP3 also establishes a program-based approach to implementing reforms and a new platform for more involvement from

---

[25] NCDD (2009).
[26] RGC (2008b); MoI (2009b).
[27] RGC (2010b).

other governmental agencies, including the Ministry of Economy and Finance (MoEF), Ministry of Planning (MoP), State Secretariat for Civil Service (SSCS), and associations of SNA councils.[28]

As of August 2011, the NCDD, together with implementing partners, has achieved a number of key milestones including the adoption of the Law on SNA Financial Regime and Property Management, the recruitment of contracted support staff at the district and commune levels, and preparation of the 2011 budget after its funding was secured in May 2011. Regarding assignment of functions, while a draft sub-decree on the process for the transfer of the functions to SNA has been drafted, it will be a time consuming process to actually implement it.[29]

Despite various challenges, the D&D initiative offers a strong political framework within which key democratic principles including citizen participation, downward accountability, and non-state actor involvement are clearly emphasized. The recent reform program can also be viewed as a concrete sign of commitment from the RGC to push the SNAs toward a more active role in service delivery and meeting local demands, and thus, ensuring more accountability between elected councils and citizens.

3.3. Specific Security Regulations Relating to Women and Youth

3.3.1. On Women

The rights and safety of women are protected in various laws, including the Constitution (1993), Labor Law (1997), Law on Suppression of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation (2008), and Law on the Prevention of Domestic Violence and Protection of Victims (2005). These legal and policy frameworks are discussed in other documents relating to violence against women.[30] This section instead focuses only on those policies that are part of the police reform and D&D reform.

The VCS and the CNP's Strategic Plan give specific focus to crime issues affecting women. In addition, in 2005, MoI issued the Action Plan on the Suppression on Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation of Women and Children. The Action Plan includes measures on information gathering and analyses, prevention and awareness raising, investigation and sending offenders to courts, and cross-border collaboration. The Anti-Human Trafficking and Juvenile Protection Unit of the MoI is charged with these tasks and is also responsible for collaborating with other relevant institutions, including NGOs. Provincial and district police are required to prepare action plans and seek funding to hold regular dialogues with courts, donors, NGOs, and other relevant state agencies.

The D&D reform also emphasizes gender mainstreaming. The NP-SNDD and the IP3 indicate that the reform is to achieve a gender-responsive local government as well as local development that promotes gender equality and women's empowerment in all aspects of the sub-national democratic development process. This includes equal participation and access for women and men to leadership and decision making positions, resources, and services. To realize this goal, one specific task to be undertaken is to build capacity and means (both financial and technical) by which the WCCC at different levels can work to address issues

---

[28] NCDD (2010a).
[29] NCDD-S (2011).
[30] See, for example, MOWA (2008).

affecting women, youth, and children in their locality. Security and violence against women are obviously part of these gender issues.[31]

3.3.2. On Youth

Youth (defined as those 14-25 years old) constitute about 60% of Cambodia's population. These young people are seen as the potential work force for the growing economy and a key demographic group that increasingly shapes the political and social changes of the country.[32] However, Cambodian youth are also estimated to experience violence and abuse more than any other age group.[33] The RGC has recognized this problem and adopted a number of relevant policies and regulatory frameworks, including some cross-cutting laws as well as criminal procedures on human trafficking, drugs, and youth gangs. However, this section will not discuss criminal codes, but focus more on policies relating to youth problems at the local level, as included in the VCS and police reform plans.

At the local level a number of policies are most frequently mentioned and followed when actions are taken on youth issues. The first is the VCS, which states that a safe village and community is the one that has 'No youth gangs.' The second is the 'Guideline on the Fight against Drugs' issued in 2006.[34]

Youth gangs have become such a significant problem in the last few years that the Prime Minister himself issued a circular in mid-2009 on the topic.[35] This circular noted that youth gangs were gathering together and causing a variety of problems without showing any respect for the law or local authorities. The specific problems attributed to youth gangs include vandalism, fights and quarrels during ceremonies, and threats to people, including travelers. Sometimes, the circular indicates, these groups even commit crimes, seriously affecting public order and citizen safety. The circular ordered the MoI and Ministries of Defense (MoD), Justice (MoJ), Tourism (MoT), and Education, Youth, and Sport (MoEYS), together with provincial and municipal administrations and other relevant agencies, to pay attention to youth gang issues, identify target groups, and take educational and law enforcement measures as appropriate. The CNP and Military Police are the two important agencies leading on this issue, and can arrest and apply other criminal procedures in cases where youth gangs commit criminal acts. Otherwise, the police and Military Police can only invite those young people for education or give warnings. There is also a need to raise awareness with local communities beyond the members of youth gangs so that they can participate in the prevention of youth gang-related problems. The Prime Minister's circular was followed by an MoI directive dated July 7, 2009 and a CNP work plan dated July 13, 2009 that both seek to suppress youth gangs and prevent them from creating problems in their communities.[36]

Cambodian youth are also part of the growing drug problem in Cambodia. There are expectations that local level actors participate in the fight against drug use and the corresponding local safety issues. The VCS states that a safe village and commune has 'No production, circulation and use of illegal drugs.' This specific goal is to be realized through the implementation of MoI's directive dated August 21, 2006 on the fight again drug abuse. Provincial, district, and commune police are also expected to effectively document drug

---

[31] NCDD (2010a).
[32] UNDP (2010).
[33] MOWA (2008); UNDP (2009).
[34] MoI (2006a).
[35] RGC (2009).
[36] CNP (2009a); MoI (2009a).

related activities and identify targets and networks of drug production, distribution (both within and across borders), and drug users (including foreigners).

Other important policy frameworks relating to youth issues include the National Youth Policy (NYP), which was adopted by the Council of Ministers (CoM) in 2011. Another important legal piece is the Draft Law on Juvenile Justice, which was initiated in 2006. The draft law was finalized by an inter-ministerial working group and transferred from the MoJ to the Ministry of Social Affairs, Veterans, and Youth Rehabilitation (MoSAVY) for review, then to the Council of Ministers in 2010. It is expected to be enacted some time in 2012.[37] Another important relevant law is on Drug Control, which was passed in late 2011. Following this Law, an important sub-decree is being finalized to clearly define and differentiate between drug users and traffickers.

---

[37] Interview with Vimol Hou, UN Women, October 25, 2011.

4. Key Stakeholders' Institutional Setups and Constraints

Successful approaches to complex security and public order issues require joint efforts from various government agencies at different levels, together with non-state actors, including NGOs, and communities. The following section discusses these actors, focusing on their roles and the opportunities and challenges that they face. Many actors are already directly and indirectly involved in local crime prevention and safety issues beyond the CNP. The D&D process is also giving a greater role to SNA, especially at the commune and district levels, to take part in local crime prevention and related social issues. Some line agencies (e.g., Ministry of Women's Affairs [MoWA], MoSAVY, MoEYS, Ministry of Labor and Vocational Training [MoLVT]), and NGOs also play a role. They are challenged, however, by limited capacity, lack of clarity in term of roles and responsibilities, and challenges in collaborating and holding each other accountable. These challenges have been recognized and various initiatives are trying to ensure more cross-agency (including SNA) collaboration. While the overall direction is positive, more remains to be done.

4.1. The Cambodian National Police

The MoI is the key state actor responsible for security and public order issues. It performs this role largely through the CNP and the sub-national administration institutions structured by the D&D.

A national Cambodian police force was created in 1884 during the time of the French Colony in Indochina, and the CNP was formally established 61 years later (16 May 1945). During the Khmer Rouge regime between 1975 and 1979, the police force was totally abolished. In 1979, the CNP was reborn, starting with a force of 45 officers. As of the end of 2010, the CNP had 54,389 officers (2,465 females) of which 15,444 (995 females) were based at the central levels.[38]

At the national level, the General Commissariat of National Police has six departments, including: Security, Public Order, Transport, Border, Administration, and Judicial Police. At the SNA level, the hierarchy includes 24 Provincial Police Commissariats, 186 District/Municipal Police, and 1621 Commune Police Posts. A Provincial Police Commissariat is under the direct guidance of the Provincial Governor. Some of its relevant functions include the keeping of population statistics and the prevention and suppression of criminal activities. The District Police are under the direct guidance of a district governor, but work under technical command of the Provincial Police Commissariat. The organization of the police at the SNA is very hierarchical: the Commune Police Post is considered a part of the District Police, and both are considered part of the Provincial Police Commissariat.[39]

The CNP recognizes its central role in ensuring security and public order. Recently the police service has also recognized the need to gain more trust from the public and to improve its image from an oppressive, top-down agent of the state to an institution that is approachable, less corrupt, and committed to serving local needs.[40] This intention is behind much of the police reform agenda described in the previous section. However, despite the effort, recent

---

[38] CNP (2011).
[39] MoI (1994); MoI (1998).
[40] CNP (2009b).

public surveys indicate that people's perceptions of the police remain largely negative, with corruption pointed out as a key constraint on force effectiveness.[41] To overcome this trust issue, more comprehensive reform is needed, especially focused on the Commune Police Posts.[42]

The MoI issued a new *Prakas* on May 9, 2011 on the roles and responsibilities of the Commune Police Posts. This *Prakas* was issued in order to implement the Strategic Plan, in part to strengthen the implementation of VCS, the VG, and the D&D reform and also to respond to the lack of clearly delineated roles and resulting tensions between the commune chiefs and commune police. The role of the posts is clearly stated to be ensuring public order and safety within the commune by monitoring population statistics and movements, identifying and keeping track of target offenders, controlling weapons and explosives, suppressing crimes, conducting crime scene and forensic examinations, implementing court subpoenas, and patrolling. According to the 2011 *Prakas* the posts need to follow the guidance of the commune chiefs. The police also are required to attend monthly meetings with the commune councils, report on security to commune chiefs and district police, and perform other tasks as instructed by the district police.

The current Commune Police Post has a number of clear shortcomings in the manner in which they perform their duties and responsibilities. Firstly, they perform their tasks without work plans and corresponding budgets. Instead, they act reactively when crimes are reported or upon direct orders from the district police. Second, many police posts still lack personnel. Although most rural commune police posts should have from seven to 15 officers,[43] in reality, most of them have from four to seven. This understaffing hampers police efforts to respond in a timely and effective manner to meet people's needs.

To start to address some of these problems the RGC has been trying to recruit new and younger police officers (from ages 18 to 25) to serve at the commune level. However, even with new recruits, other challenges still need to be overcome. First, according to the district police, about 70% of the current police at the commune level are former militia or military personnel, with low educational background, limited understanding of their roles, and weak technical capacity to properly perform their jobs. Second, human resources can not be deployed without financial resources. In the current system, there is no operational budget allocated specifically for Commune Police Posts. Beside the monthly salaries, many posts reported not even having sufficient resources for gasoline needed for patrolling.

Currently, the provincial police exercise considerable authority over recruitment and budget allocations, and it seems that most of the budget allocated from headquarters is placed under the management of the provincial level police. Field interviews revealed that even district level police failed to receive sufficient budgetary allotments for their daily operations, indicating the current police institution is still very centralized.[44]

4.2. Sub-National Administration

---

[41] Pact (2010a).
[42] CNP (2009b).
[43] The 2011 *Prakas* classifies Commune Police Posts into five categories, depending on the size and specific geographical characteristics of the area (e.g., urban versus rural).
[44] SNA interviews during the Community Assessment period, August 1 to August 30, 2011.

Sub-national administration in Cambodia consists of the provincial, district, and commune levels. The recent D&D reforms further classify the three tiers of SNA into two levels:

- **The regional level**, which includes all the 23 provincial administrations, and
- **The local level,** which includes the capital, district, municipality, and commune/*sangkat* administrations.

The SNA have some organizational similarities but their expected roles differ. The expectation is that the district level will be more active in service delivery, while the province will play a larger role in regional planning and strategic investments, as well as in the support and supervision of local administrations. The role of the commune, on the other hand, will emphasize its position as a representative body that is directly elected.

4.2.1. Provincial Administration

As a result of the 2009 election, the provincial level now has a council (from nine to 21 members) that was indirectly elected by commune councilors. The council is supposed to act as the representative of the people at the provincial level and is accountable to both the people and the central government. A key role of the council is to adopt a charter, by-laws, and a development and investment plan for the province. Each province also has a Board of Governors (BoG), which is responsible for implementing decisions made by the council. The BoG, including the Governor, is appointed by the national government but is accountable to the council. The governor is also the Joint Chief of Command,[45] meaning that (s)he has more influence over the police as compared to the council.

Each provincial administration is required to establish three important committees, including the Technical Facilitation Committee (TFC), Procurement Committee, and the WCCC. The WCCC is most relevant to this report. The WCCC has a female councilor as its chair, and the director of the Department of Women's Affairs as its permanent vice-chair. Its other members include female deputy governors and representatives from relevant line departments (including the police) and representatives from the commune councils.

A governor is the chair of the Provincial Rural Development Committee (PRDC) and its Executive Committee (ExCom). The PRDC/ExCom system was first established in 2002 as a part of the Seila program,[46] but was transferred to the NCDD in late 2008. The roles of the current PRDC are largely the same as those prior to the transfer, which essentially includes all the tasks relating to planning, management, and monitoring of development activities and resources transferred down as a part of the Annual Work Plan and Budget (AWPB) of the NCDD.[47] Within the context of the D&D, PRDC/ExCom is considered a key implementing and coordinating agency of the IP3.

4.2.2. District Administration

---

[45] MoI (1994).

[46] Seila (meaning Foundation Stone) is a well known development project, which was launched in mid-1990 and whose experience working with the commune and local governance has contributed to the overall D&D reform in Cambodia. For more information on Seila, please see STF, 2008.

[47] NCDD (2008).

The 2009 elections produced an organizational structure in the districts largely similar to that at the provincial level (i.e., a Council, BoG, TFC, and WCCC).[48] A district governor is also a Joint Chief of Command with influence over district police.[49] Structurally, however, the district has no equivalent body to the PRDC/ExCom, although as a result of the District Initiative (DI) project, a body called the District Development Committee (DDC) was established in some locations to act as a decision making body for project activities and resources.

Despite the structural similarities with the provincial level, the district/municipality administrations deserve close attention, given the significant roles they are expected to play in the future. The NP-SNDD expects more service delivery responsibilities to be transferred to district level, largely because of its economy of scale advantage.[50] From 2011 to 2013 the IP3 will focus on capacity building at the district level. The result of progress made to date is that all districts have finished their Five Year Development Plans and Three Year Rolling Investment Plans, and after the passage of the Law on Sub-National Finance, a District/ Municipal Fund (DMF) is expected to be operational from 2012 onward.[51]

Various regulatory and policy instruments are being developed to support the functioning of the district administrations. Among them are the various rules and regulations that facilitate project implementation and spending by the DMF, one example of which is a Project Implementation Manual (PIM) similar to the manual that exists for the commune councils. The RGC is concurrently discussing the need for mechanisms to ensure that the districts will pay more attention to social service delivery and not become entrenched in spending on infrastructure, as has happened with the communes, as well as how to encourage NGOs, especially those focused on service delivery, to be more involved at the district level and act in partnership with government (even as co-funders) to deliver specific social services.[52]

This focus on social services implies an important role for the district level WCCCs. As in the case of the provincial WCCC, each district WCCC is headed by a female councilor, and the membership includes a female governor or deputy governor, and the chief (or deputy chief) of the Departments of social affairs, women's affairs (who is also the permanent vice-chair), labor, and education. Representatives of the CCWC are also members of the district WCCC. The WCCCs are expected to ensure that women, youth, and children's issues are given sufficient attention.

According to the IP3, WCCCs at the district and provincial levels are priority targets for capacity building efforts.[53] A Guideline on the role and responsibilities of the WCCC is now being finalized and tested in Battambang province. This Guideline provides more clarity on the role of the WCCC but a number of areas still need improvement. For example, its roles are still broad, its budget is still not provided for, and the relationship between the WCCC and the CCWC has yet to be clarified. In addition, women's security and youth issues have not been given sufficient attention in the current thinking about the future roles of the WCCC.[54]

---

[48] RGC (2008a).

[49] MoI (1998).

[50] Usually, the ideal size of a local populace for effective service delivery is from 100,000 to 200,000 residents. The average population size per commune in Cambodia is 8000, and per district about 71,000 (Pak 2011).

[51] NCDD-S (2011).

[52] Meeting with Min Muny, Independent Consultant, October 23, 2011.

[53] NCDD (2010a).

[54] Interview with Sok Mary, NCDD-S, November 3, 2011; Interview with Vimol Hou, UN Women, October 25, 2011.

4.2.3. Commune Councils, Village Authorities, and Community Actors

The commune councils are directly elected by the general public. Commune councils produce an annual CIP, using it as a basis to spend its discretionary fund, the Commune/*Sangkat* Fund (CSF). Past experience indicates that a large majority of the fund has been used on roads.[55] The explanation for this spending pattern is that: (i) roads are a real need on the ground; (ii) roads are less controversial spending targets for such small transfers; and (iii) there have been some difficulties in dealing with sectoral line agencies (including the treasury), preventing the communes from getting more engaged in social service delivery.[56] Regardless of this spending pattern, after almost two terms the commune councils have gained considerable trust and popularity among local people in most locations.[57]

Despite these positive developments, the commune councils have not yet been given clear service delivery functions and authority to develop and control their own sources of revenue. Given this situation, the communes have to either perform various *de facto* functions and/or step aside when problems emerge (e.g., security challenges, conflict). This to some extent undermines the councils' ability to respond to and represent the interest of their constituencies. The councilors are also limited in terms of their capacity. Many councilors, although possessing extensive local knowledge, have low educational backgrounds, especially in the areas of social development and conflict resolution.

The capacity is even lower among female councilors, who are tasked with leading the CCWC and deal with social issues relating to women and children into the council's agenda. The focus of the CCWC includes pre-school, sanitation and clean water, child protection, and maternal health. Currently, CCWCs in selected communes receive funding from UNICEF, while in the remaining communes, the MoI has encouraged the councils to allocate around $1,000 of its CSF for CCWC-related activities.[58] Although other studies have found that CCWCs are having a positive impact on women and children's issues at the local level, the committees and their focal persons are still limited in their capacity to advocate for women and children's issues in the CIP and to plan and budget for these activities.[59]

There are currently over 13,500 villages in Cambodia, with around nine villages per commune. Village authorities include a village chief, a deputy chief, and a member (or assistant). The chief is selected by the commune council. The chief then appoints the deputy and the member. Most of the members of village authorities (with the exception of village assistants) have been in their positions since the late 80s or early 90s. Since 2006, efforts have been made to include women in the village authorities, and as a result around 70% of the village assistants are now women.

In addition to the local authority, two other groups of community-based actors are worth mentioning. The first group includes well-informed villagers, including respected elderly people (*archa*), school teachers, and health workers. These people are well-respected by ordinary villagers not because of their formal positions, but due to their association to Buddhism (e.g., *archa*), their educational background, and their contributions to their community. Local people seek their assistance when they have problems and follow their leadership when dealing with specific community issues, including those relating to security.

---

[55] NCDD (2010b).

[56] World Bank (Forthcoming).

[57] Pact (2010b).

[58] UNICEF (2009); MoI (2011a).

[59] Interview with Sok Mary, NCDD-S, November 3, 2011; Interview with Ms. Vimol Hou, UN Women, October 25, 2011.

However, in the last decade, Cambodia has gone through so much social and demographical change that the relative roles of these actors in most communities have also changed. Section 7 will discuss these changes in additional detail.

The second group is community volunteers. Usually, these volunteers work on such issues as violence against women, promotion of local livelihoods, reproductive health, and legal aid. These volunteers tend to be young, literate, and committed to improving their communities, but they lack higher education. These volunteers are usually selected to work for specific NGO projects, for which they might get minor financial support and capacity building and training.[60]

4.3. Donors, Nongovernmental Organizations, and Line Agencies

The research identified a number of donor and NGO projects that are relevant to local safety, particularly in relation to women, youth, and children. These projects are generally funded by donor agencies and have different areas of focus and form different kinds of partnerships among donors, line agencies, and NGOs.

Several projects identified focus specifically on women and children's safety issues. One example is the Law Enforcement Advancing Protection of Children and Vulnerable Persons (LEAP) project, which has grown out of the earlier Law Enforcement against Sexual Exploitation and Trafficking of Children (LEASETC) project supported by UNICEF and World Vision and implemented through the MoI. LEAP is responsible for harmonizing and standardizing police training regarding trafficking, sexual exploitation and abuse, and domestic violence. It will also continue and expand the operation of police hotlines to facilitate reporting of crimes. Lastly, it is responsible for maintaining a database on sex crimes, trafficking, and domestic violence.[61] Other agencies working on trafficking include The Asia Foundation, EWMI, which keeps a database on trafficking,[62] and the Cambodian Women's Crisis Center (CWCC), which provides assistance to female victims of human trafficking.[63]

Other examples include the UNICEF's *Seth Koma* and Child Justice Project. *Seth Koma* has been working closely with MoI's NCDD and has contributed to the establishment and capacity building of the CCWCs since 2004. The project operates in six provinces, with an expectation that it will be expanded to cover 14 provinces. In line with the RGC's D&D process and IP3, UNICEF has also started working with WCCCs at the district and provincial levels.[64] Other donors and NGOs, including the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and Save the Children, have also focused on building the capacity of CCWC and WCCC but on a smaller scale.[65] Child Justice Project works in collaboration with MoSAVY to train police officers, prosecutors, and judges on how to work with minors. It also sends social workers to advocate on behalf of children in court, including asking for alternative sentencing

---

[60] Brown (2008); Manero and Popovici (2010).

[61] Interview with So Serey Vathana, UNICEF, July 11, 2011. In the interview, it was indicated also that UNICEF was interested in cooperating with CCJAP on child justice issues, but preferred to work through the LEAP program, in which the MoI chooses the implementer for projects.

[62] Interview with Max Howlett, EWMI, June 13, 2011.

[63] Interview with CWCC officials, August 4, 2011.

[64] Interviews with Ros Sivana, UNICEF, July 1, 2011.

[65] Interviews with Vimol Hou, UN Women (former UNFPA official), October 25, 2011.

of juveniles. The project also cooperates with Legal Aid of Cambodia (LAC) by sending some of the juveniles to LAC-organized vocational trainings.[66]

Some projects focus mainly on providing legal aid. One example is LAC's Preventing Violence Against Children Cambodia (PVAC) project, which has engaged in activities to promote and protect the rights of children. These activities include teaching parents parenting skills and about the rights guaranteed by the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, family reintegration, training lawyers, court, and prison officials regarding child rights and protection, and providing free legal services for children in conflict with the law. Another project example is Legal Support for Children and Women (LSCW), an NGO that serves women and children exclusively.[67]

Other projects focus on raising awareness of local communities on women and youth-related violence. One example is Gender and Development for Cambodia (GADC), which has engaged in gender trainings in communities. The training utilizes a ToT approach, with GADC staff training a core group of commune councilors, teachers, and other local authorities in the morning and then observing and advising as the core group trains other villagers in the afternoon.[68] GADC works closely with the MoI and CNP. Another example is Youth Star's project to engage Cambodian youth in the prevention of gender-based violence.[69] This project works closely with the MoWA.

A few projects identified focus more on drug issues. UNODC has worked in ten sites in Banteay Meanchey on drug issues, including establishing community-based drug abuse counseling centers within commune heath centers. The project is implemented in partnership with the Ministry of Health (MoH) and its provincial departments, and with Community Integrated Development Organization (CIDO).[70] Friends International works with street youth, including drugs users and gang members. Friends International operates mainly in urban and urbanizing areas. It also provides vocational training programs in restaurant work, hairdressing, tailoring, and other industries to provide street youth who are often not educated or literate with employment opportunities.[71]

In addition to these projects, a few relevant networks were identified. UNDP has established a national Youth Network that is coordinated by a youth focal person. The Network covers more than ten youth-focused NGOs including the Youth Resource Development Program (YRDP), Khmer Youth Association (KYA), Youth Council of Cambodia (YCC), and others.[72] The Gender Mainstream Network operates at the sub-national level and has been supported by Project to Support Democratic Development through Decentralization and De-concentration (PSDD). The Network holds regular meetings (usually monthly), which are attended by provincial line department staff, provincial and district officials, and NGOs.[73]

---

[66] Interview with Kong Chann, MoSAVY, July 25, 2011.
[67] Interview with Vichuta Ly, LSCW, July 21, 2011.
[68] Interview with Ros Sopheap, GADC, July 5, 2011.
[69] Youth Star (2011).
[70] Interviews with Olivier Lermet, UNODC, November 2, 2011.
[71] Interview with Vong Sarath and Hong Sovann, Friends International, July 26, 2011.
[72] Interviews with Vimol Hou, UN Women, October 25, 2011.
[73] PSDD (2009).

5. Relevance and Contributions of the Intervention[74]

In terms of the policy and regulatory frameworks just discussed, while there was no doubt that they were initiated, driven, and owned by the CNP and RGC, there were also some indirect contributions from CCJAP in the form of technical support, capacity building, and generating lessons learned, which fed into the RGC/CNP policy formulation process. These lessons learned were particularly useful for the formulation of the CNP Strategic Plan (2009-2013), its operational plan, the VCS, and the drafting process of the National Police Law.[75] Content-wise, CCJAP support corresponded with a growing interest on the part of the senior command of CNP in improving the professionalism of the police and the institution's relationship with the public.[76]

CCJAP has been working closely with the MoI and CNP through the National Management Board (NMB). CCJAPIII focuses broadly on strengthening the strategic, executive, and technical capacity of the institution to enable it to better identify and respond to community, national, and regional priorities. Specifically, since 2008 CCJAP has helped build capacity to develop strategic plans and sequential annual plans; mainstream gender within the police (including the development of the 'Gender and Policing' training manual); improve forensics, crime data collection, and analysis; and pilot the SPPCS. This support has been given in ways that allow the CNP to gradually learn and take ownership over each task.[77]

The CPCS component has worked more closely with SNA stakeholders. As mentioned, the component has been integrated into D&D structures, and in its project delivery mechanism CPCS has worked through the PRDC/ExCom at the provincial level, DDC at the district level, and the CIP and the commune governance system at the commune level. It has also held coordination meetings at the provincial level involving representatives from the police, courts, and prisons. Line agencies (especially district line offices and district police) have also been closely engaged as service providers of CPCS on the ground. Section IV will discuss this in greater detail.

CCJAPIII has also engaged NGOs in many activities under Component 3 (the Police) and Component 2 (CPCS). Through its Flexible Support Fund (FSF), NGOs have been involved in coordinating dialogues at the provincial level, providing technical support to the police (e.g., in training of trainers on gender and policing), and, in a limited way, in building capacities of local authorities (i.e., the commune and villages).

---

[74] Please see CCJAP III (2011); Cox, Ok et al. (2011) for more information regarding CCJAP activities in Component 2 (CPCS) and Component 3 (Police).
[75] Interview with Veng Chan, CCJAP October 25, 2011; Interview with HE Prum Sokha, MoI, June 15, 2011.
[76] CCJAP III (2011); Cox, Ok et al. (2011).
[77] CCJAP III (2011); Cox, Ok et al. (2011).

# SECTION III: LOCAL CRIME SITUATION AND RESPONSE

6. Crime Situation and Local Perception in Project and Non-Project Areas

Based on the community assessment findings and data from the CNP and other studies, this section discusses the crime situation on the ground, both perceived and actual, including different crime types, trends, and causes. It should be noted again that the community assessment involved talking to more than 300 well-informed villagers, but was not intended to produce statistically representative results that are generalizable to the broader population. Instead it sought to identify overall patterns, case variations, and key security issues faced by local people.

According to the community assessment, local people generally perceive a significant reduction in crime over the last three years, especially violent crime. However, people expressed concerns over persistent problems of youth gangs, violence against women, and drug use. Alcohol abuse was also raised as an issue, and in areas close to the Thai border, drugs and illegal migration were often identified as the main causes of security problems, especially those affecting youth. These emerging concerns are clearly related to the broader social, economic, and demographic changes that Cambodia has been undergoing. Another interesting finding is the insignificant difference in people's perceptions about crimes and security issues between CPCS and non-CPCS areas.

6.1. General Trends and Main Security Concerns

RGC statistics and existing studies indicate a significant decline in all types of crimes and safety issues (See Figure 3 below). They attribute the decline primarily to increased political stability, a reduction in small arms use, an improved economic situation, and reforms in the security sector.[78]

Figure 3: National Crime Trends[79]
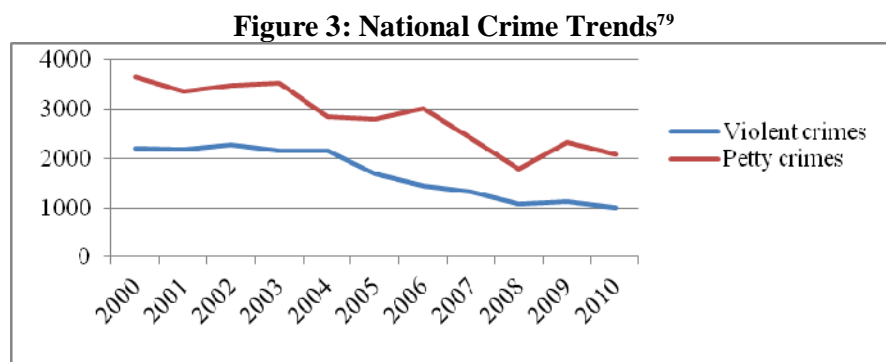
Similarly, this assessment found that people have become less concerned about violent crimes such as robberies and murders, but are focused more on youth gangs, petty theft and fraud,

---

[78]Broadhurst and Bouhours (2009); RGC (2010).
[79] CNP (2008; 2009; 2010).

drug use, and domestic violence. This finding is consistent across both CPCS and non-CPCS areas visited, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Priority Security Concerns of Respondents in CPCS and Non-CPCS Areas

Crime types	CPCS (N=162)	Non-CPCS (N=158)	Total
Youth gang	92	85	177
Petty thefts	32	29	61
Drug abuse	23	28	51
Robbery	7	8	15
Domestic violence	7	7	14
Rape	1	0	1
Traffic accident	0	1	1

6.2. Specific Types of Crimes, Trends, and Causes

6.2.1. Youth Gangs

People in all areas visited, CPCS and non-CPCS alike, raise youth gangs and gang fights as a major security issue. A large majority of youth gang cases are not associated with criminal activities. Young gang members mainly disrupt public order (e.g., they gather and shout, or do things that might annoy neighbors or scare travelers), but there are cases where they are involved in more serious problems such as violent victimization, vandalism, or sexual harassment. In Kampong Cham and Kandal provinces, some youth gangs have been involved in thefts, whereas in provinces near the Thai border they are more likely to abuse drugs. In these border provinces, moreover, youth gangs have additional incentives to create problems because they think they can easily escape to Thailand if they are sought by police.

CNP statistics confirm the assessment's finding that youth gangs are a concern at the community level (See Table 3 below). A large majority of people interviewed are concerned for their personal safety due to youth gang activities, especially during dancing ceremonies. Around 40% think that youth gang activities can easily lead to violent victimization. This perception is common to all the areas visited, although in Kampong Cham there is a perception that youth gangs have become less of a problem, and district towns also seem to see less youth gang activity. People attribute youth gang activity to school drop-out rates, youth unemployment, and increasing alcohol consumption.

Table 3: Number of Identified Youth Gang Members[80]

	2009		2010	
	Not crime related	Crime related	Not crime related	Crime related
National	5,878	2,622	2,993	447
Kampong Cham	1,686	179	140	33
Kandal	202	17	121	9
Battambang	0	628	238	19
Banteay Meanchey	255	815	505	1

---

[80] CNP (2008; 2009; 2010).

The most common victims of young gangs are members of other youth groups, usually from nearby villages, who are parties to the fights, indicating that these young people can be territorial. The fights usually happen during dancing ceremonies and the causes of the problems are minor but provocative things such as quarrels over girls or stepping on each others' feet. The seriousness of the fights ranges from minor injuries to death (e.g., with a samurai sword).

Despite the persistent prevalence of youth gangs, a majority of people (78%) indicate that these issues have begun to decline significantly over the last two to three years. This is consistent with a study conducted by Domrei Research and Consulting, which shows that people felt safer when attending parties or ceremonies at night in 2010 compared to 2007. Interventions from local authorities, including the police, are most frequently mentioned as the main reason for reductions in youth gang activity. The other reasons include migration of some youth away from their villages, and increased participation from community members to address these problems. The answers given were more or less the same in all areas visited. However, the minority who perceive problems with youth gangs to be on the rise blamed limited intervention by local authorities and drug use.

Youth gang issues were the most common concern expressed by all age groups. Parents, in particular, express concern because of the potential for 'contagiousness,' meaning they are concerned that their children might join the gangs or become victims. Young people themselves (14-25 years in age) are concerned about youth gangs bullying them when they travel to school, and about their safety when attending dancing ceremonies and other events. However, some young people seem to feel less frightened by youth gangs, because they either see themselves as equal to these gangs (e.g., they might fight back if bullied) or they think they can just ignore them and they will be left alone, because gangs only fight other gangs.

Overall most issues with youth gangs identified by the communities are not linked to organized crime, but are fragmented village-based actions committed by jobless youngsters trying to assert themselves. As a result, problems with youth gangs can be (and have been) reduced by local prevention efforts and fairly straightforward solutions, such as increased police presence, voluntary guards, and more fines being imposed by the police. Migration is another explanation for reduction in youth gangs, meaning that as youth move away to find jobs, the presence of gangs in the villages is reduced. This is obviously not a long-term solution, since new groups might emerge and the same actors can still cause problems when they visit home.

6.2.2. Drugs

Drugs are an emerging concern in Cambodia (see Figure 4), especially in areas close to the Thai border, and even more so in Banteay Meanchey, which is a transit point for drugs. In these provinces, both drug distribution and use are problematic. The common drugs identified are 'Yama/Yaba,' and in some cases, marijuana. Moreover, drug use is also observed to be on the rise in urban and semi-urban areas such as Koh Thom and Kien Svay districts in Kandal, and Tbong Khmum district in Kampong Cham. Of even more concern, the drug issue was identified as the only crime which those community members interviewed thought has been increasing rather than decreasing over the last two to three years. This finding is the same in both CPCS and non-CPCS locations.

Figure 4: Drug Cases Handled by the Police[81]
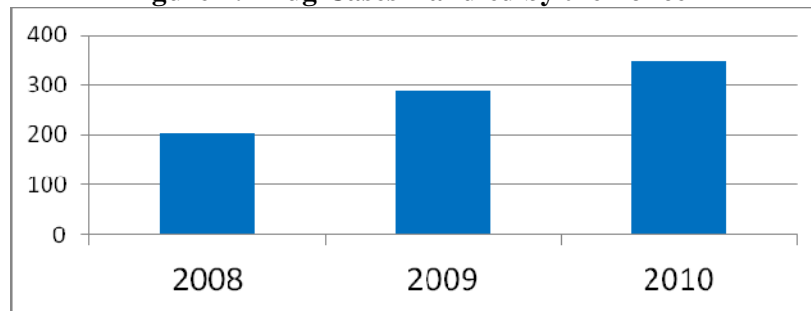
The study found that drug users tend to be young people, many of whom were associated with migration to Thailand for work. In 2010, in Serei-sophean district alone, there were recently around 330 young people who tested positive for drug use, around 200 of whom had gone to work in Thailand.[82] There are also links between youth gang activities and drug use. In 2009, out of 1,070 identified youth gang members, 273 (25%) were identified as using drugs.[83] For that year, the number of youth gang members using drugs in Banteay Meanchey represented more than 30% of drug-using youth gang members nation-wide, according to official statistics. To address this problem, better-off families have sent their addicted children to rehabilitation centers. Children from poor families who did not receive assistance to overcome their addiction were more likely to turn to participation in gangs or theft, or to go back to Thailand where they could make enough money to support their drug habits.

Various groups have raised awareness about drugs, especially in Banteay Meanchey and Battambang, but the impact has been limited because these efforts did not address the root causes of drug use, and in particular the issue of migration of youth to Thailand. Villagers in both provinces expressed much concern about drug issues, and understood about the link between drug use and migration to Thailand. However, poverty leaves them no choice but migrate to find jobs. Some go to work in border plantations on the Thai side, while others (especially young people) go to work in construction or on fishing boats. These young migrants are more likely to expose themselves to drug use. Most of these migrants to Thailand go illegally, relying mainly on their personal networks. Legal migration has become too time consuming a process and is able to absorb only a small portion of the unemployed workforce.

Another challenge emerging from dealing with drug problems is that it contributes to organized crime that controls distribution. In Banteay Meanchey, drugs are distributed through networks involving high ranking police officials. For this province, trafficking of drugs occurs not just *from* but also *to* Thailand. For example, before 2007 it was reported that most drugs came from Thailand, but since 2007 drugs have also been flowing into Thailand, possibly from Laos. The recent reduction of drug distribution through Banteay Meanchey was only possible because of the major crack down and arrest of police officials involved.

Despite the crackdown, however, many local people interviewed feel that the drug issue is still on the rise, suggesting that while the big organized network has been crushed, smaller ones are still operating and are still causing problems. In addition, drug issues in urban areas (such as Serei-sophean district) have expanded beyond a few youngsters using it on the street to wider use in night clubs and similar entertainment businesses, the number of which have

---

[81] CNP (2008; 2009; 2010).
[82] Interview with Mr. Oum Reatrey, Municipal Governor of Serei-sophean, August 5, 2011.
[83] Interview with Mr. Oum Reatrey, Municipal Governor of Serei-sophean, August 5, 2011.

been increasing, especially in Banteay Meanchey. It is reported that most karaoke girls and those involved (directly or indirectly) in the sex industry in this area are drug users.

6.2.3. Domestic Violence

Domestic violence (DV) is still an issue in Cambodia.[84] There are two types of DV problems in a village: chronic and non-chronic. A village in Cambodia might have from 300 to 500 families, with three to five families suffering from chronic DV. These families tend to be older couples (>40 years) and poor. Other cases are not chronic and tend to be caused by occasional events such as alcohol abuse and domestic problems. DV was also reported to be more common in families in which the wives regularly gamble, even on a very small scale.[85] The nature of DV in Cambodia seems to have nothing to do with geographical characteristics of an area, except for a few cases in Banteay Meanchey where perpetrators of DV are not husbands, but drug-addicted sons.

Usually, DV is understood by villagers only to refer to chronic DV and is viewed as a household matter rather than a wider societal issue. Many villagers are not concerned with DV as long as it does not happen to them or their families. Some neighbors, however, care about this issue because they view DV in moral terms and feel sorry for the abused wives. They therefore take action to intervene in the conflicts or report DV to appropriate authorities. That said, a majority of people still view DV as a household affair and feel that they should not interfere in other people's family business. This attitude, together with the general inactiveness of the police and local authorities, has made female victims of DV (especially those in poor households) feel particularly helpless in their suffering.

A majority of people perceive that DV in general has declined in their communities over the last two to three years. This is consistent with the commune database of the communes visited (See Table 4 below). People indicated that the main reason for any reduction in DV is better awareness among couples after attending trainings by NGOs or learning from posters and radio programs focused on the morality aspect of DV. Another cause of DV reduction is the effectiveness of local authorities, especially the commune and village authorities, in resolving conflicts and issuing strict warnings to the offending husbands and sometimes shaming them for their actions.

Table 4: Trends in Domestic Violence Cases in the 16 Communes Visited[86]

	2008	2009	2010
No. of families experiencing DV	495	457	404
% as compared to total number of households in the commune	2%	1.75%	1.5%

It was found that actions by the police to fine or arrest perpetrators did little to solve DV problems. Instead, this might increase the burden on victimized wives who sometimes have to pay money to get their husbands back from the police. This is particularly true for poor families. The most effective solution seems to be awareness raising and placing more social pressure on husbands who beat their wives. However, it seems that for families with chronic DV problems, neither action by police nor resolution and education by local authorities has worked. The more indirect solution to this issue, some local officials suggest, is to create new

---

[84] MoWA (2005); MoWA (2009).
[85] Based on FGD with local women (i.e., female villagers).
[86] Commune Database (CDB).

economic opportunities for the wives and children so that they can become more economically independent from the intimidating husbands. However, even this solution seems to be inconclusive in its impact.

6.2.4. Rape

Rape is a crime that has not shown any significant decline in the last few years, according to police records. However it is noted that the figures reported by the police are significantly lower than those reported by NGOs.[87] Despite this, individual villagers interviewed do not see rape as a real concern. The topic came up more in FGDs, where participants suggest that there are more cases of rape in remote rural areas than in the urban ones, and that rape victims are increasingly young girls, and the perpetrators young men.

Figure 5: Trend in Rape Cases According to Different Data Sources[88]
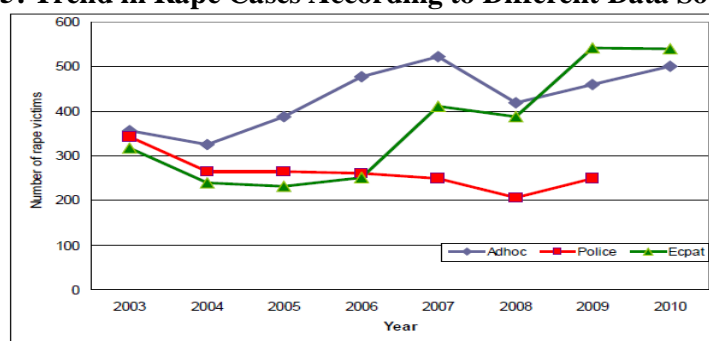
This geographical distinction indicates that rape is a situational crime, meaning it is more likely to happen if the surrounding environment allows for opportunities. For example, rape cases tend to happen in quiet places, remote farming plantations, and to young girls left alone at home. Interviews with local authorities and district police indicate that many poor households living in remote areas tend to be less careful about the security of their daughters and sometimes leave them alone at home or require them to walk alone to work on the farms. While the Domrei survey shows that people are feeling a little safer when traveling to and from the rice fields, or when staying at home, the perceived safety in these places cannot be said to have helped reduce rape incidents in rural areas. According to the police, the factors that lead men to rape mainly include alcohol abuse, together with increased availability of pornography.

FGDs with local youth suggest that many young girls do not see rape as a big problem, partly because such an event is still rare, and they largely feel insulated from it. Some young boys, on the other hand, do not feel they themselves could become perpetrators – as they say, '*why rape, while you can pay for that sort of thing.*' The police indicate that many young people, especially those considered as part of youth gangs, are more likely to commit acts of sexual harassment or violence, including rape, and many of them have very little knowledge of the legal consequences of their actions.

6.2.5. Robbery and Theft

---

[87] ECPAT Cambodia, NGOCRC et al. (2010); MoWA (2011).
[88] ECPAT Cambodia, NGOCRC et al. (2010).

The study found that armed robberies and medium-scaled theft (i.e., motorbike theft, house-break-ins) are perceived to have declined over the last three to five years. This finding is consistent with police records and a Domrei survey, which found that people feel safer at home at night in 2010 when compared to 2007. Despite the decline, villagers are still quite concerned about robberies, especially in urban areas. This is because more information about specific incidents is broadcast through media, and more importantly, because people are frightened by the cruelty and graphic images associated with these crimes.

Reflecting differences in levels of economic development, it is noted that rural areas tend to experience minor cases of thefts, while people in urban areas express more concern regarding medium-scale thefts and armed robberies. According to the police, the perpetrators of these crimes are mobile, constantly changing their places of operation. Robbers who commit their activities are thought to be few in number, and they pursue big targets such as shops in crowded markets, wealthy houses, whereas medium-size thefts target motorbikes and other small scale properties. Overall, however, both the police statistics and community perceptions indicate lower prevalence of robberies of all kinds.

People living in urban or market areas are particularly worried about robberies and more willing to pay police or village guards (like the voluntary guards, except they are paid) to stand by and protect them. The police have more staff and physical resources (partly funded by community contributions) to patrol and stand guard. However, in general, people still feel scared and express limited confidence in police protection. According to the police, significant reductions in robberies in a few areas were achieved through several big raids and the killing of the leaders of organized networks of thieves (for example, in Kampong Cham). This effort was often catalyzed by pressure and support from the provincial or even national level.

6.2.6. Traffic Accidents

Although statistics show some signs of a decrease, traffic accidents are still a big concern in Cambodia, killing more people than all other individual crimes.

Figure 6: Trend of Traffic Accidents[89]
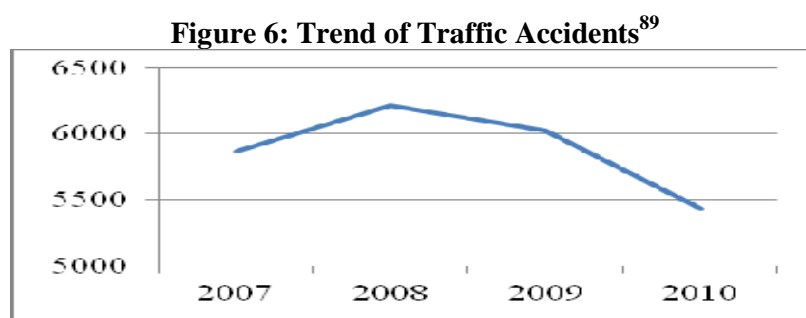
Sub-national officials, local authorities, and local police pointed to traffic accidents as a key issue, especially in urban/urbanizing areas and those located along main roads. However, community interviews did not convey a similar degree of concern. This might indicate low awareness among people about this particular everyday safety issue. The fact that traffic accidents are not intentional might also somehow make many people perceive them as less of a threat and be less concerned.

---

[89] CNP (2008; 2009; 2010).

7. Local Responses to Crimes in Project and Non-Project Areas

After discussing local perceptions of crime issues and trends, this section discusses the process by which local actors work to address crimes and safety problems. The section also presents findings regarding people's perceptions of key actors on safety and security issues, including village elders, village and commune authorities, commune police, higher level authorities at the district and provincial levels, and NGOs.

Community engagement with and trust in the local police and local authority is important to effective local crime prevention. On this matter, the study found that villagers express more trust of and sense of reliance on village chiefs and commune chiefs. Although villagers find local police to be accessible, they complain about the prevalent practice of police asking for informal payments whenever they intervene. This, to a large extent, discourages people from reporting crimes and building trust with the police.

Regarding responses to crimes, the study found that the VCS and VG have been implemented in all the areas visited, but their effectiveness and sustainability are in question due to lack of resources and unclear roles and responsibilities among key stakeholders involved. Another issue identified is the lack of horizontal mechanisms to ensure that the commune police perform their jobs and use their authority accountably.

The study found NGOs to be a key actor contributing to crime prevention and effective responses to crimes. The contribution happens in various forms, including awareness raising, engaging with specific groups (e.g., women and youth groups), and increasing access to local justice (e.g., legal aid). NGO support, however, is still limited and less accessible to community members in need (especially for legal aid services).

7.1. Village and Commune Safety Guidelines and Village Guard Implementation

Around 60% of the people interviewed were familiar with the VCS guidelines, and more than 80% of those aware of the guidelines had heard about it from village chiefs and commune councilors. More than half of the 60% who are aware of the VCS indicate that they are willing to participate in implementation of the policy by helping share information with their family members and relatives about the five components (40%) and by informing police and local authorities when they witness crimes (20%).

Less than half of the people interviewed indicate that they are aware of the VG. More than 70% of those who are aware obtained their knowledge through first-hand observation (i.e., seeing the guard posts, seeing their peers joining the guard groups). Villagers' knowledge of the purpose of the VG is limited. Those who are aware of the VG responded that the voluntary guards are established to 'help patrol at night' and 'share information with the police and authority.' The study also found that the functioning of VGs varies across places and is sometimes not in compliance with the MoI's guidelines. For example, although there is no provision that a VG should have a uniform, some communes have mobilized resources to provide uniforms as incentives for VG members.

Within both CPCS and non-CPCS communes, the assessment found that all local authorities and police are well aware of VCS and take it seriously. However, CPCS communes appreciated the fact that the CPCS agenda is in line with VCS and that they have used CPCS-funded events to disseminate information about the VCS guidelines to villagers. All communes visited joined in the VCS evaluation. While all suggested that they were happy with the classification of their communes into 1st, 2nd, or 3rd rank in terms of safety, some commune chiefs suggested that the criteria for the classification was not clear, possibly unfair, and should be improved.

Many local authorities and police officers interviewed understand that the VG is a key part of the implementation of the VCS, but expressed concerns that they could not convince people to join the VG because they did not have financial incentives to offer. The performance of VGs across locations varies, depending mostly on the support, commitment, and personal influence of the head of the VCS Working Group sent from MoI or the provincial level. VGs also tend to be more operational in acting as standby guards and informants for the police in urban areas, where there are more financial contributions from villagers.

Some development partners and NGOs expressed concerns about the VCS guidelines and the VG. On the VCS guidelines, they are concerned that this policy might create incentives for local authorities to be overzealous in sweeping up suspected criminals or to repress behavior seen as disruptive, including legitimate collective action of citizens. On the VG, their concerns were that the unclear authority and accountability of the VGs might lead them to act as local militia or vigilante groups.

7.2. Community Response to Crimes

Community members' responses to crimes depend in large part on the perceived seriousness of those crimes. The survey indicated that, to local people, the seriousness of a crime depends on its prevalence and the contagiousness of its nature, as well as the severity of its consequences.

Table 5: Perceptions of Serious and Less Serious Crimes

Not Serious	Serious
- Violent acts causing minor injury	- Violent acts causing serious injury
- Small scale gambling	- Large scale gambling
- Theft of petty property	- Robbery and theft of valuable property
- Slight addiction to drugs	- Serious addiction to drugs

Local people express high levels of tolerance for the less serious types of crimes, with more than 95% indicating that they would not report such crimes, even when those incidents happen to them or their families. If they witness less serious crimes, about 65% reported that they would do nothing, especially if it concerns petty theft or gambling. However, 47% indicated that they would directly intervene if they witness minor cases of violence (e.g., quarrels, DV, youth fights), and around 10% said they would report the incident to their village chief. Local people expect that local authorities (particularly, village chiefs) will not take action if the case is not serious. This result is similar for CPCS and non-CPCS areas.

As shown in Table 6, if serious crimes happen to them or their families, many interviewed villagers would respond by first contacting police (around 50%) or village or commune chiefs (25%), with the expectation that the village chiefs will inform authorities at a higher level (i.e., the commune council, then the police). If they witness serious crimes, 43% stated that

they would take action to report the crime, with 25% reporting the matter to the police and 18% reporting to village or commune chiefs. However, 35% of respondents stated that they would keep quiet due to fear that reporting the case might put them in physical danger later on. The response is similar between CPCS and non-CPCS locations.

Table 6: Actions Taken by Villagers for Serious Crimes

If they experienced serious crimes	%	If they witnessed crimes	%
Report to police post/district police	48	Dare not do anything (esp. if it is murder)	35
Ask village/commune chiefs	26	Report to the police	25
Send them to correction centers (for drug problems)	10	Report to the village/commune chiefs	18
Tell them to stop (for drug and youth gang)	6	Tell their parents to send them to correction center (for drug cases)	8
Others	10	Others	14

Around 55% of people interviewed are aware of cases in which police have detained or arrested people in their village. Among these respondents, half thought that the arrest or detention was fair because a crime was committed by those detainees. The half who thought the detention was not fair could not provide specific answers as to why they felt that way, but tended to mention police corruption as their general explanation. Around 85% of respondents indicated that most arrests resulted in the police levying fines on the offenders and/or obtaining a written promise from the offenders that they would not commit the acts again in the future. Only 15% of the respondents remembered cases where arrests had led to offenders being sent up to the district level for further investigation or prosecution.

7.3. Community Perceptions about Local Key Stakeholders

At the local level, a number of key actors are involved in addressing crimes and conflicts, including village elders, village and community authorities, commune police, higher level authorities at the district and provincial level, and NGOs. The community assessment provides insights into how local communities perceive these different actors.

7.3.1. Village Elders

Village elders include respected people such as *archa*, teachers, health workers, and local traders. The community assessment found that only around 13% of villagers would seek help from these village elders if they face or witness small conflicts or minor security issues. Anecdotal evidence suggests that villager elders are more likely to be asked for help in domestic violence cases, but not in youth gang cases or other types of conflicts. Their roles are even more limited in criminal cases. Traditional leaders tend to be influential only among the older generation and much less so among younger people. This is partly because the perceptions, concerns, and life style of young people are so different from those of the elderly.

7.3.2. Village Chiefs and Commune Authorities

Village chiefs are used by villagers on a variety of issues relating to safety and security. Villagers go to the chiefs because they expect that chiefs will either help solve the problem (especially for conflicts and not-serious crime issues) or refer the problem to the commune

councils and the police. Villagers cite a number of good points about village chiefs (see Table 7), including their accessibility and helpfulness, roles in information dissemination, and fairness in resolving conflicts.

Fewer people (about 35%) were able to identify specific negative points about village chiefs. Those who raised negative points tended to critique the frequency or targeting of village chiefs' actions, with specific suggestions, including that they should have done more of what they have done well already (i.e., improve on their good points), and they should not have favored villagers from one political party when disseminating information and inviting people to public events.

Table 7: Good Points about Village Chiefs and Commune Chiefs

Good points about village chiefs	%	Good points about commune chiefs	%
Accessible/helpful when requested	20	Accessible/helpful when requested	25
Helpful in information sharing and awareness raising	20	Helpful/fair in conflict resolutions	11
Fair in conflict resolution	33	Engaging youth group	11
Other	4	Other	11
No answer	23	No answer	42

Commune chiefs and councilors appear to be well-respected by villagers interviewed. They are also highly appreciated by villagers for being very accessible and helpful when asked to intervene in a crime case. Commune and village chiefs interviewed indicated that it is part of their responsibilities to be well informed about security issues in their communities and ensure that those issues are addressed. In practice, it is uncommon that commune and village chiefs serve as key informants for the police about local crime and safety problems. This is likely a factor of the unclear accountabilities and, in some cases, poor relationships across these local entities. Commune chiefs and councilors are also considered to be very helpful in conflict resolution roles. However, when discussing the commune council, some people (around 10%) complained about commune clerks charging people for civil registration services much more than the required fee.

7.3.3. Commune Police

Around 95% of people interviewed report knowing how to contact the police. They also see the police, especially the commune police, as their most important point of contact when they experience or witness serious crimes. As indicated earlier, 48% of the respondents will contact police if they experience serious crimes, and around 25% said they will do the same if they witnesses serious crimes. Local people interviewed perceive the role of commune police as more about intervention and not so much about prevention, except for when they (the police) are asked (and paid) to guard at local parties or ceremonies.

Table 8: Good and Bad Points about the Police

Good points	%	Bad points	%
Coming to intervene when requested	24	Taking bribe when solving conflict	35
Suppressing some crimes/conflicts	24	Asking for money for release of items	14
Strict guarding when there are ceremonies	15	Coming late when crime happens	11

Others	8	Being partial/partisan	6
Don't know	29	Don't know	34

The most common problem that people have with the performance of the police (see Table 8) is the corruption that takes place during their interventions. Almost 50% of the respondents identify bribery as the most serious problem. Qualitative information suggests that these informal payments are quite substantial, if compared to what villagers have to pay as 'thank you' money to commune and village authorities.[90] The requesting and taking of informal payments is practiced in both CPCS and non-CPCS, although in CPCS communes, the cut was reported to be slightly less.

Therefore, although people report decreases in crime and more frequent contact with the police, their trust in this institution has not improved significantly. Community members generally view the police as an expensive, monopolistic service provider for solving crimes. The police acknowledge some of these informal payments, but they tend to argue that their taking money is a way to impose heavy fines on trouble makers (e.g., gangs, husbands beating their wives, etc) so that they won't do them again. There is less openness in discussing the informal payments taken from victims of crime. This also indicates that at the local level, informal fee payments are sometimes confused with fines.

There are even lower levels of public trust in the police when it comes to addressing crimes and conflicts relating to women. Villagers (and also NGO staff) observe that local police are unprofessional when dealing with gender-related cases, and that they do not know how to question victims or respond to problems. Provincial and district police agree with this observation, and recognize the need for more training for commune police on this issue.

7.3.4. Higher Level Authorities

This study found that even among the well-informed villagers interviewed in this assessment, knowledge about higher level administrative units, including the district and provincial administrations and the courts, is limited.[91] Among those who know about the courts, a large majority (around 65%), said they would not use them even when they experience serious crimes or conflicts, for two reasons: (i) they will need to spend a lot of money when going to court, and (ii) they will lose even more time and money if the case gets prolonged.

7.4. Engagement and Interaction among Local Actors and Nongovernmental Organizations

7.4.1. Relationship between commune police and commune chief

Relationships between the commune police and the commune chiefs were found to be a key factor determining the effectiveness of local crime prevention and response. Reflecting this significance, the MoI has issued a number of *Prakas* clarifying the roles and responsibilities between the two authorities. According to a guideline issued in 2005 and a *Prakas* issued in

---

[90] In cases where the police are asked to find stolen property (such as motorbikes) or to impose a fine on an offender, when the compensation is paid or properties returned, a large cut (from 30-50%) is usually given to the police.
[91] People are more likely to know of the district governor, but it is rare that people know of the existence of the district councils.

2011, a Commune Police Post is under the instruction of the commune chief, and under direct technical supervision of the district police.[92] On the ground, the provision was interpreted to mean simply that the police need to listen to the commune chief.

According to field interviews, however, this leaves a lot of things unclear. On the one hand, the *Prakas* is still insufficient because it does not specify the roles of both parties in planning and implementing crime prevention activities, responding to crimes, and monitoring the responses themselves. On the other hand, one can also argue that the current lack of clarity cannot be addressed by a *Prakas* but requires structural changes to the ways the Commune Police Post works, including its planning and monitoring responses to incidents of crime. The commune chiefs interviewed indicated that there are no existing channels through which they can make complaints about the police to higher levels, except for the rather informal channels of the Party Working Group (PWG) of the ruling party, which are typically effective.

The influence of a commune chief on the commune police chief depends largely on his/her personality, influence within the (ruling) party, and, more importantly, informal relationship with higher level authorities, especially the district governor. The existence of CPCS or lack thereof was found to have little to do with the quality of the relationship between the two, although the CPCS support might allow for more interaction between them (i.e., through the holding of community-police forums or awareness raising events). This is mainly because CPCS, in its current design, has limited engagement and ownership from commune authorities, and even less from the commune police.

7.4.2. Engagement of Commune Committee for Women and Children

Emerging strongly from the community assessment is the lack of understanding and recognition of the roles of female councilors on the CCWCs. Villagers in both CPCS and non-CPCS areas indicated that they rarely go to female commune councilors to solve problems, even when they experience or witness gender-related crimes such as domestic violence or rape. In addition, most CCWC officials interviewed still view their role on security issues as limited to helping resolve domestic violence cases. Youth issues were given low priority by the CCWCs. The study also found that CCWC members have not been given much say in the business of the wider council. Out of the 16 communes visited, only three were able to spend the US$1,000 allocated budget for CCWC-related activities. The reasons given were that the CCWC officials were unable to fulfill documentary requirements (e.g., planning and budgetary documents) to have the allocated funds released.

Based on key informant interviews, the CCWCs are weak in part because the female councilors and/or focal persons themselves still have limited capacity to identify and advocate for local issues relating to women, youth, and children. However, where the CCWCs were found to be active (in at least three out of the 16 communes visited), it is not just due to the capacity of the female councilors, but other important factors including: a commune chief and other male councilors who are more gender sensitive and see the value of having more budget allocated to CCWC-proposed projects, a capable clerk who is more willing to help with the planning and budgeting required to have the CCWC activities approved and implemented in ways that meet treasury requirements; and NGO support (e.g., CPCS, UNICEF, Banteay Srey, Amara, and CWCC).

---

[92] MoI (2005); MoI (2011b).

7.4.3. Engagement of NGOs

In the 16 communes visited, NGOs play important roles in delivering non-infrastructure services to local people. The number of NGO-supported projects varies in each locale. For the years 2010 and 2011 combined, the number of temporary agreements signed with NGOs in the communes visited varied from five to 87. Generally, the communes in Banteay Meanchey and Battambang received more NGO projects compared to those in Kampong Cham and Kandal. In the first two provinces, there were also more NGOs working on the issues of drugs (e.g., CIDO), migration and human trafficking (e.g., CWCC), and legal aid (e.g., LAC, Vigilance).[93]

Villagers' knowledge about NGOs was found to be limited. Many villagers are unable to distinguish between the support from NGOs and those provided by government line agencies, commune councils, or political parties. The villagers typically know about NGO activities through their village chiefs, and tend to remember the NGOs that had organized meetings and provided material assistance.

Commune and village authorities are much more knowledgeable about NGO activities because they have more interaction with them. Most commune councilors and village authorities interviewed expressed high appreciation for NGO support for vulnerable groups, such as families suffering from DV or HIV/AIDS and destitute households. Commune councilors interviewed indicated that NGOs have complemented the roles and responsibilities of the councils by choosing to work in areas that the councils do not have enough budgetary resources to cover. CCWC members interviewed often appreciated the training and capacity building that NGOs have provided to them through relevant line offices. However, there were also complaints about some NGOs not sharing information and failing to collaborate with commune councils when implementing their projects.

There are two aspects of NGOs support that the study found particularly helpful with regard to local safety issues. The first is legal aid. Although villagers interviewed had very limited knowledge about legal aid provided by NGOs, such support was deemed particularly helpful when it was available. As already mentioned, people have low knowledge about the courts and are reticent to use them, preferring instead to use local authorities and police and accept out-of-court settlements, even for serious crimes like violent victimization and rape. Availability of legal aid services can address this problem. For example, in one of the communes visited, there was a community legal aid advisor who worked with the CCWC to provide legal counseling to DV victims and victims of violent conflicts. The commune chief and CCWC highly appreciated the support of this advisor.

The other important aspect of NGO support is the mobilization of youth to get engaged in community issues, including crime and security issues. In one commune in Battambang, for example, World Vision has helped form a youth club where young people come together to learn about civil rights and other related topics and disseminate knowledge to their peers. Another example is YCC in Kampong Cham, which mobilized young people to raise their concerns to their commune councils. Although there was no substantive evidence as to how much these clubs helped reduce local safety problems such as youth gangs, these initiatives prove that Cambodian youth have potential to contribute to the betterment of their communities, and not just cause problems.

---

[93] This observation was also noted in other studies such as UNICEF (2009).

SECTION IV: THE PROJECT INTERVENTIONS

8. Project Implementation and Challenges

The previous section reviewed the policy and local context within which the intervention of CCJAPIII should be assessed. Three elements of CCJAPIII will be assessed in this section: CPCS, SPPCS, and support to crime database management. To identify key lessons learned this study looks at these interventions from two perspectives: (i) their implementation efficiency and effectiveness, and (ii) their integration into D&D. This section looks at the first aspect, leaving the second one to the next section.

The key finding is that CPCS has largely focused on the right issues by working to address limited local participation in crime prevention and community safety through awareness raising activities, building trust between local communities and the police, and providing diversion activities for trouble-making youth. However, there is room for further improvement, especially in targeting, quality of delivery, and project support. The SPPCS, while limited in scale, has produced some positive lessons for further expansion and contribution to broader police reforms at the local level. AusAID's support for crime data management, however, has not been felt yet at the local level, although some progress has been made at the district and, even more so, provincial levels.

8.1. Crime Prevention and Community Safety

CPCS is now being implemented in select districts across six provinces. The CPCS component activities include (i) awareness raising on laws and safety and security issues, (ii) local forums, especially between the police and community, and (iii) youth diversion activities through vocational training, sports, and music. As indicated in Table 9 below, a number of other activities have been taken up, including the provision of livelihood training, support to voluntary guards, and building the capacity of commune councilors and their CCWC members. The table indicates that the most common activities of CPCS have been awareness raising, with less emphasis on public forums and support to commune councils, with the exception of districts in Kandal province.

Table 9: CPCS Implemented Activities in Visited Districts in 2010[94]

Activities/District	Battambang/ Kas Kror-lor	Banteay Meanchey/ Svay Chek	Kandal/ Koh Thom	Kampong Cham/ Tbong Khmum
Awareness raising	31	53	0	111
Vocational training	1	1	0	3
Livelihood training	1	0	0	7
Support to voluntary guard	5	0	11	0
Building CCWC and commune council capacity	0	0	11	0
Public forums	0	0	10	1
Sports and music	0	0	5	0

---

[94] CPCS Activity Report Spreadsheet for 2010.

Total # of projects	**38**	**54**	**37**	**122**
Total budget for 2010	$15,438	$15,924	$11,629	$16,422

8.1.1. Awareness Raising and Community-Police Forums

At the implementation level, awareness raising and community-police forum activities are sometimes indistinguishable, as both events took similar forms, usually featuring one-way communication where trainers and authorities talked and participants sat and listened. An exception, however, was in two districts in Kandal, which will be discussed shortly. Interviews with district officials indicate that CPCS awareness raising topics included domestic violence, drug abuse, human trafficking, youth gangs, criminal codes, traffic laws, and migration. The topics varied and reflected to some extent the security challenges being faced in specific target locations (See Section 6 for information about the crime situation across locales).

The biggest challenge in implementing CPCS awareness raising events has been the selection and mobilization of participants. Around 50 people have attended each event, which costs from US$150-US$250. The intended target groups include youth gangs (e.g., for youth gang and criminal law training) and families facing DV (e.g., for domestic violence training). In reality, however, these target groups are understandably reluctant to attend events because they do not want to be publicly identified as trouble-makers. Village chiefs, who are usually responsible for mobilizing people to attend forums, have tried to overcome this obstacle by, for example, not calling trouble-making youth groups 'youth gangs,' or by announcing that the awareness raising was mainly on general laws and not on sensitive topics such as gang activity or domestic violence.

Despite these efforts, obtaining participation from target groups has been challenging. Consequently, although local authorities still managed to have a mix of male and female attendance with different age groups, more attendees tend to be older women (who usually stay at home and have more free time) rather than potential offenders or victims of the crimes being focused on at the events. To encourage participation, all awareness raising events provide snacks or small gifts (at a value of around US$1.50 per attendee). It seems that this small incentive has become an expectation among villagers when they are called on to attend other public events arranged by donors or NGOs, according to local authorities.

Awareness raising activities funded by CPCS have been largely implemented by line offices, with very few by NGOs. Officials from MoWA or MoSAVY are often selected to provide awareness raising sessions on domestic violence, migration, and other topics, whereas district police and Military Police usually get called upon for topics such as youth gangs, drugs, traffic accidents, and criminal law. The two line offices are viewed by local authorities and project facilitators as more experienced with delivering training because they have received funding from NGOs to do similar activities, while the police and Military Police tend to have more limited skill sets. For example, some of the local police and Military Police wear uniforms when coming to the events, facilitate simply by reading the laws, and/or use threatening language to discourage people from committing crimes. No standard package of training materials has been developed for CPCS implementation.

Public forums between communities and the police have been rarer because they are more formal and involve attendance from higher-level officials (e.g., district governors, district police chiefs, or even provincial deputy governors). Forums have more participants (from 100

to 300 people) than awareness raising events. Almost all forums started with an announcement about the VCS, and some provided training on specific laws as well. During the Q&A portion of the forums, the forums tended to display some of the most common characteristics of public meetings in Cambodia: most people just kept silent, and a few dominated the discussion.

Some police authorities still do not understand the purpose of the forum, seeing them more about disseminating information rather than allowing people to raise their concerns and questions. It was also common for some commune or district police to not answer (or not be able to answer) sensitive questions (e.g., why specific crimes like illegal fishing or gambling still continue, or why the police often release some offenders without a proper trial). In such situations, the police said they could not answer or that they would refer the question to their superiors. In the latter case, in most cases, there was no follow-up on the pending answers. This shortcoming, according to some government and project officials, might discourage villagers from future active participation.

The level of understanding among the police and local authorities is important for the quality of the forum, and so is the knowledge and participation from community members. The case of Kandal is a good example, where both factors have contributed to more interactive and fruitful forums. It is unclear why people there were more active, but two explanations are possible. First, it might be the demographics of Kandal (i.e., it is more urban, people are better informed, they are more likely to have direct interaction with the police on a daily basis, they have a higher living standard). Second, Kandal has been doing the forums as a part of CPCS for the longest time, since Kandal was the initial pilot province for CPCS activities. This means that both authorities and community members may have learned about the events and how to make better use of them.

The forums in Kandal were also reported to have been frequently presided over by high ranking officials, including deputy governors and provincial police chiefs. This may indicate a higher level of ownership of CPCS among government partners, especially those at the district and provincial level. But participation from high level authorities might also reflect their better understanding about the links between CPCS and the VCS, and more importantly, their confidence in their innovative ideas to make the former work to benefit their implementation of the latter.

Despite some limitations, awareness raising has had some positive impacts. For example, it was found that beneficiaries of CPCS are more likely to approach local authorities (especially village chiefs) if they experience crime,[95] and are more likely to report to local police if they witness crimes.[96] Police and SNA officials also appreciate awareness raising, indicating that it helps people who are potential victims to become more informed of their rights, how to protect themselves, and how to assert those rights. Simultaneously, the events can help potential perpetrators to better understand what constitutes an offense and the severity of punishments for such actions.

Public forums were also said to have initiated a new way to bring police and villagers closer together and to build a better understanding of each other. There are increased numbers of people who dare to stand up and question why, for example, police ask for additional money,

---

[95]Around 45% of the CPCS beneficiaries said they would go to a local authority (especially village chiefs) if they face crimes. Only about 25% of ordinary villagers said they would do the same.
[96]Around 80% of the CPCS beneficiaries said they would take action, either by informing the police and local authority (65%) or personally intervening (15%).

why certain perpetrators got released so soon, and why certain gambling places still operate. The practice of questioning the police is still new in Cambodia, so this is potentially an important step forward.

8.1.2. Vocational Training and Sports

The number of recipients of CPCS vocational training per district varies from none to seven people per year. The most common vocational training courses for men include motor repair, cutting hair, and welding, and for women they include tailoring, food processing, and hairdressing.

The training is a diversion activity for target groups, including youth gangs, and also aims to help female victims of DV develop financial independence. However, interviews indicate that many of the trainees were neither existing nor potential members of youth gangs, nor have they experienced DV or other forms of violence. Several trainees even admitted that they were replacements for other youth who did not want to go through the training course. Local authorities and project officers acknowledged this problem, but added that all that they could do was to ensure that the recruited trainees were at least from poor households. Interviews with selected beneficiaries at their workshop, however, indicated that many of them were likely not from poor families.

The arrangements for the provision of vocational training involve the DDC contracting a line office (e.g., Women's Affairs, Social Affairs, or Education) to implement the training. Faced with poor training facilities, some line offices sub-contracted the service delivery to private trainers or workshops and instead played more of a monitoring role, together with CPCS project staff. According to project officers, many complaints were made by trainees regarding their living conditions at the workshops. Some of the complaints were apparently valid, and some were not. The project officers said they managed to solve some problems but also admitted that they had to compromise on some others, partly because they also received complaints from the trainers on how difficult it was to deal with some of the trainees.

There has been insufficient attention to providing materials to allow trainees to set up their businesses (or put their skills into use) upon the completion of their courses. Project officers indicate that it might take around US$500 per each person if the material handouts are also included. The cost is considered to be rather high if compared to a public forum, which costs from US$150-US$250 per event. Despite this high cost, there are cases where trainees were provided additional funding and materials to set up their shops and start a business. Even with that support, the project has faced problems of finding the right markets for them. In the end, many vocational training beneficiaries decided to migrate to seek jobs.

The vocational training did benefit targeted communities by providing technical skills to youth. More than half of the beneficiaries interviewed felt optimistic that they would be able to find a job with the skills acquired. Although there is no concrete evidence that the technical skills acquired were useful in this regard, it is reasonable to expect the training might have at least prepared those young trainees for their job-hunting journey. More research is needed to better understand the linkage between vocational training, migration, employment, and security issues.

CPCS-funded sports activities are few. Out of the eight CPCS communes visited, only three reported having implemented one or two sports activities in the past. The sports activities funded were volleyball and football leagues, which were contracted to the line office of

MoEYS and the district police. CPCS covered fees for the coaches and sports materials such as nets, poles, balls, and uniforms. The main objective of the sports events, the project officers indicated, was to generate opportunities where targeted groups (e.g., current or potential members of youth gangs) could come together to learn about the negative effects of joining a gang or the dangers of drug addiction, sexual harassment, and assault.

Local authorities interviewed found sports activities useful in that they diverted youth from other trouble-making activities such as drinking alcohol and joining gangs, but villagers said the sports also diverted youth from their families' productive work and sometimes lead to disputes among participating youth. More importantly, the two sports clubs identified were not very successful in attracting the targeted groups to join, and neither was operational after only about four months in action.

Provincial and district authorities are generally supportive of sporting activities carried out under the project, but they could not provide concrete examples of how the activities are linked to crime prevention in practice. Some commune and village authorities were more skeptical, saying that the sport clubs can easily fall apart, based on their observation. This assessment agrees with this more skeptical view, arguing that the linkage between the training and crime prevention is empirically weak, largely because the activity itself is limited and more importantly, it has suffered from the same targeting problems already discussed.

8.2. Strengthening of Post Police for Community Safety

SPPCS has been piloted in only two communes in one district in Kampong Cham. This assessment visited one of those two communes. The SPPCS is piloting a set of new approaches to policing by (i) making police posts prepare their executive weekly, monthly, and quarterly plans, and (ii) bringing the police closer to communities by providing telephone numbers of the police to communities, holding public forums and linking them to VCS guideline dissemination, preventing local crimes, and patrolling. The budget for the pilot has been small. The annual budget of the pilot in the two communes was around US$1,000 for both communes.[97]

The assessment found that the police in the pilot commune did a good job of distributing their hot line number to people, although the distribution tended to focus more on areas closer to main roads. While people reported knowing where to find the police hotline number, the SPPCS has not addressed the issue of commune police demanding informal payments when intervening to solve problems. Some observers did suggest that the amount asked for by police has become less in SPPCS and CPCS communities. FGDs with villagers suggest that the commune police now seem to respond in a more timely fashion to requests from community members. There was, however, no evidence suggesting that the police in the pilot area did more patrolling than police in other communities.

What seem to be improving in the pilot commune are the relationships among key actors, the first of which is between the police and the commune chief. The chief said the police have been collaborative in crime prevention and suppression, and helpful in supporting the voluntary guards. He also said the police have been regularly submitting crime reports to him. The chief and the police seem to recognize the need for them to work together. Another good relationship identified is between the local authorities (including the police) and a community

---

[97] This budget excludes the cost of building a commune police post, which comes from the police component of the CCJAP.

advisor working for a legal aid NGO in the commune. As noted in the previous section, the local officials appreciated the advisor's help in solving conflicts and preparing complaints for victims.

Because the above observation is based on only one case, it is impossible to attribute these positive changes to the pilot alone. It is also possible that these positive relationships among local actors have more to do with personalities than with the pilot. For example, the chief of the pilot commune is observed to be a person of good leadership capabilities and with considerable experience in his position. He is also said to be quite influential within the (ruling) party hierarchy. These factors can contribute to the respect accorded to him by the police and other actors in the community.

Another subtle, positive point observed in the pilot commune is that, although the police there are still reported to ask for informal fees, there is an impression that they are less care-free and less inclined to act with impunity. This suggests that the mere knowledge that there were more people watching them (within the police force) could create a positive incentive for the police to engage in better behavior. This positive incentive, it can be hypothesized here, may be even stronger when observers include the elected commune councilors or the commune chiefs.

8.3. Support for Crime Database Management

8.3.1. Improving Police Crime Records and Database Management

CCJAPIII works to enhance the capacity of the CNP to collect and analyze crime data. It provided technical support to the CNP Working Group to pilot a draft crime data collection form in Battambang. The trial was successful and endorsed by the CNP for nationwide implementation. The project has set up new crime databases and conducted ToTs for national and provincial police on how to update and use the database properly. These provincial ToTs were expected to further train district and commune police. Interviews with CCJAPIII project officers indicate that the initiative is at the stage of collecting data, and not yet on analyzing it.

At the SNA level, the effectiveness of this new initiative was found to be closely associated with the activeness and commitment of provincial level police in further disseminating information about this new initiative down to the district and commune level. Provincial police in Kampong Cham reported to have committed more time and effort in training their subordinates through various training events on how to use the new forms and collect relevant information. Police in the other provinces were observed to be less active.

Lack of funding to conduct proper and frequent training for the district and commune police, as well as the existing limited budgetary and human resource capacity of many commune police posts, were reported by all provincial and district officials as core challenges to introducing and strengthening the new crime database management system. At the commune level, while the chief of police posts interviewed indicated that they knew of the new crime record forms that they need to fill in, their paper-based records were found to be poorly kept and updated. A few commune police posts visited (two out of the 16) do not even have the new forms, and still use their log book as their main record.

Even where the new forms were used, inconsistency in crime classification and recording was found to be a problem at the commune level. According to district police chiefs interviewed, a commune police chief is required to record all crimes that were reported and addressed,

regardless of their types and seriousness. In practice, some district police officers acknowledge that under-reporting is common. This implies that, while introducing the new forms was helpful, it has not helped improve the quality of crime records produced by the commune police.

In the absence of a clear procedure for crime recording, the reliability and completeness of commune police crime statistics depend on a number of variables, including the level of resources and facility of a commune post (the urban posts tend to be better equipped than the rural and remote ones), personality and diligence of the police chief, the level of public trust in the police (more trust implies increased likelihood that people will report crime and security issues to the police), and the relationship between the commune police and local authority.

8.3.2. Linking with Commune Database

The Commune Database (CDB) is part of the ongoing D&D reform process in Cambodia. Part of the CDB is about local security and public order, and it is updated annually. The information used to prepare the CDB is based on the information collected by the village chiefs and compiled at the commune level. The clerk is usually responsible for putting together the information, which is collected in a form that is required by the provincial PRDC/ExCom.

The questionnaire used for the CDB has more than 600 questions. Requiring this amount of work, in light of the fact there are only three people within a village who do the job, each of whom receives less than ten dollars per month, leads to a legitimate question about the reliability of the CDB information. Despite these limitations in quality, however, the CDB is an effort that deserves some appreciation, for it is the first comprehensive and updated dataset available about communes in Cambodia. In the CDB, one can find detailed information about a commune's geography; demographic, economic and social situations; development projects; and poverty ranking.

On crime and security-related issues, the CDB includes the following types of information: (i) criminal cases, (ii) the number of land disputes, and (iii) domestic violence, including physical, sexual, mental, and economic violence. Interviews at the commune level indicate that the data about crime cases that is recorded for the CDB is the same as the data recorded by the police. Both the commune police and the commune chiefs claimed that information sharing on crime cases takes place during monthly meetings of the commune councils. In reality, however, it is not uncommon that the local authorities and the police might not fully share information that they put in their respective records. For the commune police, the record is intended mainly for their district supervisor. Interviews with the district police indicate that reconciling their crime data with that of the commune is not their priority and that the commune council should adjust its data to match that of the police, not the other way around.

This assessment also found that there has been insufficient thinking to date within CCJAPIII on how the CNP's new crime database will be reconciled and made consistent with the CDB. This is because, according to the project officer interviewed, current support is focused on getting the new crime data software up and running and ensuring that the CNP at the national and provincial level know how to use it properly. The question of linking with the CDB has not yet been taken into account, given the nascent stage of the crime data management effort.

9. Integration into Decentralization and Deconcentration

Integration with the D&D process is crucial for the project's sustainability and ensuring government buy-in. This section looks at this institutional integration question and argues that CPCS has been well aligned with D&D at the district and provincial level, although this has contributed to limited engagement from NGOs in CPCS-funded activities. The integration is limited at the commune level, leading to a low sense of ownership by commune councils, their CCWCs, and village authorities over the project.

9.1. Integration at the Provincial and District Level

CPCS has been integrated into the PRDC/ExCom at the provincial level. Every year, after the budget allocation is approved by the NMB of CCJAP, the PRDC/ExCom of each implementing province is informed about its allocated budget and decides on its further allocation to implementing districts. The assessment found that integration has worked well at this level, just as presented in existing annual performance and evaluation reports.[98] The transition resulting from the placing of the PRCD/ExCom under the new provincial administration structure, which happened in 2009, did not disrupt the implementation of the project, despite some difficulties associated with the capacity of some newly recruited internal auditors of ExCom.

At the district level, the DDC is contracted by and accountable to the ExCom for implementation of CPCS in their districts. The DDC has the authority to select which CIP-proposed projects are eligible for CPCS funding and which line agencies or NGOs should implement those projects. On the positive side, having the DDC as the key decision-making body on these implementation issues is well in line with the emerging trend of D&D reform, which emphasizes the roles of the districts. With the district councils now in place, their Development and Investment Plans approved, and their first discretionary budget (i.e., DMF) to be approved and implemented beginning next year, the districts are expected to play a more active role in development at the local level. CPCS experience in working at the district level places the project in a good position in this new and evolving SNA governance structure.

Discussion is taking place at the national level (especially within the NCDD) to ensure that in the future the district level pays more attention to social services and does not repeat the 'road building mindset' of the commune councils. To do that, the districts need to be trained on how to view their roles not from a project- but program-based perspective and give more attention to issues of sustainability. The district's WCCC must also be strengthened so that it can better represent the needs of vulnerable groups, including women, children, and youth. These priorities fit well with those of CPCS.

CPCS's engagement with the district level also makes sense on the ground that, in the current system, the district administration has more authority and influence over security matters than the communes. Therefore, it is reasonable that CPCS builds ownership of the district level

---

[98] CCJAP III (2011); Cox, Ok et al. (2011).

over the project. Through district administrations, the project has positioned itself to engage actors who, in the current system, exercise considerable influence over the commune police.[99]

On the negative side, however, while promoting the district's ownership, the arrangement has also placed the project within the top-down, hierarchical working culture of the SNAs. For example, while all key stakeholders (provincial and district government officials and project officials) seem to understand the importance of responding to requests from the communes, in practice, the DDC has exercised a lot of discretion in the selection of the project, project location, and service providers.

The limited engagement of NGOs, a result of decisions made by DDC in the selection of service providers, is another shortcoming. While having line offices and district police implement the project is one good way to build government ownership, it might involve some compromises over the quality of services delivered, especially if line offices are inexperienced or ill-equipped for the delivery (as discussed in the previous section). Limited engagement of NGOs means that a large pool of relevant experience and facilities possessed by those NGOs has not been well-harnessed to both ensure quality project delivery and build relevant line agencies.

9.2. Integration at the Commune Level

Although the CIP was used to identify proposed projects eligible for CPCS funding, the commune councils interviewed seem to have a limited sense of ownership over the project. The councilors indicated that they discussed which training topics and types of vocational training they should propose for CPCS. However, despite their attempt to establish local priorities, what they ended up doing was to come up with all three types of project activities (namely, awareness raising, vocational training, and less often, community-police forums) that fit with the CPCS eligibility list. The proposed projects were then sent to the DDC for final decisions.

For project selection, the DDC holds a meeting with representatives (usually the chiefs) from all participating communes, and a CPCS project officer acting as a facilitator. After some discussion, participants are asked to raise their hands to give scores to competing projects. In practice, interviewed councilors indicate, district governors play important roles in the process, and there is a common understanding that the projects should be given to communes and villages that have never received them before (i.e., the districts want the communes and villages to take turns). Thus far, this decision making process has been acceptable to all communes.

During project implementation, contracted district line offices (or in very few cases, NGOs) asked commune officials to help facilitate and arrange events (for awareness raising and community-police forums) and identify beneficiaries for the projects. The facilitation roles that the communes were asked to play were delegated to and carried out by village chiefs. More than 80% of the participants in awareness raising and public forums reported that they received information about the events from their village chiefs.

Village chiefs interviewed express high appreciation for CPCS activities, especially awareness raising and public forums. However, they appeared to have little understanding

---

[99] Anecdotal evidence from other research seems to question the knowledge of district police about the security situation at the village and commune level. This research finds that it might vary from case to case.

about project objectives and how the activities they were asked to do (e.g., choosing beneficiaries for vocational training) were related to crime prevention and community safety. To them, it seems, the activities supported by CPCS are largely indistinguishable from the many other awareness raising activities provided by NGOs or line agencies in the past.

Commune and village authorities interviewed indicated that their role vis-à-vis CPCS is largely supportive and they have no real input in the delivery of the project. This was confirmed by interviews with project beneficiaries. During awareness raising activities and public forums, it was found that these chiefs actually do nothing or just stand there and from time to time 'tell people to be quiet and listen to the talk or training.' However, the supportive role of the commune and especially village chiefs should not be interpreted to mean they had no impact on project implementation. On the contrary, as discussed in the previous section, village chiefs exercise considerable discretion in disseminating information about the project and beneficiary selection.

Another less positive aspect of CPCS is its limited contribution to the capacity building of local actors. At the individual level, most commune councilors and village chiefs are knowledgeable about the content of the VCS. They were observed, however, to have insufficient understanding of emerging issues like youth gangs, drugs, migration-related issues, and rape. Their knowledge of these trends is still general, they lack analysis of root causes, and they are unable to initiate ideas on how best to address them. Despite being in authority positions, their understanding of these concerns is at a similar level to that of many other villagers.

CPCS has not sufficiently focused on building the capacity of commune councils and their CCWC members. While almost all the commune and village officials respond that the CPCS has helped them better understand crime issues, that knowledge was actually acquired when they were sitting alongside other participants during awareness raising events, and not from activities specifically designed for local officials. This level of knowledge is insufficient for the commune councilors and village authorities, whose jobs require not just awareness but a deeper level of analysis and a problem-solving orientation.

In Kandal, however, support from CPCS to the CCWC was mentioned by the commune authorities. It was explicitly reported by the CCWC in one commune that the District Office of Women's Affairs was contracted by CPCS over the last two years to provide four trainings per year to CCWC members and selected focal point female villagers on the topics of gender-related conflict resolution, as well as planning and budgeting skills needed to develop and implement social service projects. The clerk was also said to be included in the training, especially about budgeting matters.

This is not to say that CCWCs in other provinces have never received training. Instead, with support from various NGOs, such as UNICEF and Save the Children, they have received various training on similar topics.[100] It is also possible that CPCS might have provided some forms of capacity building for CCWCs in these other provinces, but that the support was so small and indirect that the communes and their CCWCs were not aware that it was from CPCS.

---

[100] Meeting with Vimol Hou, UN Women, October 25, 2011.

SECTION V: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

10. Conclusions

Over the course of the data collection, researchers identified key findings both within and across specific areas of inquiry. As findings were collected and organized, a number of themes and important points for discussion emerged. The conclusions presented here attempt to organize these key themes and findings in a way that builds towards concrete recommendations for future programming in the areas of community safety and security in Cambodia.

1) A new set of safety and security issues are emerging as a result of complex social changes happening across Cambodia. Despite data that generally shows a decrease in overall criminality and violence in Cambodia, certain types of crime and causes of insecurity are increasing. Issues relating to drug abuse, domestic violence, and youth gangs all seem to be growing areas of concern, and are causes of perceived insecurity at the community level. However, the community assessment also found that there may be gaps between communities' and authorities' perceptions about the seriousness of some crimes. For example, although rape is considered a serious issue by the police and NGOs, villagers still do not see this as a primary concern for themselves or their family members.

The security problems identified in this study are not necessarily new, but the change in incidence, as well as the level of attention they are receiving, seems to be linked to a larger set of social dynamics. A critical factor in this social change is the new demographic reality of a majority youth population in Cambodia. With limited opportunities for employment and education outside of the major cities, this population is facing challenges of integration into the broader economy and society. Resulting trends include erosion of the authority of traditional actors over youth, increased internal and external migration, and gang-like behavior and violence. Given these new pressures on society, it is in many ways unsurprising that these challenges are becoming prominent in discussions on community safety.

It is also important to note that this social element of safety and security challenges in Cambodia seems also to have a strong effect on people's perceptions of their own security. Emerging issues such as youth gangs and drug use are perceived as very threatening by communities that are simply not used to dealing with them at these levels. This is true to the point that even where youth gangs are not seen to be directly engaged in criminal acts, they are perceived as a threat by communities. Even when crime rates are not high, communities are still perceiving new threats and feeling less secure. Given this social angle to the types of challenges affecting Cambodians' perceptions of their security, effective responses to these challenges will have to evolve to respond to these new pressures. Small arm control and a heavy focus on arresting and fining might no longer be sufficient to address the complex social and economic causes of youth-related crimes and drug proliferation.

2) There was no significant difference in terms of local perceptions of the crime situation in CPCS and non-CPCS areas. As will be elaborated more in the next section, the CPCS had a positive impact on its direct beneficiaries and on the perceptions and ways of working of sub-national and local police and authorities. However, given its limited coverage and duration of intervention, the intervention did not lead to significant differences in terms of

local perceptions about crimes. Instead, crime was found to be associated more with geographical and demographical characteristics of a place, where local perceptions are shaped by some additional factors including the perceived contagiousness of specific issues (e.g., youth gangs) and the recentness of their occurrence in the community.

3) Trust and confidence in the police is very low. A clear and consistent finding of the research was that community trust and confidence in the police is very low. Levels of corruption at the community level appear to be high, and instances in which police were known to have extracted payments from community members during police interventions were reported in every community studied. This has discouraged communities from reporting crimes to the police, leading to problems of under-reporting. In addition to the consequences of corruption within elements of the police force, at the commune level the performance of the police also suffers from a lack of skills, capacity, and resources. Moreover, the overly centralized nature of the current CNP has left many commune police posts poorly resourced and unable to perform their jobs. Another challenge worth noting is the general lack of gender sensitivity among commune level police. This is a problem that is particularly relevant when dealing with incidents of domestic violence, which was cited as a safety concern in all communities studied. These weaknesses in police performance certainly affect community confidence in the police to protect them, and negatively influence community perceptions of their own security.

A contributing factor to all of these challenges is low levels of accountability for commune level police. Within the police, there is limited evidence that real performance reviews or attempts to investigate or punish police officers who abuse their powers are present. This lack of effective internal accountability structures is compounded by weak external oversight of the police. At the commune level, although commune councilors assert that they should have active roles in police oversight as part of their responsibility for commune safety, in practice such horizontal accountability does not exist. Almost all communities researched identified a gap in communication between the police and commune councilors as a factor limiting the ability of the local government to increase accountability. A similar distance and wariness among community members toward the police further limits citizens from effectively holding the police accountable for their actions. In some locations it was found that there exists a history of SNA officials holding the police force accountable at the district level. There is a traditional security role for district level officials that has helped establish this practice, but this same level of engagement does not extend to the commune level at present.

4) The role of local government actors on safety and security issues remains unclear in practice. At the district level, the governor has been given authority as Joint Chief of Command and is active in security issues, including engaging with the police and other relevant actors to set policy and practice. The D&D process should, in theory, adjust this role by increasing the level of responsibility being taken by lower levels of government. As the D&D process has progressed there is clearly a larger role intended for the commune chief on safety and security issues, but in practice most commune chiefs have not been able to establish themselves in this sector of activity. In most locations studied the commune chiefs lacked resources for safety and security activities, had a weak understanding of potential actions they could take, and lacked confidence in the subject area. So while commune chiefs have a broad mandate on commune level safety (as per the 2001 Commune Law), few of them are currently able to use those powers effectively.

At the village level this challenge is reversed, where proximity and presence have led to many village chiefs taking responsibility for many of the government's safety and security initiatives at a very practical level. In terms of a formal mandate, however, the role of the

village chiefs is much less developed. The combination of these ambiguities and gaps in roles and practice has limited the effectiveness of local government actors in constructively working to improve their local safety and security environments.

An additional limiting factor in addressing safety and security concerns is the weak support provided to WCCCs and CCWCs. Given the prevalence of issues around youth criminality, as well as crimes related to gender such as domestic violence, these working groups have a potentially important role to play. A shortage of resources, combined with a lack of skills and capacity, are the key problems behind this challenge. In addition, the current public finance management procedures and paperwork required to access the budget allocated to the CCWCs are overly complicated and have thus prevented some communes from spending these resources.

5) Political relationships can positively affect commune level safety and security. This study found that political connections linking commune level actors to higher levels of political power have the potential to positively affect commune safety and security. Where higher level party members show an active interest in the performance of various actors at the commune level, especially the police, performance tends to be better. This was not observed to involve active interventions from high level political actors, but a general sense that there was a level of oversight that positively affected behavior. The effectiveness of political connections in strengthening oversight and creating incentives for commune level actors to perform well is one reason why commune chiefs tend to look to district level actors to provide political coverage and support in their dealings with institutions like the police.

6) There is high awareness of the new Village and Community Safety guidelines among local officials, police, and citizens. Local authorities and police all know about the VCS and have been attentive in disseminating the guidelines to communities. Many villagers said they have heard about the guidelines. However, the implementation of the VCS varies depending on the support, commitment, and personal influence of the head of the VCS Working Group sent from the MoI.

7) The CPCS component focused on the right issues but there is room for improvement. Based on the literature review of CPCS reports and documents and the information gained from officials and citizens in the community assessment phase of the research study, the component's focus on addressing risks and vulnerabilities of youth and on enhancing community involvement in safety and security is directly in line with the interests and concerns of people at the community level. In addition, the combination of programming on three levels to improve community level dialogue on safety and security, increase awareness among community members, and reduce socio-economic drivers of crime is a well-conceived approach. Within each activity area, however, there are clear ways in which implementation could be strengthened to achieve greater impact.

Vocational training activities were constrained by poor targeting of beneficiaries, lack of start-up capital or linkage to markets or employers upon completion of the training, and the absence of post-training evaluation or tracking to gauge effectiveness. Awareness raising activities at times suffered from weak delivery by government partners tasked with presenting the information to communities, and some public forums on community safety and security were ineffective due to weak ownership of the initiative and insufficient capacities at the commune level to facilitate engagement between police and communities. Community ownership and mobilization was also limited by the lack of civil society engagement in the delivery of the project. Moreover, the limited scale of CPCS activities in terms of number of beneficiaries involved and resources allotted limited the potential impact of the component.

While these challenges ultimately limited program impact, they did not call into question the relevance of the basic design.

8) SPPCS interventions contributed to improved accountability and pressure on police to perform. While the SPPCS initiative was limited in scope, in those communities studied there were some clear indications that the program made a difference in the performance of local police. A sustained focus on performance and the greater attention and oversight provided in those communities seemed to increase the level of accountability. The potential synergies in developing lines of accountability between CPCS activities and SPPCS efforts were clear to researchers.

9) Support to crime database management has not had much effect at the local level, and consideration has not been given to how the new database can be linked with the CDB. For this particular support, CCJAPIII has focused mainly on building capacity of provincial police officers, expecting that they will further train lower level police. This has happened to an uneven degree. Consequently, crime recording practices at the commune level are subject to inconsistencies in crime classification and recording. Incentives to under-report crimes still persist. Moreover, there has not been consideration at the national or sub-national level on how to link the new crime database with the CDB. Given the early stage of the crime database management effort, there is clearly room for increased attention and implementation in this area.

10) There are clear indications that there is political will to enact change in the areas of safety and security. Discussions with government stakeholders as well as a review of recent policy changes suggest that the level of political will and attention on safety and security issues is significant. The VCS policy has enjoyed high level party support, and government actors down to the village level told researchers that they were feeling pressured to make progress against these expectations. At the same time, the D&D process is creating new space for local government officials to engage more on these issues, and there is an expectation that there will be new levels of local responsibility for safety.

Finally there are clear efforts to reform the police and improve performance. A number of initiatives have received a high level of political interest. While these policy developments suggest a clear focus on safety and security issues, what remains unclear is how long this commitment will last, and how far the government will go to make needed institutional changes to ensure sustainable crime prevention and response. However, there have also been some concerns that VCS, which came with strong political pressure for local actors to perform, but very little resource for them to carry it out, might create adverse incentives for under-reporting of crimes, either by ordinary citizens or from the commune level to higher levels, or overzealous behavior in the interest of suppressing crime.

11) Voluntary Guards suffer from inconsistency and weak implementation. The concept behind community-based voluntary guards has been present in Cambodia for more than two decades. There have been several failed attempts to introduce this system of community patrolling to reduce crime and insecurity. The current idea of the voluntary guards is very well received by communities across the country, and people would like to see them play a more active role in protecting their communities. In reality, however, in no communities studied have voluntary guards overcome the challenges of mobilizing community members and sustaining participation and interest. This suggests that greater community level leadership on this practice, as well as additional resources, would be needed to ensure that commitments were maintained and efforts such as the voluntary guards were well organized. Given limited

resources at the local level for safety and security, however, it is a question whether additional resources should go into the formal policing system or a voluntary citizen program.

12) The D&D process opens up opportunities to further strengthen efforts on community safety and security. As the D&D process moves forward, it is creating clear opportunities to explore roles and responsibilities for local government actors in the areas of safety and security. It also potentially increases the resources that will be allocated for safety and security, and the D&D efforts are explicitly trying to make sure that the types of spending at the commune and district levels are more diverse and focused on development activities that go beyond infrastructure development. These changes will create space for innovation and new approaches to community safety and security in Cambodia, with a corresponding need to focus on building the skills, capacity, and confidence to plan and implement such activities.

11. Recommendations

The findings of the study, as articulated above, suggest that the timing is ripe for increased programming at the community level on safety and security, and that such programming has the potential to impact the way that local officials and citizens address safety and security issues. A supportive policy environment is in place, with the VCS and CNP's Strategic Plan. Through the D&D process, a decentralized infrastructure now exists to link national agencies and the services they can deliver with local entities tasked with planning and budgeting to meet citizen needs. Although some elements of this nascent structure will require significant investments of resources and technical assistance to be fully operational, nevertheless officials at each level of sub-national government are engaging on issues of safety and security. Moreover, as shown by the initial CPCS activities, as well as through the example of other programs in Cambodia, both local officials and community members share common concerns regarding safety and security, and are willing to engage to address such issues. CCJAP is therefore well-positioned to further advance the agenda on community safety and security.

There is, however, considerable space to better position and strengthen the current program design based on lessons learned, as well as to add new activities that would contribute to the overall programmatic objectives. This section of the report presents a set of specific recommendations for program design and implementation. These recommendations are grouped into two categories, including (i) integration into D&D and engagement with NGOs, and (ii) project design.

11.1. Integration into D&D and Engagement with NGOs

The CPCS has already been integrated into the D&D governance structure at the sub-national level. This study recommends that the project stay integrated, but some adjustments and additional focuses should be considered.

1) Continue working through the current NCDD management at the SNA (former PRDC/ExCom). The research found that integration with the PRDC/ExCom at the provincial level has worked smoothly, and served as an opportunity to build a partnership with provincial administration. As a result of staff turnover after the PRDC/ExCom was integrated into the provincial administrative structure, some provinces need time to build capacity of new internal auditors. However, this is a temporary challenge and not as a significant concern for CPCS, especially when it already has project officers and facilitators working to ensure administrative and financial compliance during budget implementation.

2) Continue engagement with the district level. Continued work with the districts is recommended, not only because it will contribute to higher ownership by this level, but because it will ensure that the project is able to harness the district's political influence and police oversight capacity. Working with the district is also in line with the IP3, which has a strong focus on building district capacity in service delivery and providing support to the communes. In addition, because districts have already adopted their first Five-Year Development and Three-Year Investment Plans and will likely receive their first budget allocation (i.e., DMF) in 2012, this study recommends that CPCS finds a way to have its priorities integrated and synthesized with these new plans and budgetary allocations.

3) Increase support to district WCCCs and commune CCWCs. The security of women and youth were clear themes throughout all research discussions on the nature of insecurity in Cambodia and cited as the most frequently occurring problems. The importance of these issues is widely recognized. However, best practice modalities for making progress on them are still under development. The newly established WCCCs and the CCWCs, each tasked with addressing issues affecting women, children, and youth, have had limited capacity. Addressing this capacity gap and supporting these committees to become more active and relevant will be a potentially important contributor to improved government capacity to plan and act on safety issues relating to women and youth.

4) Increase engagement at the commune level. One finding of this research is that, in the current CPCS design, the commune has had limited involvement in project planning and implementation, leading not only to low ownership of activities, but also problems with project implementation (e.g., beneficiary selection and monitoring). In the next phase, CPCS should find ways to engage the commune level in a more meaningful way than just having them propose projects selected from the CIP. The engagement can be fostered in two ways: (i) promoting more voice in district planning and monitoring the projects implemented, and (ii) providing communes with funding to allow them act as owners of CPCS projects at the local level.

5) Address capacity and confidence needs at the commune and village levels. The research found that many commune and village chiefs need additional capacity so that they can have a better conception of and confidence in how they could positively affect safety and security issues. This includes improved capacity to analyze root causes and trends in crime, a good understanding of current policies and institutional arrangements regarding security issues, and knowledge of gender and youth-related issues. Improved capacity of the commune councils (especially commune chiefs) and their village authorities in these areas will help them better prioritize security, gender, and other related social services in the CIP and will allow more space for CCWC members to perform their roles if their capacities, too, are developed.

6) Clarify commune level relationships with the police. In almost all communities studied there was a disconnect between the commune chief and the police that limited the commune chief's ability to mediate problems between the police and community, bring complaints regarding performance from the community to the police, coordinate local planning with the police, and effectively manage the safety and security of their local environment. In integrating into D&D, CPCS in the next phase should take into account the role of commune police posts and strengthen lines of communication and accountability with the commune councils. Progress in this area could increase commune level oversight of the police, improve the quality of targeting initiatives, and give an active commune chief grounds to more effectively serve a role in negotiating between the police and community members to improve satisfaction with the services being provided.

7) Provide opportunities for new police to apply their skills and capacities. The RGC is making good progress in its efforts to recruit more and younger police officers to serve at the commune police post level. This effort will improve local safety only if those police are given the space to apply their newly-learned skills at the community level. This offers an opportunity to link the SPPCS and CPCS activities more effectively in the next phase. The CPCS interventions with local government and communities can create opportunities for police engagement and partners for these newly trained police to work with in addressing safety and security issues. Working specifically with the police to create space for these new

police to put skills into practice, and using CPCS to give them strong partners in the community creates significant opportunities to improve relationships and levels of activity at the commune level and reinforce the capacity development process within the police service.

8) Promote NGO engagement as a complement to SNA engagement. This study and other studies have found that limited funding and capacities have partly resulted in SNAs' limited engagement in social service delivery. Thus far, NGOs have filled the gap. The research also found high levels of appreciation from SNAs for NGOs working on social issues that they are not equipped to address. This provides a rationale for the project in the next phase to engage more NGOs in implementing activities at the local level. Experienced NGOs can be beneficial both in ensuring higher quality in delivering some outputs (more on this in the next section) and in building capacity of SNAs, especially the WCCCs and CCWCs. Promoting engagement with NGOs is well in line with the IP3. This can be done by encouraging more NGO participation in district planning or even co-funding some of the social services prioritized in the process. At the commune level, NGO engagement can continue to happen through the District Integration Workshop (DIW) and working with commune councils on specific issues.

9) Consider support for NGO-provided legal aid. The success of legal aid in positively affecting local safety and security contexts needs to be incorporated into future programming. Of all the many types of donor interventions going on in the communities studied, legal aid programs are having a clear, positive effect on the local perceptions of safety and security. In many of those communities, legal aid providers acted as catalysts by channeling the concerns and challenges being faced by the community to government agencies and actors that might be able to provide assistance. Legal aid providers are not only taking cases to court, but providing advice on the most effective potential solutions based on the individual needs of those involved. One could take this information and simply expand support for legal aid programs, which would be a potential short term solution, but more sustainable options are required.

10) Use the experience gained from the project activities to inform reforms at the policy level, especially in police reforms and D&D reforms. It is the opinion of the research team and many of those interviewed that policy level interventions in Cambodia have generally been greatly strengthened when informed by practical work already carried out in the country. Thus, framing policy discussions in past success is potentially important in gaining traction and support for proposed reforms. It has been noted that this 'learning by doing' approach has been particularly successful with the police in the past. So with this point in mind, it is of critical importance that CCJAP is able to use the experiences from its different components to inform the on-going police reforms (e.g., the finalization of the National Police Draft Law, the implementation of the Strategic Plan, the strengthening of the post police) and D&D reforms (e.g., the functional and resource assignment process to the district and commune, horizontal accountability at the SNA level).

11.2. Project Design

The project found that CPCS' focus on awareness raising, youth diversion programs, and public forums are all relevant and respond to local needs. However, there is room for improvement and adjustments to the current design.

1) Invest in standardizing and improving the quality of public awareness raising efforts. CPCS pilot activities have focused on generating ownership of safety and security initiatives

by sub-national levels of the Cambodian government. This was particularly clear in the effort to mobilize various government actors to deliver awareness raising activities at the community level. While this was successful in getting government actors involved in safety and security issues and increasing their engagement with community members, the research found that this approach constrained the quality of training delivered and the ultimate impact of the activity at the community level. In some cases, the awareness raising was simply a reading of relevant laws and regulations, rather than a discussion that was practical and relevant to community members.

To overcome these challenges, the research team recommends that greater quality control efforts be made when designing the awareness raising activities. Further, CPCS programming should focus on providing technical support to government actors for the development of a standardized set of training and community outreach materials, as well as capacity building on interactive training methodologies. Such technical support could come through a ToT approach, initiated with national or provincial level line agencies, or utilizing the expertise of NGOs that have experience in conducting community awareness programming. Through either approach, or a combination thereof, CPCS could provide support to the government to establish groups of regular trainers with skills in facilitation and presentation from within their own ranks.

2) Encourage additional public forums, but provide implementing agencies with a better understanding about how best to carry them out. The study found public forums to be a fruitful activity in term of promoting community participation and making the police and local authority more answerable to the community. Public forums, however, were rare and in some instances looked more like awareness raising and information dissemination events. This study recommends that the project encourage SNAs at the district and commune level to select and prepare more community-police forums. In addition, there should be more orientation for both SNAs and implementing agencies, specifically the police, about the objectives and how to hold more interactive forums. Similar to the recommendation above, providing training and mentoring to police and local officials on how to facilitate interactive public forums and follow up on community input could strengthen the effectiveness of these activities.

3) Involve NGOs in program interventions, especially with vulnerable groups and youth. There is a need to rethink the potential means through which NGOs and CBOs could engage with CPCS in future programming. Non-governmental approaches have potential to encourage more community ownership that can complement the successful efforts of government actors under CCJAPIII. There are a number of potential roles for NGOs and CBOs ranging from training and capacity building for government and community members, to outreach and information gathering, to provision of legal aid. There is, however, one obvious area in which NGO actors could provide assistance, and that is in engaging youth groups.

In countries across the world, it is challenging for police or local government actors to constructively engage with youth groups. There is a mutual distrust that cuts across different societies and generally requires intermediaries to help build trust and a better relationship. Given the importance of youth programs to the success of CPCS in addressing critical safety and security issues and perceptions, engaging NGOs to work with youth in coordination with government is strongly recommended. Using NGOs with experience working in these areas would significantly increase opportunities for CPCS to reach this key constituency, open communication channels, and help address young people's concerns.

4) Identify and harness synergies between the CPSC and the SPPCS. This study found that CPCS activities with the community will produce better results with more engagement from the police and better collaboration between the police and the commune council. It also found that the SPPCP, although limited in terms of building trust between the police and communities, has the potential to promote a more collaborative relationship between the commune police and the commune council. The CPCS and the SPPCS components should be better linked in the future, especially as SPPCS is being expanded to cover more communes.

5) The SPPCS should encourage and monitor more regular patrolling by commune police. The current SPPCS model was found to be helpful in generating lessons learned for future scale-up. One aspect that should be given more attention is police patrolling. The project should find ways to ensure that police posts in pilot communes meet the current expectation of increased patrolling and are accountable to higher level authorities and local authorities and communities on this aspect of their work.

6) Improve crime data recording at the commune level as part of the support to crime database management. In addition to assisting the national and provincial police in improving computerized crime database management, more attention should be given to the quality of the crime data sent from the commune level. This data management issue should be incorporated into SPPCS and CPCS, and the commune councils should have a role in crime data collection and management. At the national level, a discussion should be held as to how the new crime database can be linked to CDB, and for what analytical purpose the information from these databases can be used.

REFERENCES

Australian Agency for International Development (2007). Australia's assistance to criminal justice reform in Cambodia: Strategic Framework Document. Phnom Penh.

Broadhurst, R. and T. Bouhours (2009). "Policing in Cambodia: legitimacy in the making?" Policing & Society 19(2): 174-190.

Brown, E. (2008). Volunteerism: Harnessing the potential to develop Cambodia. Youth Star Cambodia and UNV Cambodia, Phnom Penh.

Cambodia Criminal Justice Assitance Project Phase III (2007). Annual plan 2007-2008 (including SFD review). Phnom Penh.

Cambodia Criminal Justice Assistance Project Phase III (2011). Annual Performance Report: January to December 2010. Phnom Penh.

Cambodian National Police (2008; 2009; 2010). Annual Report. Phnom Penh.

Cambodian National Police (2009a). Action plan no. 050 PK on the measure to address youth gang issues, dated July 13, 2009. Phnom Penh.

Cambodian National Police (2009b). Strategic Plan of the Cambodia National Police (CNP) for 2008-2013. Phnom Penh.

Cambodian National Police (2011). "Annual progress report on 2010 performance and 2011 plan. Phnom Penh.

Cox, M., S. S. Ok, et al. (2011). Cambodia Criminal Justice Assistance Project Phase III: Review. Agulhas: Applied Knowledge. Phnom Penh.

Domrei Research and Consulting (2010a). CCJAPIII: Community Safety Midline Survey, Phnom Penh.

Domrei Research and Consulting (2010b). CCJAP III: Community policing baseline study. Phnom Penh.

End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography, and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes Cambodia, NGO Committee on the Rights of the Child, et al. (2010). NGO joint statistics: Database report on sexual trafficking, exploitation and rape in Cambodia. Phnom Penh.

Guimbert, S. (2010). Cambodia: 1998-2008: An episode of rapid growth. Policy Research Working Paper. The World Bank, East Asia and Pacific Region.

Hughes, C., N. Eng, et al. (2011). Local Leaders and Big Business in Three Communes. Cambodia's economic transformation. C. Hughes and K. Un., NIAS Press. Copenhagen.

Manero, C. and M. Popovici (2010). Making a difference: An assessment of volunteer interventions addressing gender-based violence in Cambodia. Partners for Prevention and UNV Cambodia,. Phnom Penh.

Meerkerk, D., S. Hean, et al. (2008). Survey of citizen and councilor perceptions of commune councils. PACT and USAID. Phnom Penh.

Ministry of Interior, Royal Government of Cambodia (1994). "Prakas No. 081 on the roles and responsibilities of provincial police commissariat, dated April 22, 1994." Phnom Penh.

Ministry of Interior, Royal Government of Cambodia (1998). "Prakas on the roles and responsibilities of district police inspectorate." Phnom Penh.

Ministry of Interior, Royal Government of Cambodia (1999). "Prakas no. 364 on the establishment of country security protection movement/ civilian prevention (vigilant) movement." Phnom Penh.

Ministry of Interior, Royal Government of Cambodia (2005). Additional guideline no. 038 PK on the establishment of voluntary guards dated November 03, 2005. Phnom Penh.

Ministry of Interior, Royal Government of Cambodia (2006a). "Guideline no. 052 PK on the fight against drug dated August 21, 2006." Phnom Penh.

Ministry of Interior, Royal Government of Cambodia (2006b). "Guideline no. 004 SNN on the procedures for selection, replacement and function of the village chief, deputy chief and assistant." Phnom Penh.

Ministry of Interior, Royal Government of Cambodia (2009a). "Guideline No. 021 SNN on the implementation of the circular of the RGC on the measure to address youth gang issues, dated Julyu 07 2011." Phnom Penh.

Ministry of Interior, Royal Government of Cambodia (2009b). "Prakas 4275 BRK on the Establishment and the Functioning of the Women's and Children's Consultative Committees at Capital, Provincial, Municipal, District and Khan Councils." Phnom Penh.

Ministry of Interior, Royal Government of Cambodia (2010). "Guidelines on the Implementation of Village and Commune Safety Policy ." Phnom Penh.

Ministry of Interior, Royal Government of Cambodia (2011a). "Notification No. 70 SCN on the preparation of CSF for 2011, dated January 17, 2011." Phnom Penh.

Ministry of Interior, Royal Government of Cambodia (2011b). Prakas no. 883 PRK on the roles and duties of commune police post, dated May 9, 2011. Phnom Penh.

Ministry of Women's Affairs, Royal Government of Cambodia (2005). Violence Against Women: A baseline survey. GTZ, UNIFEM, USAID, CIDA. Phnom Penh.

Ministry of Women's Affairs, Royal Government of Cambodia (2008). A Fair Share for Women: Cambodia Gender Assessment. UNIFEM, World Bank, ADB, UNDP and DFID/UK. Phnom Penh.

Ministry of Women's Affairs, Royal Government of Cambodia (2009). Violence against women: 2009 follow up survey. Phnom Penh.

Ministry of Women's Affairs, Royal Government of Cambodia (2011). Report on data collection and monitoring of Violence Against Women in Cambodia, 2010. Phnom Penh.

National Committee for Democratic Development-Secretariat (2011). IP3 implementation report: First semester 2011 (Jan-Aug). Phnom Penh.

National Committee for Democratic Development (2008). Prakas No. 68, dated 8 September 2008, on the new structure of the PRDC/ExCom. Phnom Penh.

National Committee for Democratic Development (2009). Commune/Sangkat Fund Project Implementation Manual (PIM). Phnom Penh.

National Committee for Democratic Development (2010a). Three-Year Implementation Plan of the National Program on Sub-national Democratic Development (2011-2013). Phnom Penh.

National Committee for Democratic Development (2010b). An analysis of the Communt Development Planning Data Base. Phnom Penh.

Pact (2010a). Corruption and Cambodia Holdholds: A quatitative household survey on perceptions, attitudes and impact of everyday forms of corruption practices in Cambodia - 2010. Phnom Penh.

Pact (2010b). Report of the second citizen satisfaction survey in target communes of the LAAR project. Phnom Penh.

Pak, K. (2010). Assessment of actual and potential commune and sangkat council functions (unpublished field report). Phnom Penh, Naitonal League of the Communes/Sangkats and GTZ Cambodia. Phnom Penh

Pak, K. (2011). Fiscal decentralizaiton in Cambodia: A review of progess and next steps. Phnom Penh, CDRI Working Paper.

Project to Support Democratic Development through Decentralization and Deconcentration (2009). PSDD gender mainstreaming progress report. Phnom Penh.

Royal Government of Cambodia (2008a). NSDP 2009-2013. Phnom Penh.

Royal Government of Cambodia (2008b). Law on Administrative Management of the Capital, Provinces, Municipalities, Districts and Khans. Phnom Penh.

Royal Government of Cambodia (2009). Circular no. 04 SR on the measure to address youth gang issues dated June 24 2009. Phnom Penh.

Royal Government of Cambodia (2010a). National Strategic Development Plan Update 2009-2013. Phnom Penh.

Royal Government of Cambodia (2010b). National Program for Sub-National Democratic Development (NP-SNDD) 2010-2019. Phnom Penh.

Seila Task Force Secretariat (2008). Seila program; Volume I: Design, implementation and management. Phnom Penh.

United Nations Children's Fund (2009). CCWC capacity assessment. Phnom Penh.

United Nations Development Programme (2005). Pathway to justice: Access to justice with a focus on poor, women and indigenous people. Phnom Penh.

United Nations Development Programme (2009). Situation Analysis of Youth in Cambodia. Phnom Penh.

United Nations Development Programme (2010). Youth civic participation in Cambodia: Knowledge, attitudes, practices, and media. Phnom Penh.

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. (2010). Handbook on the crime prevention guidelines: Making them work. Criminal Justice Handbook Series. United Nations Office on Drug and Crime. New York.

World Bank (Forthcoming). Voice, choice and decision making: The local governance in Cambodia. Phnom Penh.

Youth Star (2011). Engaging Cambodia youth in the prevention of gender-based violence. Phnom Penh.

APPENDICES

Annex 1: List of Interviewees

Jennifer Lean, AusAID
Ros Chhay, AusAID

CCJAP Team
David Moore
Susan Ball
Ky Bunnal
Duong Vanna
Huot Veng Chan
Sao Samsak
Vuth Ratanak
You Veasna
Heng Jolie
Um Sokchamroeun
Sum Sokha
Long Silux
Khiev Sothy
Chrea Dalya
Young Sokha

Government Officials at the National Level
H.E. Prum Sokha, MOI
Ung Sophean, MOI
Toch Pon Ponlok, NCDD Policy Advisor
Ros Salin, Council for Development of Cambodia/Cambodian Rehabilitation and Development
Board
CNP Police official
Sok Mary, NCDD-S Gender Policy Advisor
Kong Chann, MoSAVY
Tia Phalla, National AIDS Authority

Development Partners and NGOs at the National Level
Michael Engquist, DANIDA
Max Howlett, EWMI
Neil Weinstein, EWMI
Vimol Hou, UN Women
So Serey Vathana, UNICEF
Ros Sivana, UNICEF
Vichuta Ly, LSCW
Ros Sopheap, GADC
Olivier Lermet, UNODC
Vong Sarath, Friends International
Hong Sovann, Friends International
Ouk Vandeth, International Bridges to Justice
Kao Dyna, LAC
Ouk Kimleng, LAC

Run Saray, LAC
Min Muny, Independent Consultant

List of People Met at the Provincial and District Level

Location	People interviewed	Function/organization
Battambang province	H.E. Uy Ry	Vice provincial governor
	Mr. Sourn Chea	Provincial facilitator
	Mr. Rath Mora	Provincial police
	Ms. Bun Chenda	Bantey Srey organization
	Mr. Pidao	LAC
Bovel district	Mr. Sim Dareth	District governor
	Ms. Sem Pav	District facilitator
	Mr. Saloeun Linh	Association Cooperation for Economic Development executive director
	Mr. Phong Sarin	District police
Kas Kror-lor district	Mr. Sin Nga	District governor
	Mr. Sorv Yem	Vice district governor
	Mr. Seark Phea	District police
	Mr. Chhem Sokun	World Vision Cambodia
	Mr. Yai Kong	District officer in charge of education
	Mr. Chheurn Sotun	District facilitator
Banteay Meanchey province	H.E. Chong Phet	Vice provincial governor
	Ms. Long Silux	Provincial project officer
	Mr. Tor Kourn	Provincial facilitator
	Mr. Chan Dara	Provincial police
	Mr. Kim Heang	
	Mr. Yort Kim	
	Mr. Tauch Sokhor	Legal Aid of Cambodia
	Mr. Chin Mara	CWCC
Serei-sophean district	Mr. Oum Reatrey	District governor
	Ms. Eng Samnang	District officer in charge of women's affairs
	Mr. Sameoun Sokhak Vathany	District officer in charge of social affaires
Svay Chek district	Ms. Touch Vy	Vice district governor
	Ms. Lork Sophy	District officer in charge of women's affairs
	Mr. Sei Sothea	World Vision Cambodia
	Mr. Nourn Sina	Department of labor
	Mr. Hong Prokorb	Department of labor
Kampong Cham province	H.E Lorn Lem Thai	Vice provincial governor
	Mr. Khiev Sothy	Provincial project officer
	Mr. Moeurn Sovann	LAC
	Mr. Touch Bunteav	LAC
	Mr. Cheng Chanthorn	Provincial Police
	Mr. Heng Sambath	
	Mr. Hourng Kimsan	
Tbong Khmum district	Mr. Keng Bunna	Vice district governor
	Mr. Ra Sophea	Vice district governor
	Mr. Chea Navin	Vice district governor

	Mr. Morm Sun	District officer in charge of education
	Ms. Tun Sokhom	District officer in charge of women's affairs
	Ms. Tourn Malen	Reproductive Health Association of Cambodia
Pon-nhea-krek district	Mr. Long Theam	District governor
	Ms. Kong Simen	District officer in charge of women's affairs
	Mr. Thuy Vannak	District officer in charge of social affairs
Kandal Province	H.E Ou Sam Ourn	Vice provincial governor
	Mr. Heng Joli	Senior project officer
	Mr. Meas Sambo	Provincial facilitator
	Mr. Chan Savoeun	Provincial police
	Ms. Bou Leak	Social Services of Cambodia
Kien Svay district	Mr.Mao Dara	Vice district governor
	Mr. Ven Kimthorn	District police
	Ms. Sear Piket	District officer in charge of women's affairs
Koh Thom district	Mr. En Khun	District governor
	Mr. Set Vasna	District officer
	Mr. Horm Vannary	District facilitator
	Mr. Phorn Saroeun	District police

Annex 2: List of Validation Workshop Attendees

Name	Organization
Ung Sophean	Ministry of Interior
Min Muny	Independent Consultant, Member of External Review Group
Sok Mary	NCDD, Member of External Review Group
David Moore	CCJAP
Ky Bunnal	CCJAP
Duong Vanna	CCJAP
Huot Veng Chan	CCJAP
Susan Ball	CCJAP
Megan Anderson	AusAID
Jennifer Lean	AusAID
Ros Chhay	AusAID
Ok Serei Sopheak	Independent Consultant, Member of External Review Group
April O'Neill	USAID
Chan Kanha	UNODC
Max Howlett	EWMI
Som Khemra	Youth Star
Tamara Lowe	Youth Star
Ok Kimleng	Legal Aid of Cambodia
Andreas Selmeci	GIZ
Greg Lavender	UNDP
Robert Finch	Cambodian Center for Human Rights
Richard Smith	Cambodian Center for Human Rights
Gavin Tritt	The Asia Foundation
Nicole Sayres	The Asia Foundation
Koy Neam	The Asia Foundation
Kirsten Bishop	The Asia Foundation
Pak Kimchoeun	The Asia Foundation
Chris Lowe	The Asia Foundation